Eloy Martín Corrales
TRANSLATED BY Consuelo López-Morillas

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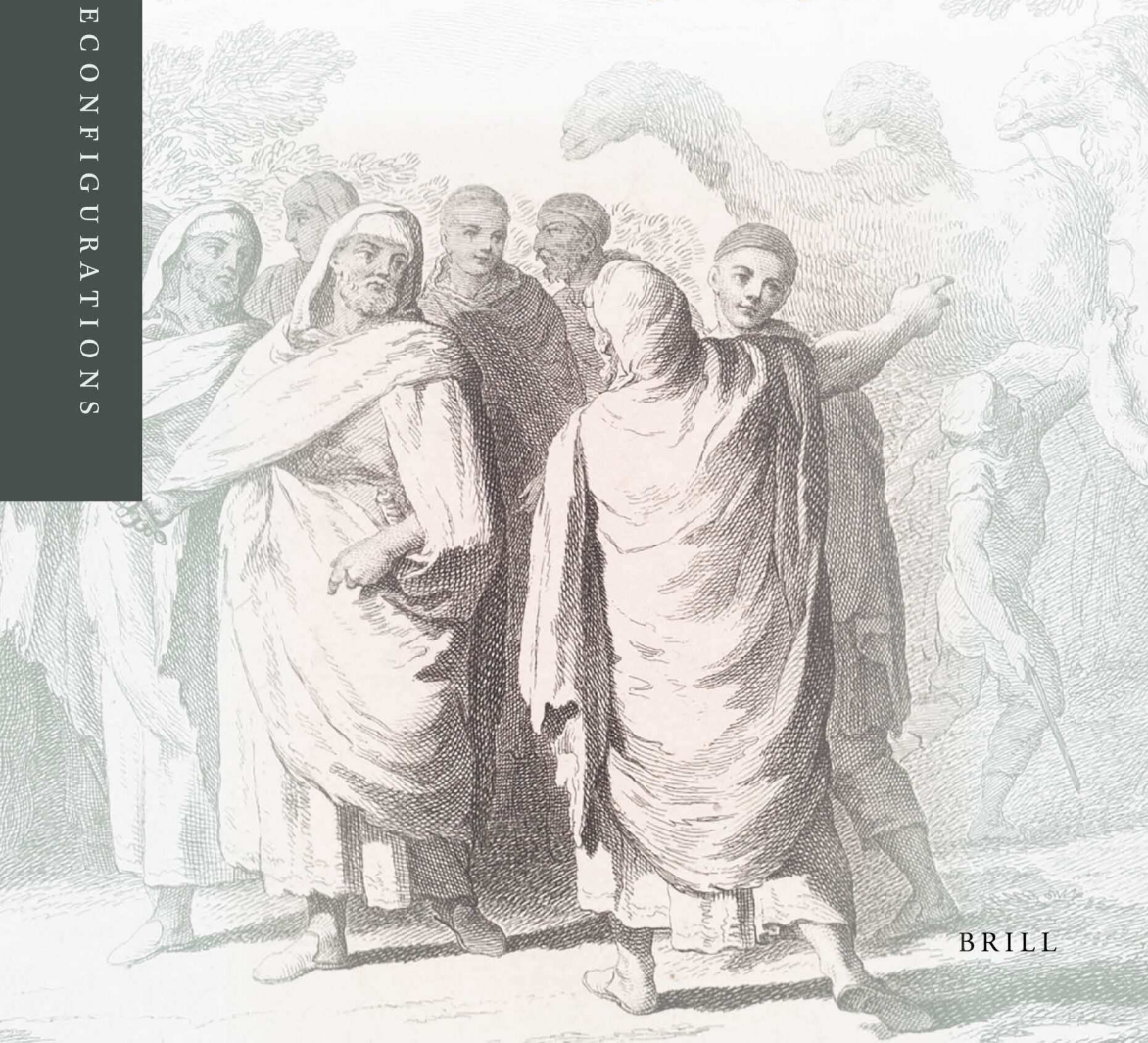
Muslims in Spain, 1492–1814

Living and Negotiating in the Land of the Infidel



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Muslims in Spain, 1492–1814

Living and Negotiating in the Land of the Infidel

By

Eloy Martín Corrales

Translated by

Consuelo López-Morillas

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Contents

Acknowledgments VII
List of Illustrations and Tables VIII
Abbreviations IX

Introduction 1
1 Historiography and the Muslim Presence in Spain in the Early Modern Age 3

1 Muslims in Europe, Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries 31
1.1 Muslims, a Minority among Slaves 33
1.2 Hundreds of Muslim Embassies 41
1.3 Merchants in Ports and Cities 49
1.4 Muslim Converts to Christianity 54
1.5 Exiles, Travelers, Soldiers, and Adventurers 57

2 The Spain That Enslaves and Expels: Moriscos and Muslim Captives (1492 to 1767–1791) 67
2.1 The Moriscos between Islam and Christendom 67
2.2 Muslims, a Minority among Slaves 71

3 Spain, Land of Refuge and Survival for Thousands of Muslims: Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries 95
3.1 Royal Exiles in the Sixteenth Century: Recover the Throne, or Convert? 97
3.2 Exile in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: Saving One's Life above All 121

4 Living in Freedom among the Infidels in Times of Conflict, 1492–1767 127
4.1 Maghrebi, Ottoman, and Persian Ambassadors 127
4.2 Free Muslims 164
4.3 More Merchants Than Expected 180
4.4 Muslims of Christ 190
4.5 (Limited) Freedom of Worship for Muslims 202
4.6 Diplomacy with the Maghreb in Castilian Spanish 209

Eloy Martín-Corrales - 978-90-04-44376-1
Downloaded from Brill.com04/27/2022 02:02:59AM
via free access

5 **Peace Treaties with Morocco, the Ottoman Empire, and the North African Regencies** 216
5.1 Negotiations with Morocco: the Embassy of Al-Gazzal (1766) and the Treaty of Peace (1767) 218
5.2 Negotiations with the Ottoman Empire and the Regencies 227
5.3 A Surge in Spanish–Muslim Trade 235
5.4 The Treaty of Peace, the Gift Economy, Local Custom, and the Market 239

6 **Problems in Applying the Treaties: Ambassadors and Envoys** 251
6.1 Muslim Ambassadors at the Spanish Court 254
6.2 Muslim Ambassadors Who Passed through Spain 268
6.3 Muslim Envoys 307

7 **Ship Captains and Sailors** 325
7.1 Moroccan Captains 325
7.2 Algerian, Tripolitan, and Tunisian Corsair Captains 394

8 **The Development of a Moroccan Merchant Colony (1767–1799)** 401
8.1 Gradual Appearance of Moroccan Merchants in Spain (1767–1780) 401
8.2 Consolidation of a Moroccan Mercantile Colony (1780–1799) 428
8.3 The Spanish Administration and Incidents That Arose from the Presence of Muslim Merchants 434
8.4 Both Monarchies Seek to End the Abuses 436
8.5 Members of the Moroccan Merchant Colony 442

9 **From a Moroccan Colony to a North African One** 500
9.1 A Surge in Maghrebi Ships 501
9.2 The Spanish–Moroccan Treaty of Peace of 1799: Adjustment to a State of War 505
9.3 Spanish–Moroccan Cooperation to Prevent Smuggling 508
9.4 Continuity of the Moroccan Merchant Colony 514
9.5 Algerian, Tunisian, and Tripolitan Captains, Pursers, and Merchants 572

Epilogue The First Moroccan Agent on Spanish Soil (1798) 587

Conclusions 603

Bibliography 609
Index of Personal and Place Names 679

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Illustrations and Tables

Maps

1 Muslim presence in Spanish cities (1492–1767) 96
2 Muslim presence in Spain, 1767–1814 501

Figures

1 Genealogical table of the Wattasids (fifteenth-seventeenth centuries) 99
2 Genealogical table of the Saadids (sixteenth-seventeenth centuries) 105
3 Genealogical table of the Zayyanids (fifteenth-sixteenth centuries) 111
4 Genealogical table of the Hafsids (fifteenth-seventeenth centuries) 115

Tables

1 Origin and/or Religion of Slaves in Spanish Cities and Regions 75
2 Muslim Slaves Baptized in Cádiz, 1600–1799 194
3 Converted Muslims 200
4 Expenses Incurred by Essuin in Cádiz, 5 June-9 July 1790 285
5 Expenses Incurred by Mate Flores in El Ferrol, 1807 393
6 Maghrebi Ships Arriving in Spanish Ports 502

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Abbreviations

ACCM	Archives de la Chambre de Commerce de Marseille
AHN	Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid
AHPC	Archivo Histórico Provincial de Cádiz
AMC	Archivo Municipal de Cádiz
AMM	Archivo Municipal de Málaga
ANP	Archives Nationales de Paris
APM	Archivo Provincial de Málaga
ARG	Archivo de la Real Chancillería de Granada
BC	Biblioteca de Catalunya, Barcelona
BNE	Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid
BTGC	Biblioteca de Temas Gaditanos de Cádiz
IMHB	Institut Municipal d'Història de Barcelona

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Introduction

The aims of this book are threefold.[1] First, to show that the presence and activity of Muslims in general, and Moroccans in particular, in Spain throughout the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries was more significant than has heretofore been thought.[2] Second, to demonstrate that Spaniards and Muslims were able to negotiate with each other – in spite of tensions and periodic confrontations – continuously during those centuries, which can be made to extend from 1492 to 1859, date of the outbreak of the African War (*Guerra de África*, 1859–1860) between Spain and Morocco. And third, to stress that in spite of prevailing opinion, Spanish policy toward Muslim countries was based as much on politics (the search for alliances and treaties against common enemies) and economics (securing indispensable imports of cereals from North Africa and the Levant) as on ideology (a spirit of crusade and an expectation of confrontation).

To make this case I will document the presence – permanent or temporary, frequently forced but often voluntary – of hundreds of thousands of Muslims in Spain in the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries. I will reconstruct the traces of slaves, Moriscos (meaning only those who, after accepting baptism, continued their Islamic rites and practices), ambassadors and envoys, exiles, merchants, sailors, travelers, adventurers, and the thousands who fled from famine or punishment by the authorities in North Africa.

The situation changed considerably after Spain signed the Treaty of Peace, Friendship, and Trade with Morocco in 1767, and later pacts with the Ottoman Empire (1782), Tripoli (1784), Algiers (1786), and Tunis (1791). Once peaceful relations were established with these states the number of Muslim slaves in Spain declined until none were left by 1791; only a few prisoners remained. But at the same time the number of those who arrived freely on Spanish soil increased significantly.

In earlier years, however, Spanish monarchs had signed dozens of peace treaties with the rulers of North African dynasties, and many ambassadors and

1 This book was researched and written within the project *Mediterranean Reconfigurations. Commercial Litigation, Cross-Cultural Trade and Legal Pluralism in the Mediterranean, 16th-19th c.* (Advanced Grant ERC no. 295868). Also the project "Dentro y fuera: Cambio institucional e integración social y cultural en el Imperio Español contemporáneo, 1550–1950)": Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Ref. HAR2015-6183-P.

2 We do not include the negotiations, treaties, and conflicts that arose between Spanish subjects and Muslims on the North African coast and in Levantine ports.

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envoys from each side, merchants, adventurers, and persons fleeing danger had crossed the Mediterranean in both directions.[3] Authorities of the Ottoman Empire and the North African countries, who protected Christian and Jewish communities in their lands, welcomed many Spanish men of religion who, in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, oversaw the living conditions and religious faith of captives in the bagnios of Algiers and Tunis, where most of them were held. The Franciscans were likewise allowed to establish missions in Morocco. In the period under study channels were kept open for ransoming captives, protecting commerce through safe-conducts and under the white flag of truce (or, failing that, in ports of third parties), and allowing other exchanges between the two sides – into which we will not enter here. The same occurred, though to a lesser degree, with Muslims whose presence in Spanish ports as merchants and/or ransoming agents (*alfaqueques*) is already attested, particularly in the sixteenth century but also later. From the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries almost all Moroccan envoys to Spain played a direct role in ransoming the largest possible number of Muslim slaves.

In the *presidios*, fortified ports on the North African coast occupied by Spain in the sixteenth century, intense negotiations took place with local rulers and residents of the hinterland, punctuated by frequent open confrontations. But we will be concerned here only with Spanish-Muslim negotiations carried out on Spanish soil, and with the conflict resolution that resulted.

Though we place priority on such negotiations we do not mean to minimize the high level of hostility between the two sides. The long, chronic struggle of the medieval "Reconquest" – or the feudal expansion of the Christian kingdoms of northern Spain – lasted for eight centuries.[4] It was followed by the Spanish-Ottoman fight for the North African coast in the sixteenth century, then by the repression of Morisco rebellions that culminated in the expulsion of that population in 1609–1614 – perhaps the cruelest episode in the construction of the unitary, confessional state.[5] These events helped to consolidate the mutual hostility of corsair warfare up to the end of the eighteenth century, and finally the constant disputes over Spain's North African presidios.[6] All these

3 I will not be concerned in this study with Jewish and Christian ambassadors and commissioners who were sent to the Spanish court from Muslim countries, especially Morocco. They were one more indication that the lines of communication between the two sides were never shut down completely.

4 Torró Abad, *El naixement d'una colonia*.

5 Bernal Rodríguez, *Monarquía e imperio*; Elliott, *Spain and its World*.

6 For Spanish-Maghrebi relations in the Early Modern age see Alonso Acero, *España y el Norte de África*; Vilar and Lourido Díaz, *Relaciones*; and García-Arenal and Bunes Ibarra, *Los españoles y el Norte de África*. For Algiers, Terki-Hassaine, *Relaciones políticas*; for Morocco,

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factors meant that both sides of the conflict saw the Muslim or Christian enemy through a strongly negative imaginary.[7]

In spite of this chronic hostility and its consequences, however, there was always a space for negotiation and understanding, and the various parties never ceased to act pragmatically. This was especially true of Spain's relations with Morocco, since those two countries, while they had opposed each other for centuries, often needed to tamp down their differences in order to face threats from a common enemy: the Ottoman Empire in the sixteenth century, the Algerian Regency in the seventeenth and eighteenth, and finally European pressure, first by France and later by England, from the end of the 1500s to the early nineteenth century.

We can say the same about Spain's complex relations with the other North African nations, especially the Regencies of Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli and the so-called Kingdom of Kuku. There were also significant approaches to the Ottoman Empire that resulted in truces in the mid-1500s and the 1580s, and the dispatch of an Ottoman ambassador to the Spanish court in the mid-seventeenth century. In the eighteenth, after a series of fruitless negotiations, a peace treaty was signed in 1782.

As I was preparing the present study, many colleagues read the text in whole or in part or discussed specific aspects of my argument with me. I gratefully acknowledge the help of Alfonso Carlos Bolado Nieto, Miguel Ángel Bunes Ibarra, Lizbeth Chaviano Pérez, Josep María Delgado Ribas, María Fusaro, Gema García Fuentes, Helena de Jesús de Felipe Rodríguez, Manuela Marín, Eva Martín Corrales, Josep María Perlasia Botey, and Andreu Seguí Beltrán.

1 Historiography and the Muslim Presence in Spain in the Early Modern Age

In recent years, historians of Christian-Muslim relations in the Mediterranean in the Early Modern period have been observing that, irrespective of the degree of conflict between the two sides, they shared political, military, strategic,

Abitbol, *Histoire*; for Tunis, Guellouz *et al.*, *Histoire Génerale*, vol. 3; for Tripoli, Vilar Ramírez, *Mapas … de Libia.* For relations with the Ottoman Empire see Braudel, *La Méditerranée*; Kumrular, *El duelo*; and Martín Asuero, *España-Turquía*. For the Maghrebi countries in the same period see Mantran, *Histoire*.

7 For the image of Muslims in Spain in the period under study see Martín Corrales, *La imagen del magrebí*; Bunes Ibarra, *La imagen de los musulmanes*; and Mas, *Les Turcs dans la littérature espagnole*. There do not seem to be any studies of the image of Spaniards formed by Muslims.

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economic, and cultural motivations that carried much more weight than the ideological ones that favored a climate of hostility. It is noted that the many calls for a crusade against the Muslim "infidels" by Popes, monarchs, and European republics were more rhetorical than real, and that Christian and Muslim states were actually forging many political alliances and trade relationships, signing surrenders and peace treaties, and establishing important commercial ties. This reality caused G. Poumarède, in *Pour finir avec la Croisade*, to give the religious factor its proper weight in the relations between the northern and southern shores of the Mediterranean during this period.[8]

Pragmatism in Christian-Muslim relations, however, has been considered the property, or "virtue," of certain Western European states such as France, England, and the Low Countries.[9] Portugal, Spain, Malta, and the Italian states, dominions, and republics have not been included; these countries have entered the context of Muslim relations only in discussions of corsairs, or of surrenders and ransoms of captives and slaves. Likewise the Islamic lands are treated as passive elements, subordinate to European politics and economics. The sole exception is the Ottoman Empire, recognized as holding the initiative in the sixteenth century, though even in that context it is stressed that the Empire signed its first capitulations with France and later with Great Britain and the Low Countries.[10] It is generally believed that the French, English, and Dutch maintained policies toward Muslims that were essentially peaceful, diplomatic, and mercantile, with the objective of improving the political and commercial role of their respective countries, while religious considerations were secondary and/or nonexistent. It is often forgotten that, at least during

8 Poumarède, *Pour en finir*, criticizes harshly the weight assigned to religious considerations in cross-Mediterranean relations. Greene, *A Shared World*, shows that hostility between Christians and Muslims in Crete was far from being the norm, and her article "Beyond the Northern Invasion," on a slightly different subject, makes an important contribution in stressing the importance of political-strategic and economic factors in the relations between the two shores of the Mediterranean.

9 It would be impossible to cite everything published on political and commercial relations between these countries and the Muslims, so I mention only a few monographs: Goffman, *Izmir and the Levantine World*; de Groot, *The Ottoman Empire and the Dutch Republic*; Davis, *Aleppo and Devonshire Square*; Paris, *Histoire du commerce*, vol. 3; Vaughan, *Europe and the Turk*; Wood, *A History of the Levant Company*; Charles-Roux, *France et Afrique du Nord*; Masson, *Histoire du commerce français*; Epstein, *The English Levant Company*.

10 Talbot, *British-Ottoman Relations*; Veinstein, "Les capitulations franco-ottomanes" and "Les ambiguïtés"; Boogert, *Capitulations and the Ottoman Legal System* and "Consular Jurisdiction"; Boogert and Fleet, *The Ottoman Capitulations*; Vatin, *Les Ottomans et l'occident*; Goffman, "The Capitulations"; Ménage, "The English Capitulations"; and Zeller, "Une légende."

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our period, economic policies and all kinds of interchanges were established and consolidated only through domination of one party by the other. The Capitulations that the Ottoman Empire signed with the French and the English were concessions that the caliph made to powers he considered inferior, but their later revisions show a crescendo of European demands that the Grand Turk was unable to resist.

In their dealings with the Maghrebi and Moroccan Regencies the French and English navies practiced genuine gunboat diplomacy: they used force of arms to make Muslim states sign most of their many capitulations and peace treaties. That explains why North African rulers systematically violated those pacts, either wholly or in part, as soon as the European fleets sailed out of port in the southern Mediterranean. We must not forget that many of those agreements concerned the ransom or exchange of captives or slaves, a sign of widespread violence at sea. Even so, some insist that the French, English, and Dutch (the bulk of the "Northern invasion") negotiated skilfully with Muslim states.

It has been assumed that on the contrary, the Mediterranean countries – particularly Spain and its Italian possessions, Portugal, the Papal States, Genoa, and Malta – elevated the crusading ideal above any political, strategic, economic, or cultural considerations. Historians claim that the notions of crusade and *jihad* remained alive in the attitudes of those states toward Muslims, making any relations other than bellicose ones impossible.

Venice, baptized the "Gateway to the East," supposedly occupied a middle ground in view of its excellent relations with the Ottoman Empire in the sixteenth century (though even these were not free of armed conflicts). But its loss of importance in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries has led to less scrutiny in this regard.[11]

Charles Windler, in his otherwise admirable monograph on French-Tunisian relations, expressed clearly these two modes of dealing with Muslims:

> For Spanish diplomacy, the *res publica christiana* remained the goal of a legal system that excluded any possibility of stable, peaceful relations with infidels, who not only resisted every attempt at conversion but were also considered the worst enemies of Christians. The Catholic character of the monarchy defined a vocation of service to the Church that transcended the geographical limits of the territories under its rule. The first peace treaty between a king of Spain and a Muslim prince, in this case the

11 Although recently there has been greater interest in studying these two centuries: Rothman, *Brokering Empires*; Pedani, "Beyond the Frontier"; Greene, *A Shared World*.

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> sultan of Morocco, was not signed until 1767. … Until Spain negotiated the first peace treaties under Charles III the court of Versailles, allied to Madrid by family ties, followed a policy toward the Ottoman Empire, the regencies, and Morocco that was radically opposed to the Spanish one.[12]

In the course of the next chapters we shall see how this notion must be, at the very least, restated in a more nuanced way.

Historians admit that the Southern European countries had commercial ties with Muslim Mediterranean states, for which they have coined the term "permanent exception" to emphasize their precarious and intermittent nature.[13] But if we consider the many interruptions in trade between France, Great Britain, and the Low Countries and Mediterranean Muslim states, especially the North African powers, we should be speaking rather of an "exceptional normality."

In speaking of peaceful and/or commercial relations between Western European countries and those of the Muslim Mediterranean, scholars have normally ignored the Iberians, Italians (except for the free port of Livorno), and Maltese. Total silence about them reigns in most monographs on political, diplomatic, and mercantile relations, whose protagonists are exclusively the French, English, Dutch, and others, operating from Marseille and ports in Northern Europe. Even Maghrebi historiography has followed this trend, fixing almost all its attention on the relations of its respective countries with France and England – a choice that may be justified in part but not altogether, since North Africans' trade relations with their closest neighbors across the Mediterranean were always essential to them. Among European Christian states, with the exception of France, only the port of Livorno receives consideration.[14] Few

12 "Pour la diplomatie espagnole, la *Res publica christiana* demeura l'horizon d'un droit de gens qui excluait la possibilité de maintenir des relations pacifiques durables avec des infidèles qui, non seulement, résistaient à toute velléité de conversion, mais étaient considerés comme les pires ennemis des chrétiens. La catholicité de la monarchie définissait une vocation de service à l'Église qui transcendait les limites géographiques des territoires soumis à son autorité. Le premier Accord de paix entre un roi d'Espagne et un prince musulman, dans ce cas le sultan du Maroc, ne fut conclu qu'en 1767. … Jusqu'à la négotiation d'accords de paix par l'Espagne sous le règne de Charles III, la cour de Versailles, alliée à celle de Madrid dans le pacte de famille, suivit à l'endroit de l'Empire Ottoman, des régences et du Maroc une politique diamétralment opposée": Windler, *La diplomatie comme expérience*, 316. See also his "De l'idée de croisade." Along these same lines see Calafat, "Ottoman North Africa," and Hess, *The Forgotten Frontier*.

13 Kaiser, "La excepción permanente."

14 There has been some progress in recent years in studying commercial relations with Spain: Terki-Hassaine, *Relaciones políticas*; Farouk, "Aperçu du trafic"; Boubaker, "Les majorquins à Tunis" and *La Régence de Tunis au XIIe siècle*.

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scholars of Portugal, Spain, Italy, and Malta know Arabic, while few historians from the Maghreb, Egypt, Lebanon, and Turkey are fluent in Portuguese, Spanish, and Italian. This barrier interferes enormously with contact between their respective historiographies and researchers from both traditions must rely on French and English, in which the historiography leans in the direction we have described above. A similar situation obtains in the area of relations with other Maghrebi countries and the Ottoman Empire. An example of the deficit: there have been several monographs on the ransom efforts of the Moroccan Emperor Sidi Muhammad Ben Abdallah,[15] carried out by several of his ministers, but it is clear that their authors have taken no account of different viewpoints by Europeans and North Africans.[16] The same could be said of a great many topics discussed by historians from the countries in question.

We should neither simplify nor exaggerate the fact that hostility and open conflict between the Iberians, Italians, and Maltese on the one hand and the Maghrebis and Ottomans on the other were significant. But that assertion requires nuance: as we have noted, historians do not realize – or forget, or fail to consider – that it was not only ideology that guided these nations' reciprocal relations. A few examples will suffice. Venice's position as Gateway to the East explains its many treaties with the Ottoman Empire and the existence of its "Turks' Guesthouses," *Fondachi dei Turchi*, although its commitment lessened perceptibly with the decline of the Republic in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[17] The Republic of Genoa pioneered peaceful relations with the Ottomans and later, through treaties with North African rulers, held on to solid bases on their coasts.[18] They controlled the bastion of Tabarka from 1542 to 1741, motivated purely by the defense of their economic interests.[19] Portugal's control over its conquered presidios along the North African coast was based on alliances with different pretenders to the Moroccan throne; that often involved

15 For the transliteration of Muslim personal names in this volume I have chosen the form most commonly accepted by Spanish and foreign historians. When such names appear in documents of the time such as reports, petitions, and statements, I transcribe them just as they appear.

16 See works on this subject by Arribas Palau, Lourido Díaz, Penna, Ben Driss, Loukili, and Mouline in our Bibliography.

17 Pedani, "Oltri la retorica"; Dursteler, *Venetians in Constantinople*; Viallon, *Venise et la Porte Ottomane*; Beck *et al.*, *Venezia, centro di mediazione*; Pertusi, *Venezia e l'Oriente*.

18 Insufficient account has been taken of Genoa's important role in commercial negotiations and exchanges in the period immediately preceding the Early Modern, as demonstrated by Fleet, *European and Islamic Trade.* For the Early Modern period see Boubaker, "Les relations économiques" and "Les Génois de Tabarka"; Urbani, "Genova e il Magrib."

19 Piccinno, *Un'impresa fra terra e mare*; Gourdin, *Tabarka*; Zaki, "Le Maroc et Gênes"; Luxoro, *Tabarka e i tabarchini*.

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supporting one "infidel" aspirant against another. The best-known instance is the Portuguese king's support of Muley Muhammad al-Mutawakkil in his fight to regain his throne, which ended with the so-called Battle of the Three Kings in 1578.[20] The same can be said of the Spanish case, which we will take up in Chapter 2.

In recent years important publications have shown that, above and beyond Christian-Muslim conflicts in the Mediterranean, strong and fluid networks connected the two sides. Those networks were essential for rescuing persons unlucky enough to have been captured and enslaved by either adversary. Most important, an atmosphere of trust had to be maintained if those relationships were to be secure and functioning – both for the capturers (who hoped to profit from selling their captives) and for the ransomers, religious or lay (who sought to free the enslaved). What has been called "the ransom economy" depended on such an understanding. That sense of trust extended to those who approached North African ports to buy back ships that had been seized, or to claim a portion of corsair booty that was often difficult to extract from Maghrebi authorities. A similar atmosphere had to prevail in Spanish and Italian ports where the ransom or exchange of Muslim slaves might take place.[21] All the individuals and institutions that participated in ransoms and exchanges on both sides – among whom merchants dominated – needed these shared networks to continue.[22]

To the relationships established by slaves, ransomers and their agents, and tradesmen we must add those of ambassadors and special envoys, exiles, renegades,[23] converts, spies,[24] adventurers, and all those who fled famine and other dangers in their homelands to cross to the territory of the other faith. Recent research by D. Hershenzon and C. Tarruell, focused on Muslim and Christian captives, coincides in the conclusion that corsair warfare, captivity, and ransoming all resulted in greater integration of the Mediterranean area on the

20 *Muley* (from Arabic *mawlāya*) was the title given to a sovereign, most often to the Sultan of Morocco. Valensi, *Fables de la mémoire* and "Silence, dénegation"; Berthier, *La Bataille de l'Oued el Makhazen*; Nekrouf, *La Bataille des Trois Rois*; Bovill, *The Battle of Alcazar*; Magalhães Godinho, "Les guerres du blé."

21 Kaiser, *Le commerce des captifs* and "L'économie de la rançon."

22 Beside Kaiser's works see Hershenzon, "Las redes de confianza"; Tarruell, "Circulations."

23 García-Arenal, *Conversions islamiques*; Scaraffia, *Rinnegati*; Bennassar, *Los cristianos de Alá*; Rostagno, *Mi faccio turco*.

24 Varriale, "Líricas secretas"; Sola and Varriale, *Detrás de las apariencias*; Sastre i Portella, *Espies menorquins*; Carnicer García and Marcos Rivas, *Espionaje y traición*; Sola and Peña, *Cervantes y Berbería*; Canosa and Colonello, *Spionaggio a Palermo*; Ruano Prieto, *Don Martín de Acuña*.

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economic, political, and social levels. The practice of ransom created channels of communication among Ottoman, Maghrebi, and Spanish rulers that were also exploited by the ransoming religious orders, many Christian and Muslim intermediaries, and slaves and captives themselves together with their families. Therefore intermittent hostility between Christians and Muslims, one of whose results was slavery, favored both direct and indirect communication between Spaniards and Muslims.[25]

A great, churning circulation between the two shores of the Mediterranean included hundreds of thousands of men and women. Across that porous and much-navigated frontier the most active travelers were Spaniards, Italians, Maltese, Portuguese, Moroccans, Algerians, Tunisians, Tripolitans, and Turks. They were certainly much more numerous than natives of Northern Europe, including the French, who crossed the same sea.[26]

This continuous flux of individuals who crossed the boundary between Christendom and Islam suggests that not everything involved confrontation between members of the two religions. There were many reasons for mutual attraction and convenience. Historians have written of Christian renegades who embraced Islam, European traders who settled in Maghrebi and Levantine ports, and travelers, scientists, and adventurers who visited them. But they have scarcely extended their studies to Muslim exiles, converts, merchants, and adventurers who made the reverse journey to the northern shore of the Mediterranean.[27]

In Western historiography the almost exclusive leitmotif for Spanish relations with the Muslim world has been ideological or religious confrontation. The notion of a crusade against the "infidels" would explain the hostile posture that the Spanish monarchy maintained for centuries vis-à-vis the rulers of Istanbul, Tripoli, Tunis, Algiers, and Morocco –in short, a climate of generalized hostility almost wholly lacking in political pragmatism or defense of commercial interests.[28] Most scholars conclude that Spain and the Muslim countries existed in a state of continual and chronic opposition – from the centuries-long struggle of the Reconquest from the eighth century to 1492, followed by

25 Hershenzon, *The Captive Sea*; Tarruell, "Circulations."

26 In Moatti and Kaiser, *Gens de passage*, see esp. Kaiser, "Vérifier les histoires," 369–86, and Dakhlia, "Ligne de fuite," 427–58.

27 Dakhlia and Kaiser, *Les musulmans dans l'histoire de l'Europe, II. Passages et contacts*; Dakhlia and Vincent, *Les musulmans dans l'histoire de l'Europe, I. Une intégration invisible*. See also Valensi, *Ces étrangers familiers*, and Alonso Acero, *Sultanes de Berbería*.

28 See an extended critique of this thesis in Martín Corrales, "Descolonizar y desnacionalizar la historiografía."

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the limited Spanish occupation of North Africa, confrontation with the Ottoman Empire at the battles of Preveza, Algiers, Djerba, Lepanto, and Tunis, the corsair wars and unending captures of prisoners and slaves on both sides, up to the establishment of peaceful Hispano-Muslim relations in the second half of the eighteenth century. These events have convinced many historians that little space was left for negotiation with Muslim countries. We find the proof in the indexes of recent (and excellent) monographs on Muslims in Europe: attention in Spain has focused almost exclusively on the Moriscos (up to their expulsion in 1609–1614), and somewhat less on Muslim slaves (until their disappearance between 1767 and 1791).[29]

Perhaps the most characteristic analysis for the seventeenth century is that of A.C. Hess: in his view, Spaniards converted their Mediterranean boundary with North Africa into a "forgotten frontier" with only the most minimal degree of porosity.[30] If that frontier was in fact forgotten and impenetrable there would be no reason to study the presence of Muslims in Spain from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries.

Although our criticism in these last pages is still pertinent, we must also acknowledge that in recent years new studies have emphasized the networks that Spain and the Muslim countries constructed to further their shared political and economic interests. The best example is the work of the French Hispanist B. Vincent, who on many occasions has called attention to the large number of Muslims present in Spain between the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries.[31]

Up to now most Spanish historiography has coincided with what we have described above. It is no surprise, therefore, that monographs and collected volumes dealing with Spain in the Early Modern age contain almost no reference to its relations with Muslim countries, except for scattered and poorly contextualized mentions of corsairs and captives, Lepanto, the events at Larache, the bombardments of Algiers, and little else. Interest has focused chiefly on the fortunes of a minority, the Moriscos: officially Christian but in fact largely crypto-Muslim, almost all were eventually expelled from the Iberian Peninsula in 1609–1614. In recent decades there has been much research on slaves, but the fact that most of them came from sub-Saharan Africa has almost eclipsed the attention paid to Muslims. Analysis of the enormous bibliography

29 Dakhlia and Kaiser, *Les musulmans dans l'histoire II*; Dakhlia and Vincent, *Les musulmans dans l'histoire I*; Valensi, *Ces étrangers*.

30 Hess, *The Forgotten Frontier*.

31 Vincent, "Exilio interior," "Les musulmans dans l'Espagne Moderne," and "L'Islam en Espagne à l'époque moderne."

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on Moriscos and slaves shows that attention to the negotiating potential of each group has been very unevenly distributed: exhaustively in the Morisco case, while in the matter of slaves much remains to be explored in spite of numerous recent publications.

In the end, however, both European historiography in general and Spanish in particular share the same vision, though with some nuances. There was virtually no space for a Muslim presence in Spain except for that of Moriscos and slaves. The negative and hegemonic view of the Muslim Other, generated during the long centuries of the Reconquest, the sixteenth-century war against the Ottomans, and the threat of North African corsairs in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, could explain everything.[32] As a result, the existence of Muslims in Spain in Early Modern times has been thought so insignificant and occasional that it was not worthy of study.

Further, there is the belief that Catholic intransigence did not allow, at least in theory, another religion to exist in its domains or those of its faithful;[33] this intolerance would be directed particularly toward Muslims and Jews, who were expelled from Spain. The truth was always more subtle and shaded than that: the signing of peace treaties and the maintenance of peaceful relations with Protestant and Muslim countries required that Muslims be present in Spain and able to negotiate with their Spanish interlocutors in Early Modern times. The case can be extended to Jews, who lived in Early Modern Spain as travelers, merchants, and slaves or prisoners to a much greater degree than is generally admitted.[34] The figure of the "permitted Jew" (*judío de permiso*), so present in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, still existed in the eighteenth and nineteenth even though the term was no longer used. One example among many is that of Zacharias Levi: after he arrived in Barcelona aboard a French settee in 1611, the admiral of the Catalan galley squadron, Ramon d'Oms, ordered him jailed and his merchandise seized. D'Oms and the Viceroy of Catalonia disputed their jurisdiction over his case, but the latter won out and freed him – we do not know, however, what happened to his confiscated cargo.[35]

32 See Windler, "La diplomacia y el 'Otro' musulmán."

33 Boeglin, "Luteranos franceses"; Thomas, *La represión del protestantismo*; Domínguez Ortiz, "El primer esbozo de tolerancia"; Loomie, "Toleration and Diplomacy."

34 Within the extensive bibliography on the subject see Amelang, *Historias paralelas;* Schaub, *Les juifs du roi d'Espagne*; García-Arenal and Wiegers, *A Man of Three Worlds/Un hombre en tres mundos* and *Entre el Islam y Occidente: Vida de Samuel Pallache*; García-Arenal, *Entre Islam y Occidente. Los judíos magrebíes*.

35 Gilabert Tomàs, "La defensa contra el cors," 241–48.

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In 1804 the brothers José and Salomón Cabezas, Jewish subjects of Morocco, were in Cartagena to sell wheat that they had warehoused there. After an incident with a Muslim merchant the local governor ordered them to leave at once, but they petitioned the king to remain in the city long enough to sell all of their grain. The petition, dated in Cartagena on 20 March 1804, read as follows:

> José Cabezas of the Hebrew nation, a subject of the Emperor of Morocco, … having declared to Your Majesty, with his brother Salomón Cabezas, the business and traffic of grain that they were conducting in this port of Cartagena, and how necessary it was for him to remain there for this purpose; and therefore they begged Your Royal Person to deign (if you held it proper, under the rules they professed of being, as expected, wholly obedient to Your Excellency's wise dispositions) to grant them the favor of not being hindered by the Holy Tribunal or its members, and allow them to reside with the said purpose with due precautions. In the recent interval nothing was said to them, [but] then yesterday, the 19th of this month, a Moroccan Moor came to the house of the Nuncio of the Tribunal of the Faith where the petitioner was present, and there were several altercations about their dealings and arrangements. As a result, [the Moor] brought out a knife to offend [the petitioner]; he who relates this contained himself, as was very proper; those present managed to soften the imminent attack and calm the Moor. But the petitioner immediately presented his complaint to your governor, who had no response but to order the immediate expulsion of Cabezas from the town. To which [Cabezas] replied in all modesty that it was the province of a different leader to decide that; but since the said governor insists on his order, and the supplicant has his warehouses full of grain, he has received severe prejudice, which he appeals to the royal goodness of Your Majesty; so that, if it does not please you that they continue in the trade that they are conducting to such great benefit of these realms, they be given sufficient time for the sale of what they have stored, and they will obey at once whatever is arranged. But if Your Majesty allows [him] to remain, and also his brother Salomón, they beseech you to warn this governor not to disturb and molest them, to make him treat them with justice, and to use his authority to prevent their being insulted by anyone; inflicting on [those people], if they should disobey the royal orders, the punishments authorized by Your Majesty.[36]

36 "José Cabezas de Nacion Hebreo, y súbdito del Emperador de Marruecos … habiendo manifestado á V.M. como su hermano, Salomon Cabezas, el Negocio y trafico de granos

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The view that I am criticizing – the one that privileges the hegemonic weight of ideology and religion in relations between the Spanish monarchy and Muslim countries – takes no account of some very important factors. It ignores all the experience of negotiation between Christian kingdoms and Muslims in the Iberian Peninsula in the Middle Ages, consolidated through frequent alliances and signed treaties. True, it all ended in the destruction of the Islamic states and the expulsion of most of their inhabitants. But it is equally true that in the eight centuries of the Reconquest it was normal for Christian kings allied with Muslims to fight against Muslim kings allied with Christians. The hero of those wars, El Cid (from Arabic *Sidi*) – often presented as a paladin of Christendom, inspired by the crusading spirit – fought as often against Christians as against Muslims. In the most recent studies he has been presented as "a feudal lord in Christian society, and a protector of the marketplace and guarantor of the public tributary system in Islamic society."[37] He is also been held up as tolerant in religion and inclusive in politics. It is likewise affirmed that in the *Poem of the*

que hacían en esta Plaza de Cartagena, y lo indispensable que les era para este efecto permanecer en la misma; y por lo tanto suplicaron a V.Rl. Persona se dignasse si lo tenia a bien, bajo las reglas que expusieron de estar como era regular á las sabias disposiciones en V.E. muy obedientes, les concediese la Gracia que por el Sto. Tribunal, o sus Yndividuos no se les molestase, y si se les permitiese su residencia para el fin indicado con las cautelas combenientes. En este intermedio á ocurrido que ya nada se les decía, quando en el dia de ayer 19 del corriente se presentó un Moro Marroqui en la casa del Nuncio del Tribunal de la Fé donde estaba á la sazon el suplicante, y sobre sus tratos y negocios tuvieron varios altercados y resultó tiró de un cuchillo para ofenderle; se contuvo como era muy justo el que representa, procuraron los concurrentes suavizar el atentado que se iva a cometer, y sosegar al Moro: pero el Exponente pasó inmediatamente á producir su quexa al Vuestro Gobernador, quien, no tomo otra providencia que decir inmediatamente saliere el Cabezas del Pueblo, á que le contexto con la debida modestia esto competía á otro Gefe el disponerlo, pero sin embargo como el relatado Gobernador insiste en su mandato, y el que suplica tiene sus Almahacenes provistos de granos se le infiere un grave perjuicio que reclama á la Real Bondad de V.M. para que si no fuese de su Real Agrado continúen en el trafico que con tanto beneficio de estos Dominios están verificando, se les de el plazo competente para la Venta de lo que tienen acopiado, y obedecerán como es arreglado inmediatamente; mas si V.M. quisiere permanezca, y también su hermano Salomon le ruegan se digne prevenir á este Gobernador no les perturbe y moleste, hagaseles administre Justicia, y evite con su Autoridad sean insultados por persona alguna, imponiéndoles si fuesen contraventores á las disposiciones regias las penas que se le faculten por V.M." Cabezas ended by asking to remain in Cartagena long enough to sell the wheat, and that the town's governor protect them from insult, "leaving them alone in their negotiations without bothering them, so that the petitioner and his brother may depart without an express royal order from Your Majesty": AHN, Estado, 5804, Exp. 5.

37 Peña Pérez, "El Cid, un personaje transfronterizo," 213.

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Cid the Muslims of conquered territories, "although not seen as equals, are not wholly subjugated either."[38] During the eight hundred years of the Christian advance the Muslims who remained in the conquered territories, the Mudejars, were able to preserve their faith, their places of worship, and their cemeteries. This tolerance disappeared, of course, beginning in 1502 in Castile and 1526 in Aragon, when Muslims were forced to convert to Christianity under pain of expulsion, after which they were called Moriscos.[39]

With the Christian conquest of the Peninsula achieved, throughout the Early Modern age Spain signed many peace treaties and and concluded many pacts with Muslim rulers of the Mediterranean. As a general rule the policies of the Crown of Aragon were extended.[40] In the eastern region, Peter Martyr of Anghiera (Pedro Mártir de Anglería to Spaniards) was sent as ambassador to the Mamluk sultan of Egypt in 1501, in an attempt to calm his indignation at the treatment of the Moriscos in Spain.[41] The Catalan consulate in Alexandria, in existence since the thirteenth century, in the early 1500s came to represent French and Neapolitan merchants also; it was recognized by the Ottomans after they conquered Egypt in 1516. Although its viceconsuls were named from Barcelona as late as 1539, its effective existence probably ceased around 1528.[42] In that year Suleiman confirmed an earlier treaty between the Mamluk sultan and the French; probably as a side effect of the French-Ottoman alliance forged in those years, the Catalans were placed under French protection.[43]

Although the sixteenth century saw constant warfare between the Spanish Hapsburgs and the Ottomans, the Grand Turk and the Hapsburgs of Vienna

38 On the figure of the Cid see Peña Pérez, "El Cid, un personaje" and *El Cid. Historia, leyenda*. For the *Poem of the Cid* see Montaner Frutos, *Cantar de mío Cid*. Also of interest is Viguera Molins, "El Cid en las fuentes árabes." The traditional view is found in Menéndez Pidal, *La España del Cid*.

39 The bibliography on the Muslim presence in Spain from the seventh to the fifteenth centuries is vast, so I will mention only a few titles: Manzano, *Épocas medievales* (in the *Historia de España* directed by Fontana and Villares); the four monographs coordinated by Viguera in the *Historia de España* directed by Menéndez Pidal: *El reino Nazarí de Granada* (*1232–1492*); *El reino Nazarí de Granada. Sociedad*; *El retroceso territorial de al-Andalus*; and *Los reinos de Taifas*. Also Lévi-Provençal, *España musulmana*.

40 Out of the large bibliography we can highlight López Pérez, *La Corona de Aragón y el Magreb*; Treppo, *Els mercaders catalans*.

41 For that embassy see Álvarez-Moreno, *Una embajada española*; Lama de la Cruz, *Relatos de viajes por Egipto*; García, *Una embajada de los Reyes Católicos*; Torre, "La embajada a Egipto."

42 López de Meneses, "Un siglo del consulado de los catalanes"; Capmany y Montpalau, *Memorias históricas*, esp. vol. 1:2:63, 200, 2:62–65.

43 Isom-Verhaaren, *Allies with the infidel*; Heers, *Les barbaresques*; Veinstein, "Les ambiguïtés"; Heers, *Les barbaresques*; Batu and Bacqué-Grammont, *L'Empire Ottoman*.

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signed a five-year truce in 1545 that Charles V chose to respect. New Spanish-Ottoman conversations took place in 1559. Finally, years after the battle of Lepanto, in 1580, a truce or armistice between the two parties led to three decades of regular direct traffic between Spanish and Ottoman ports.[44] From that point onward both empires declined to confront each other directly, choosing instead to give free rein to their corsairs to attack the enemy; that resulted in impediments to free trade, especially when thousands of ships and hundreds of thousands of slaves and prisoners were captured.[45]

In the seventeenth century conflict with the Ottoman Empire did not cease altogether, but never approached the level of the previous hundred years. A Grand Turk's embassy arrived in Barcelona in 1625. Later, the Porte sent an ambassador to Madrid in 1649, an event we will examine more closely in Chapter 2.[46] That embassy, with other diplomatic exchanges, may have prevented once and for all the remote but genuine danger of an alliance between Spain and the Shah of Persia against their common enemy, the Ottoman Empire. Negotiations with the Safavid dynasty, which stretched over more than thirty years, also demonstrate that pragmatism ruled in Spain's relations with Muslims.[47]

In the 1700s negotiations increased in intensity and continuity, though they did not bear fruit until the second half of the century. From 1715 onward there were attempts to establish new Hispano-Ottoman negotiations, especially under the auspices of Cardinal Alberoni, but they came to nothing. The envoys who negotiated the peace treaty of 1740 between Naples and the Ottoman Empire tried without success to include Spain as well. New – and again failing – talks between the parties were held between 1759 and 1761.[48] Finally, conversations begun in 1779 ended in the Spanish-Ottoman peace treaty of 1782, signed

44 Bunes Ibarra, "Entre la paz y la guerra"; González Cuerva, "Mediterráneo en tregua" and "El turco en las puertas"; Rodríguez Salgado, *Felipe II*; Kumrular, *El duelo* and *Las relaciones*; Braudel, *La Méditerranée*, esp. 2: ch. 5, "Les trêves hispano-turques." For maritime commerce between Barcelona and Alexandria see Martín Corrales, *Comercio de Cataluña*, 219–45.

45 Braudel, *La Méditerranée*.

46 Conde Pozas, "La embajada turca en Madrid"; Díaz Esteban, "Embajada turca"; Espadas Burgos, "Andanzas madrileñas"; Grimaldo, "Negociaciones para la paz" and "Le Trattative."

47 Martínez Shaw, "Cuatrocientos años de la embajada"; García-Hernán, "Persia en la acción del Papado"; Bunes Ibarra, "Entre la paz y la guerra"; Gil Fernández, *El imperio luso-español I & II*.

48 Windler, "La diplomacia y el 'Otro' musulmán"; D'Amora, "The diplomatic relations"; Sánchez Ortega, "Las relaciones hispano-turcas"; Lepore, *Un capitolo inedito*.

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by Charles III – who in 1740, as King of Naples, had concluded a treaty of his own with the Sublime Porte.[49]

Relations between the Spanish monarchy and the rulers of the central Maghreb are abundantly documented.[50] Two factors explain Spain's active presence in the region:[51] the growing Ottoman pressure on local rulers and tribal chiefs, and military weakness arising from the proliferation of internal struggles for power and dominion over neighboring states. The situation forced many state and tribal leaders to seek Spanish help against the Turks, as well as formal alliances to resist both kinds of threats. Spain's policy thus became one of support for local rulers and chiefs who resisted the greater Muslim menace, the Ottomans. This rapprochement in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries did not prevent an underlying mutual distrust, but Spain's policy toward the Hafsids of Tunis and the Zayyanids of Algiers resulted in many treaties throughout the 1500s: ten with the rulers of Tlemcen (1518, 1521, 1528, 1533, 1535, 1536, 1537, 1543, 1545, and 1546),[52] thirteen with those of Tunis (1535, 1537, 1538, 1539 [two], 1545 [three], 1547 [two], 1548, 1550, and 1554),[53] two with the lord of Kairouan (1549 and 1552), and three with the Sheikh of Djerba (1520, 1541, and 1551).[54] Treaties were signed so often because, presumably, they were not always being obeyed. The presence of Spanish consuls in North Africa in the first half of the sixteenth century continued medieval tradition and the peaceful climate favored by the treaties.[55] Those pacts accepted – willingly or unwillingly, for the North Africans – the Spanish occupation of several coastal enclaves, the so-called presidios, which were sources of intense

49 Hernández Sau, "Gifts across the Mediterranean Sea"; Sánchez-Ortega, "Las relaciones hispano-turcas"; Epalza, "Intérêts espagnols et intérêts de la Turquie"; Garrigues, *Un desliz diplomático*; Conrotte, *España y los países musulmanes*.

50 For the various aspects of Hispano-Maghrebi relations in the Early Modern period see Alonso Acero, *España y el Norte de África*; Bunes Ibarra and Alonso Acero, "Política española"; Vilar and Lourido Díaz, *Relaciones entre España y el Maghreb*; García-Arenal and Bunes Ibarra, *Los españoles y el Norte de África*; Braudel, "Les espagnols et l'Afrique du Nord."

51 Vincent critiques the theory of a "restrained occupation" by Spain in the Maghreb: "Philippe II et l'Afrique du Nord."

52 La Véronne, "Política del mizwar al-Mansur," *Relations entre Oran et Tlemcen*, "Politique de Abû Hasûn," and "Deux lettres inédites."

53 Boubaker, "Le traité hispano-hafside" and "L'Empéreur Charles V"; Álvarez Rubiano, "La política imperial española."

54 Mariño, *Tratados internacionales de España.*

55 Gil Guasch, "Fernando el Católico y los consulados."

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if intermittent commercial activity with their respective hinterlands.[56] They also provided shelter for many North Africans who had good reason to fear for their lives. These ports included Oran-Mazalquivir (until 1792), Melilla, El Peñón de Alhucemas, El Peñón de Vélez de la Gomera, and Ceuta (the last four still belong to Spain today), as well as many others that Spain occupied for only a few decades. Treaties facilitated the many embassies sent to Spain from the Maghreb, as well as the activity of Muslim merchants and many other individuals who, for various reasons, traveled to Spain. Much additional negotiation took place between leaders on both sides of the Mediterranean, mostly without success – for example, with Barbarossa in 1540.[57]

The case of Morocco resembled that of the central and eastern Maghreb. Rulers and aspirants to rule preached jihad against the Spanish and Portuguese (who had seized several presidios on the Moroccan coast), while at the same time seeking alliances with the Christians to counteract the growing Turkish threat.[58] Their struggles to seize or maintain power allowed the Spanish and Portuguese to take sides in their fights, supporting sometimes one party and sometimes another. As in Tunis and Algiers, Moroccan monarchs and pretenders sought to resolve their internal disputes through alliances with Christians, yet there was always mutual distrust between Christians and Muslims.

In the first half of the sixteenth century Spain negotiated with the sultans of Morocco's Wattasid dynasty, sending them several embassies.[59] With the Moroccan Saadids, cordial relations were more continuous. Mohammed el-Sheykh, who ruled from 1544 to 1557, allied with the Spanish in Oran to resist the Ottoman menace. His son and successor Muley Abdallah, on the throne from 1557 to 1574, maintained his father's policy. But it brought the Spaniards a terrible defeat in 1558 when the Count of Alcaudete, governor of Oran, attacked Mostaghanem in an attempt to block an Ottoman conquest of Morocco.

56 Martín Corrales, "Présides" and "Orán, entre fortaleza y mercado"; Fe Cantó, "Oran (1732–1745)"; Alonso Acero, *Orán-Mazalquivir*; Bodin, "L'agrément du lecteur"; Berbrugger, "Négotiations."

57 Bunes Ibarra, *Los Barbarroja*; Mariño, *Tratados internacionales*, 2:94–113; Capasso, "Barbarossa e Carlo V"; Watbled and Monnereau, "Négotiations entre Charles Quint et Kheir-Eddin."

58 Muley Xeque wrote to Philip III in 1606 that "the Turks have invited me to avail myself of their help and protection, [but] I have chosen rather Your Majesty's side from the impression your greatness and your words have made upon me": 11 June 1606, in García-Arenal *et al.*, *Cartas marruecas*, 194–95. See also Moudden, "The Sharif and the Padishah. Three Letters" and "The Sharif and the Padishah. Some Remarks"; La Véronne, "Política de España"; Cour, *L'établissement des dynasties*.

59 Ricard, "Les deux voyages du P. Fernando."

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We have already mentioned Muhammad al-Mutawakkil (in power from 1574 to 1576), dethroned by his uncle Muley Abd al-Malik (ruled from 1576 to 1578), who though supported by Istanbul had established relations with Philip II. Al-Mutawakkil took refuge first in El Peñón de Vélez and then in Portugal; he asked both the Spanish and the Portuguese for help but received it only from the latter. He failed utterly, dying in the Battle of the Three Kings in 1578 as he tried to regain his throne.[60] Ahmad el-Mansur (who ruled from 1578 to 1603) kept up the conciliatory policy toward the Spanish during almost his entire reign. Philip II sent this sultan a delegation of two men, Pedro Venegas and Diego Marín, to ransom captives and "converse and even form a friendship with the Sharif … This conversation should lead to friendship and on that basis he should cede us the port of Larache." An agreement was reached that included a thirty-year truce and Spain's promise to defend Morocco against Ottoman attack, but it did not succeed.[61] In spite of all these contacts there was frequent conflict, especially in the form of corsair warfare on both sides and fights over the Spanish presidios on the Moroccan coast.[62]

Several agreements were also reached at the end of the fifteenth century with leaders of the most powerful local tribes south of Cape Nun, in the Sahara, among them the rulers of the kingdom of Bu-Tata. By their terms the area acknowledged Spanish domination.[63]

60 Valensi, *Fables de la mémoire* and "Silence, dénegation"; Berthier, *La Bataille de l'Oued el-Makhazen*; Nekrouf, *La Bataille des Trois Rois*; Boville, *The Battle of Alcazar*; Magalhães Godinho, "Les guerres du blé."

61 García-Arenal *et al.*, *Cartas marruecas*, 13–14, 150–70; Boucharb, "La monarchie espagnole"; Cabanelas Rodríguez, "Pedro Venegas de Córdoba," "Diego Marín," "El problema de Larache," "Cartas del sultán de Marruecos," and "Otras cartas del sultán de Marruecos"; Ibn Azuz Haquin, "La embajada de Pedro Venegas"; Guillén Robles, "Una embajada española"; Laurencin, "Embajada a Marruecos"; Casola, "Embajada a Marruecos de Pedro Venegas."

62 Alonso Acero, *España y el Norte de África*; García-Arenal and Bunes Ibarra, *Los españoles y el Norte de África*; Fernández Álvarez, *Felipe II*.

63 The king of Castile licensed the Duke of Medina Sidonia to conquer the territory between Cape Aguer and Cape Bojador, to some distance inland. In February 1499 the governor of Gran Canaria met before a notary with "Mohamad de Maymon, lord of Tagaos," and "Hamet, captain of the city of Ifran and its territory," who swore fealty to the Catholic Monarchs. A few days later the residents of the fortress of Yfni, represented by Mohamad de Maymon and Mahomad de Vanahamet, took the same oath, the document being ratified in Tagaos. In March of that year the lords of Tamanart and several nearby towns also swore: Caro Baroja, *Estudios mogrebíes*, 59–80 (esp. "Los viejos señores del Nun y el Drá," 59–70, and "Las actas de 1499 y las tierras del Nun y el Drá," 71–80). See also Rumeu de Armas, *España en el África Atlántica*, 275–304, and *España en el África Atlántica. Documentos*, 73–78.

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In the seventeenth century, in spite of chronic corsair battles with the North African regencies, mutual hostility was lessened through alliances with local kings and rulers: one with the so-called Kingdom of Kuku (modern Kabylia) against the Algerian Regency lasted at least until 1615.[64] There were negotiations with Algiers itself that resulted in visits by Algerian ambassadors to the Spanish court in 1691 and 1701.[65]

The policy of allying with the Saadid sultans of Morocco continued through the first half of the seventeenth century. Al-Mansur had three sons who fought for power after his death in 1603: Muhammad al-Shaykh or Muley Xeque (sultan of Fez, 1604–1613); Muley Abu Faris or Buferes (sultan of Marrakesh, 1603–1608); and Muley Zidan, who after defeating his brothers ruled Morocco until 1627. All of them sought and obtained alliances with the Spanish monarch to some degree. Spain gave Muley Xeque two hundred thouand ducats, six thousand arquebuses with ammunition, and other military equipment. He was obliged to leave three of his children and two *alcaides* as hostages in Tangier, together with part of his fortune. He finally ceded the presidio of Larache to the Spanish king (who wanted to keep it from Ottoman occupation) in exchange for help in retaking the throne. His son Abdallah, who ruled in Fez from 1613 to 1623, corresponded regularly with the Duke of Medina Sidonia. In 1619 a supposed son of Muley Xeque's, Muhammad Zaguda, offered Spain the presidio of Arcila in exchange for aid, but the Spaniards had no interest in acquiring it.[66] Muley Xeque's brother Muley Buferes also maintained relations with the Iberians until he died in one of his attempts to seize power.[67]

In 1619 Isa b. al-Talib (Sidi Ysa), who claimed to be the ruler of Salé, proposed ceding the fortress of Rabat to the king of Spain; but the conditions he offered were unacceptable and the plan did not prosper. No ambassadors seem to have been involved, and it is interesting to note that Sidi Ysa told the king about a treasure he was prepared to offer him: "if it is in Your Majesty's hands it is certain and secure, but if it is in Moorish lands it is not secure."[68]

64 Deyá Bauzá, "La política mediterránea de Felipe III"; Seguí Beltrán, "¿Unas islas asediadas?", 72–79; Boyer, "Espagne et Kouko"; Rodríguez Joulia Saint-Cyr, *Felipe III y el Rey de Cuco*.

65 See Chap. 4, section 4.1. Also Windler, "La diplomacia y el 'Otro'."

66 *Alcaide/alcayde* (Arabic *al-qā'id*): commandant of a fortress, military administrator, governor, warden. Bunes Ibarra, "La ocupación de Larache"; García Figueras and Rodríguez Joulia Saint-Cyr, *Larache*; Gandin, "La remise de Larache"; García-Arenal *et al.*, *Cartas marruecas*, 383–86.

67 García-Arenal *et al.*, *Cartas marruecas*, 383–86.

68 García-Arenal *et al.*, *Cartas,* 383–86.

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In parallel to the negotiations between Spain and Muley Xeque, his sons Abdallah and Muhammad Zaguda and his brother Buferes initiated others between the Spanish and Muley Zidan, who would eventually consolidate his power as sultan.[69]

In the 1630s, the Moriscos who had taken over the fortress of Salé entered into contact with the Spanish monarchy. There was an unsuccessful attempt in 1631 to convey a proposed treaty to the Duke of Medina Sidonia, to be forwarded to the king. Contacts continued, however: in 1637 Abdallah al-Qasri, who commanded the fortress, thanked the Duke for sending biscuit and other forms of aid. A safe-conduct was extended to ships that provisioned the Spanish presidios on the Moroccan coast, in exchange for protection for ships from the "republic" of Salé that loaded in Sanlúcar de Barrameda and other Spanish ports.[70]

Muhammad al-Shaykh al-Saghir (in power from 1636 to 1655) renewed good relations with the Spanish. He asked them to send an armed vessel to expel a French one from the port of Salé that was preventing incoming ships from supplying the fortress of Rabat. During his reign the two countries exchanged ambassadors and envoys.[71]

There were fewer contacts under the first Alawite sultans, Muley Rashid (1664–1672) and Muley Ismail (1672–1717). But they did not cease altogether: in 1691, in the course of negotiations for the exchange of prisoners, a Moroccan ambassador, al-Gassani, was dispatched to the Spanish court.[72]

The Bourbons' accession to the throne in the eighteenth century brought a renewal of Spanish-Moroccan negotiations, with both Muley Ismail and his successors. A truce between the two countries was signed in 1736.[73] Eventually in 1765, soon after Muhammad ben Abdallah and Charles III ascended their respective thrones, new discussions culminated in the signing of the Treaty of Peace, Friendship, and Commerce between Spain and Morocco in 1767. It was followed by similar accords between the Bourbons and the Ottoman Empire, Tripoli, Algiers, and Tunis.[74]

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69 García-Arenal *et al.*, *Cartas*, 383–86.

70 García-Arenal *el al.*, *Cartas*, 389–98; Maziane, *Salé et ses corsaires*; Bouzineb, *La Alcazaba de Buregreb* and "Plática en torno a la entrega"; Balagna, "Deux lettres inédites"; Gozalbes Busto, *La República andaluza de Rabat*; Coindreau, *Les corsaires de Salé*; Mougin, "Projet d'occupation de la Qasba."

71 García-Arenal *et al.*, *Cartas*, 387, 399–413.

72 Ben Hadda, *A Moroccan Ambassador*; Arribas Palau, "De nuevo sobre la embajada"; Vernet Ginés, "Embajada de al-Gassani"; Sauvaire, *Voyage en Espagne*.

73 Fray Francisco de la Concepción carried a letter from Muley Ismail to Philip V: Fernández y Romeral, *Los franciscanos en Marruecos*, 83–93.

74 I will discuss these treaties at greater length in Chapter 5.

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At this point we should mention a topic well known to historians that has not received the attention it deserves: Spanish assistance in the form of arms, munitions, and matériel to many Wattasid, Saadid, Zayyanid, and Hafsid exiles who were trying to recover their thrones. One example is the terrible Spanish defeat at Mostaghanem in 1558, precipitated by the Count of Alcaudete's attack on the town as he tried to keep Turkish troops from conquering Morocco.[75] Another is the grant of arquebuses to Muley Xeque in exchange for control of the presidio of Larache. It could be argued that such gifts were rare, but they were given in spite of repeated prohibitions against selling or granting arms to the enemies of the faith. Some monarchs who were trying to keep their thrones, such as the kings of Kuku, also received weapons, as did the rulers of Salé to allow them to keep control of the fortress.[76]

The treaties, truces, and negotiations mentioned so far all promoted communication and contact between the two sides. Although mutual hostility between the antagonists was ever-present, they needed to keep certain channels of communication open – to ransom or exchange captives, for commercial dealings, and for other matters of common interest. As we have mentioned, corsair activity made it necessary to rescue slaves and captives from both sides, so networks had to be created and strengthened to free the unfortunates who had been seized. Without those networks, much of the corsairs' economic incentive (*l'économie de la rançon*) would disappear. Many groups and individual agents wove those webs of contacts.[77] The best known are the ransoming religious orders, which from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries managed to rescue tens of thousands of slaves. The Mercedarians secured a minimum of 140 renditions that freed at least 26,037 captives. The corresponding figures for the Trinitarians of Castile and Andalusia were forty-six and 14,069 respectively, and for the Discalced Trinitarians, twenty-four and 4,865. In these 210 renditions a minimum of 44,971 Christians were released; in nine cases the number of captives released is unknown, and we still do not know the total number of renditions that occurred.[78] But the presence of Spanish clergy and Spanish

75 García-Arenal *et al.*, *Cartas marruecas*, 11.

76 See the examples offered in this section and in the one devoted to Maghrebi exiles in Spain.

77 For the commercial activity generated by corsair warfare, "alternative" commerce, and the "economics of ransom" see Kaiser, *Le marché des captifs*, and López Nadal, *El comerç alternatiu*.

78 Torreblanca Roldán, *La redención de cautivos*; Martínez Torres, *Prisioneros de los infieles*; López, *La orden franciscana*. L. Fe Cantó is developing a database of ransomed captives that will soon give even greater figures: see a preview of his research in "Barcelona. La paradoja."

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obedient orders in the Maghreb was not temporary and associated only with renditions, for permanent missions were also established.[79] Their members devoted themselves to the moral and physical health of Spanish subjects held captive in the bagnios of Algiers,[80] Tunis,[81] and Morocco.[82] They also acted as official or unofficial diplomats on a number of occasions, as in the embassy to Egypt in 1501[83] and others to Morocco, Algiers, and Tunis.[84] It is true that some of these men went to North Africa hoping to be killed and become martyrs.[85] That fact has obscured their role in negotiations between the Spanish monarchy and Maghrebi authorities, whom they sometimes served as emissaries; they also escorted ambassadors and special envoys, as well as conveying letters and comissions.[86] They validated the health certificates of ships that left North African ports for Spanish ones, certifying whether conditions on the southern shore of the Mediterranean were salubrious.[87] And at a time when all the

79 In areas of the Ottoman Empire where Christian minorities lived there were religious orders also, but they were less necessary because local clergy provided assistance to Christian captives.

80 Friedman, *Spanish Captives in North Africa*, "Trinitarian Hospitals in Algiers," and "The Exercise of Religion"; Belhamissi, "Les relations entre l'Algérie et l'Église catholique"; Porres, "Los hospitales cristianos de Argel y Túnez."

81 Álvarez Dopico, "La Colonia Trinitaria de Francisco Ximénez"; Ricard, "Dos puntos de la Colonia Trinitaria de Túnez"; Ximénez, *Colonia Trinitaria de Túnez*.

82 Lourido Díaz and Teissier, *El cristianismo en el Norte de África*; Fernández y Romeral, *Los franciscanos en Marruecos*; Castellanos, *Apostolado seráfico en Marruecos*.

83 Álvarez-Moreno, *Una embajada española*; Lama de la Cruz, *Relatos de viajes*; Anghiera, *Una embajada española*; Torre, "La embajada a Egipto."

84 For Fernando de Contreras's missions to Morocco in the sixteenth century see Ricard, "Les deux voyages"; for Vanegas's mission to Muley Hamete see Laurencin, "Embajada a Marruecos." For the cleric Marín, sent to Muley Abd al-Malik and Ahmad al-Mansur by Philip II, see Oliver Asín, *Vida de don Felipe*, 68–69. Fernández y Romeral, *Los franciscanos*, tells of missions by the Franciscans Nicolás de Velasco, Padre Matías, and Francisco de la Concepción between 1637 and 1646; the latter brought Philip V a letter from Muley Ismail. Lourido Díaz, "Embajadas de España." In 1691 an interpreter and a canon of Ceuta Cathedral were sent to Muley Ismail: Gómez Vozmediano, "Emisarios, espías," 135.

85 While Fray Juan de Prado went to Morocco to be martyred, his companion and biographer Fray Matías de San Francisco maintained good relations with Sultan Muley Xeque: López, *Relación del viage espiritual*.

86 Muley Xeque sent Fray Matías de San Francisco twice with messages for the Duke of Medina Sidonia and Philip IV: López, *Relación del viage*, 12. A Trinitarian accompanied the Dey of Algiers's envoy to the Spanish court in 1701: see Chap. 4, sec. 4.1.

87 Examples include those of Fray Alonso Zorrilla, "Asistente de los Cautivos Christianos en Argel," 1716; "Padre Administrador de los Hospitales de la Religion de Trinitarios Calzados," Algiers, 1756, 1781, 1787; Fray Francisco de Colocho, parish priest of the Nuestra Señora de los Ángeles hospice in Tetouan, 1746. See Martín Corrales, *Comercio de Cataluña con el Mediterráneo*, 144, 170.

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European consuls general resided in the diplomatic capital at Tangier, clergy served as Spanish agents to the sultan at the courts of Marrakesh and Meknes, allowing them to play an active part in the Spanish-Moroccan peace treaty of 1767.[88] All this was possible thanks to their talent for negotiation: clearly these occasional agents of the Spanish monarchy did not let their ideology or religion interfere with its political goals.[89]

The extensive bibliography on ransoming captives has obscured an important fact: that the vast majority of captives were ransomed through the actions of merchants, who maintained continuous contacts with North Africa. Many of them, as either individuals or members of a company, specialized in ransoms, which they treated as simply one more form of economic activity.[90] The ransoms negotiated by clergy and laymen together brought freedom to tens of thousands of Christian slaves, and the same intermediaries arranged ransoms of Muslim captives as well. In so doing they contributed greatly to supporting contacts between the adversaries.[91]

Nor should we forget the role of go-betweens played by more than three hundred thousand renegades – Christians who converted to Islam throughout the Early Modern period. As many studies have shown, they usually maintained ties to their countries of origin and many of them returned there, though not always willingly. Much the same can be said of Muslims who converted to Christianity and settled in Spanish dominions, although this facet is less well known.[92]

In parallel, trade between Spain and Muslim lands was always possible. Occasional difficulties did arise that caused shorter or longer periods of paralysis, but many arose through fear of the plague rather than from hostility toward Muslims. Spanish ships, with Spanish captains and skippers, set sail continuously to North Africa and even Ottoman lands (to the latter in the first and third thirds of the sixteenth century, then up to the second decade of the next). More often, however, Spanish merchandise traveled under the flag of a third country. There was constant movement of grain, hides, wax, cattle and other

88 Arribas Palau, "La estancia del Padre Girón" and "El viaje de Fr. Bartolomé Girón"; Lourido Díaz, "Los misioneros franciscanos"; Rodríguez Casado, *Política marroquí*, 45–53, and "Política marroquí de Carlos III."

89 Torreblanca Roldán, *La redención de cautivos*; Martínez Torres, *Prisioneros de los infieles*; Friedman, *Spanish Captives in North Africa*, 129–44.

90 Andújar Castillo, "Mediación y rescate"; López de Coca, "Esclavos, alfaqueques y mercaderes." For the French case see Kaiser, "Les *hommes de crédit*."

91 The abovementioned database by L. Fe Cantó will allow us a more exact picture of the number of ransoms achieved by private citizens.

92 B. Bennassar, "El choque cultural"; B. and L. Bennassar, *Los cristianos de Alá*.

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products from south to north, while American silver, some textile products, and other manufactured goods were conveyed in the opposite direction.[93]

Such trade implied knowledge of the Muslim Other, as well as an undeniable will and capacity to negotiate with Muslim countries that has not yet been valued as it deserves. We should neither ignore it nor exaggerate it. It can be argued that Spaniards' will and capacity to negotiate was (at some times) more limited than that of the French, English, and Dutch, that it was less efficient and might be poorly handled. But communication, negotiation, and interchange clearly existed throughout the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. Historians have been too quick to disregard the less aggressive and more placating side of Spanish policy in North Africa and the Ottoman Levant, and that of Muslim rulers with respect to Spain. This line of action was consolidated in the signing of truces and peace treaties and in the (limited) tolerance shown to the subjects of "enemy" countries during that period.

There is abundant Spanish bibliography on Spanish-Muslim negotiations throughout the Early Modern age, but much of it is contaminated by the context of imperialist pressure on Morocco (1859–1912) and the later colonization of that country by Spain (1912–1956).[94] A supremacist ideology saw Muslims as mere passive subjects of a history in which the only true protagonists were Spaniards. Authors relevant in this regard are L. Galindo y de Vera,[95] M. Conrotte,[96] L. Serrano,[97] J.M. Doussinage,[98] T. García Figueras,[99] V. Ruiz Orsatti,[100] A. Ovejero,[101] E. Ontiveros,[102] V. Rodríguez Casado,[103] A. Rumeu de Armas,[104] and many others we could name. In recent decades this historiographic work, based largely on unedited documents, has been gradually set aside, but some monographs such as those of Conrotte and Rodríguez Casado continue to be essential reading for Spanish-Muslim relations in the Early Modern period.

93 Martín Corrales, "El comercio de España" and *Comercio de Cataluña*.
94 There was also the Spanish colonization of Ifni and the Western Sahara.
95 Galindo y de Vera, *Historia, vicisitudes y política tradicional*.
96 Conrotte, *España y los países musulmanes*.
97 Serrano, *España en Lepanto* (1935, reissued three times).
98 Doussinage, *La política internacional*.
99 He held important posts in Spanish colonial administration of the Moroccan Protectorate, and is the best representative of this historiographic tendency: García Figueras, *África en la acción española* and *Presencia española en Berbería*. Also García Figueras and Rodríguez Joulia Saint-Cyr, *Larache*.
100 Ruiz Orsatti, *Relaciones hispano-marroquíes*.
101 Ovejero Bustamante, *Isabel I y la política africanista*.
102 Ontiveros y Herrera, *La política norteafricana de Carlos I*.
103 Rodríguez Casado, *La política marroquí de Carlos III*.
104 Rumeu de Armas, *España en el África atlántica* and *Cádiz, metrópoli de comercio.*

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From the 1970s onward, in parallel with Spain's successful transition to democracy, other researchers have abandoned to a greater or lesser degree the outmoded viewpoint of the abovementioned historians. Important figures of this renewed vision include P. Mariño,[105] M. Arribas Palau,[106] R. Lourido Díaz,[107] J.B. Vilar Ramírez,[108] and M. de Epalza.[109] Their productive research has enriched our understanding of these cross-cultural relations with special attention to the establishment of peaceful relations with Muslim countries, with detailed analyses of the negotiations that led to peace treaties between the Spanish monarchy and Muslim rulers at the end of the eighteenth century.[110]

Later on, a new generation of historians has made important advances in our knowledge of Spanish-Muslim relations, while placing their research in the wider framework of Western and Muslim historiography. These include B. Alonso Acero, A. Anaya Hernández, M. Barrio Gozalo, J.J. Bravo Caro, M.A. Bunes Ibarra, L. Fe Cantó, M. García-Arenal, M. Lobo Cabrera, M. Lomas Cortés, M. Marín, J.A. Martínez Torres, F. Rodríguez Mediano, M.J. Rodríguez Salgado, E. Sola Castaños, and many others whose research is cited frequently in these pages and is found in our Bibliography.

At present, well into the twenty-first century, a renewed historiography is revising its view of these ambiguous relations, framing Muslims as genuine protagonists and the equals of Iberians. Negotiations between the two sides are being placed at the forefront, with emphasis on the Spanish talent and capacity for negotiating with both North Africa[111] and the Ottoman Empire.[112]

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105 Mariño, *Tratados internacionales de España. Carlos V. España-Norte de África*.

106 Arribas Palau, *Cartas árabes de Marruecos*. This author has over 180 publications, four of them in Arabic; see eighteen of his articles and a complete bibiliography in *Las relaciones hispano-magrebíes*.

107 Lourido Díaz, *Marruecos y el mundo exterior* and *Marruecos en la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII*. Some of his articles are collected in Agreda Burillo *et al.*, *Ramón Lourido Díaz*.

108 Vilar Ramírez, *Mapas, planos y fortificaciones hispánicas*, with separate volumes for Libya, Morocco, and Tunis; also his *Planos y mapas … de Argelia*.

109 Epalza, "El primer tratado de paz hispano-libio," "Intérêts espagnols et intérêts de la Turquie," *Los moriscos antes y después de su expulsión*, "Intereses árabes e intereses españoles," "Los Soler menorquines," and "Algunas consecuencias del Tratado de paz hispano-argelino."

110 See our Bibliography for many monographs by these historians.

111 Seguí Beltrán, "¿Unas islas asediadas?"; González Cuerva, "La historia global de la diplomacia," "Mediterráneo en tregua," and "El turco en las puertas"; Escribano Páez, "Los actores de la diplomacia hispano-magrebí" and "Negotiating with the Infidel"; Tarruell, "Circulations entre Chrétienté et Islam."

112 Hernández Sau, "Gifts across the Mediterranean Sea," "Juan de Bouligny's Embassy," and "De la infidelidad a la amistad."

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In spite of these recent advances in Spanish historiography, much of the attention paid to Spanish-Muslim relations has been reserved for the Moriscos and for slaves from both sides captured in the great war of corsairs between Islam and Christendom.[113] One would think that in the Early Modern age there were no other Muslims in Spanish lands worthy of mention, or that few of them chose to traverse the Mediterranean northward. We hear of only occasional ambassadors and envoys from the North African monarchs, mainly in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: from Bougie, Tlemcen, Kuku, the Moroccan sultans, the Shah of Persia, and a few more. As we shall see, during the three centuries under study there were many more, and more important, embassies and delegations than has heretofore been thought, from North African rulers and potentates and even from the Ottoman Empire and Persia.[114]

A much greater number of Maghrebi exiles came to the Peninsula in search of support for regaining power in their respective countries of origin, and a number of these converted to Christianity and settled permanently in Spain. Even within the reductionist view of history, this fact should have drawn greater attention from Spanish, European, and North African historians.[115]

As we will demonstrate below, the flow of exiles, refugees, and fugitives from lands of Islam toward Spanish dominions was more intense than has hitherto been recognized. Cases of conversion from Islam to Christianity, though not frequent, remained constant throughout our period. Muslim tradesmen were always present in the Peninsula even though the prevailing legislation theoretically forbade their activity, at least for a good part of that time. Finally, isolated individuals appeared in Spanish lands and along the coasts for a variety of reasons: some were passengers on French, English, or other foreign ships that came into Spanish ports, while others suffered shipwrecks. Nor should we forget that there were treaties of alliance and/or vassalage between Spain and certain North African states for most of the sixteenth century (at least up to the Ottomans' definitive conquest of Tunis in 1574) that legitimized and favored the movement of Muslims through the common maritime boundary. In short, the notion of a "forgotten frontier" is belied by the constant flux of ambassadors, envoys, exiles, slaves, tradesmen, converts, adventurers, and others. As

113 For the nature of corsair warfare (French *course*, Spanish *corso*) see Fontenay and Tenenti, "Course et piraterie méditerranéennes."

114 For relations with Persia see Martínez Shaw, "Cuatrocientos años de la embajada"; Rubies, "Political Rationality"; García Hernán *et al.*, *The Spanish Monarchy and Safavid Persia*; Gil Fernández, *El imperio luso-español y la Persia safávida*, vols. 1 & 2.

115 The fundamental reference is Alonso Acero, *Sultanes de Berbería en tierras de la Cristiandad*.

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we shall see in the coming chapters, our frontier was, like all other frontiers, a highly porous one.[116]

The foregoing also calls into question the generally accepted idea of a Spanish monarchy wholly intolerant in matters of religion. It was largely so, it is true, as the expulsion of the Jews and Muslims from the Spanish kingdoms attests. Nonetheless the principle of religious tolerance – timidly, and tied to political realities – began to be accepted to some extent thanks to peace treaties with France (1598) and England (1604). Finally, the Treaty of Münster (1648) consolidated a framework of religious toleration in Europe in which the Spanish monarchy participated: it accepted freedom of conscience, the private practice of one's own religious rites, and the existence of "an honored space for the burial of the dead" for those who practiced a different religion.[117] In addition, the monarchs and their direct agents, the viceroys, maintained a fairly permissive policy toward Muslims that was expressed through regional authorities like Catalonia's *Generalitat* and municipal officers of port cities. All of them knew that commerce with the North African shore was necessary.

Both free and enslaved Muslims in the Iberian Peninsula (though we must exclude the forcibly baptized Moriscos) enjoyed similar concessions to those allowed in the Treaty of Münster from the beginnings of the Early Modern era, as we shall see in Chapter 2 and later chapters.

Pragmatism to varying degrees made it possible for Muslims in some spaces to enjoy a degree of religious liberty. Because it was necessary and useful to receive ambassadors and envoys, to use slaves for ransom or as labor on public works, to turn exiles into assets against their countries of origin, and to earn profits from trade, intolerance slowly eroded in practice, in spite of showy public declarations. The same can be argued in the case of the Jews, though we do not discuss them in this book.[118]

Once Spanish-Muslim peace treaties had been signed toward the end of the eighteenth century, the resulting climate of warmer relations favored an increase in the flow of ambassadors, envoys, merchants, sailors, and different kinds of travelers between the two shores of the Mediterranean. Of special interest to us is the large increase in the number of Muslims visiting or residing in Spanish territory – that circumstance created new opportunities to negotiate with Muslims, especially after consular offices had been established in their countries. Spanish consuls and vice consuls posted from Agadir to

116 Fe Cantó, "Cuestiones en la investigación hispano-magrebí."

117 Boeglin, "Luteranos franceses"; Thomas, *La represión del protestantismo*; Domínguez Ortiz, "El primer esbozo de tolerancia"; Loomie, "Toleration and Diplomacy."

118 There is an excellent summary in Amelang, *Historias paralelas.*

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Istanbul engaged in negotiation, as did merchants from both sides who visited the harbors and courts of the former enemies.[119]

Those contacts, though imperfect, gave both the Spanish and the Muslim sides experience in negotiation. And they were useful when it came time to preserve the "love and friendship" to which some letters of Moroccan sultans refer in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,[120] as well as maintaining the "good harmony" invoked in correspondence between the Secretary of State and the Consul General in Tangier on the Spanish side and the Moroccan Emperor and his ministers, secretaries, and governors on the other, from 1767 onward.[121]

There were problems with Morocco, but they were not so serious as is usually believed. We should not forget the war of 1774–1775, which began when Muhammad Ben Abdallah's troops tried to occupy Melilla and El Peñón de Alhucemas; the sultan tried to limit the conflict to land (in those two presidios plus Ceuta and Vélez de la Gomera), without involvement by sea, so that trade between the contenders would not be interrupted. And in a second war in 1790–1792 the recently proclaimed Sultan Muley al-Yazid confronted the Spanish, who were supporting claims to the throne by his brothers.[122] Subsequently there were no more open conflicts for half a century. Exceptions were the Spanish seizure of the Chafarinas Islands in 1848 (unopposed by the Moroccans), and the so-called "Guerra de África" of 1859–1860. These two should be considered as responses to French penetration into North Africa and reactions to nineteenth-century European imperialist expansion, which began with France's conquest of Algiers (1830), the French expedition to Morea (1828–1833), the English seizure of Aden (1839), and Morocco's defeat at the hands of the French at Isly (1844).[123]

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119 For the development of the Spanish diplomatic and consular network in Muslim lands see Pradells Nadal, *Diplomacia y comercio*; Ozanam, *Les diplomates espagnols*. Specific studies of the Soler family of Menorca include Jerfel, "Les Soler de Minorque"; Epalza, "Los Soler menorquines"; Loth, *Arnoldo Soler*.

120 Muley Xeque wrote to Philip III on 9 November 1606 desiring to renew "the love and friendship that existed between our fathers": García-Arenal *et al.*, *Cartas*, 194–95.

121 There are hundreds of examples. The 1767 peace treaty between Spain and Morocco refers to "the most reciprocal and true amity," while that of 1799 alludes to "the greatest harmony, peace, and good friendship": Cantillo, *Tratado*, 505–07, 681–85. José Veciana, military governor of the coast of Granada, spoke of "good harmony" in a letter to Count Floridablanca: Málaga, 8 June 1784, AHN, Estado, Leg. 4317.

122 Carmona Portillo, *Las relaciones hispano-marroquíes*; Arribas Palau, "La expedición española"; Vilar Ramírez and Lourido Díaz, *Relaciones entre España y el Magreb*; Lourido Díaz, *Marruecos y el mundo exterior*, esp. 205–46.

123 Frémeaux, *De quoi fut fait l'empire.*

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We should place in the same context Spain's imperialist appetites on the African continent, which dated from the late eighteenth century and saw a ceding of territory at Río de la Plata to Portugal in exchange for Fernando Póo, Annobón, and Río Muni in the Gulf of Guinea. We should of course also note the slow, gradual deterioration of Spanish-Moroccan relations, together with Spain's complex internal politics – including the civil war between Carlists (defenders of the Old Regime) and liberals – which favored the creation of an external enemy to unite a chronically divided society.[124] Even so, the scant five years of Spanish-Moroccan hostilities (1774–1775 and 1790–1792) pale in comparison to the ten-year war between Spain and France (1793–1795 and 1808–1814) and the sixteen-year struggle with Great Britain (1779–1783, 1797–1802, 1804–1808). In short, we can think of the period from 1767 to 1859 as almost a century of fairly peaceable relations between Spain and Morocco.

It is also commonly believed that Spanish relations with the other Muslim lands around the Mediterranean, even in the new peaceful context, were marked by frequent incidents and warlike conflicts. But an analysis of Spanish foreign policy shows that after 1782 there were scarcely any armed disputes with the Ottoman Empire, for which Madrid even felt a certain sympathy as "the Sick Man of Europe," an empire in decline like that of Spain.[125] Nor were there serious difficulties with the Regencies of Tripoli, Tunis, and Algiers aside from those caused by a particular commercial practice: private merchants who bought large amounts of North African wheat incurred enormous debts, leading some of them to go bankrupt and owe large sums to Maghrebi authorities. The latter would try to force the governments of the merchants' native countries to assume the debts, and on being ignored sometimes indulged in reprisals of no great importance.[126] There is a certain similarity between these private debts to North African rulers in the early nineteenth century and those of North African rulers to their private European creditors at the end of that period, when the latter served as a pretext for the French and English to occupy Tunisia and Egypt, respectively.[127]

124 Lécuyer and Serrano, *La guerre d'Afrique*.

125 Martín Corrales, "El Hombre Enfermo de Europa" and "Relaciones de España con el Imperio Otomano," in Turkish as "Ispanya-Osmanli Iliskeri."

126 We cannot compare these reprisals with the hostility that existed before the peace treaties – among other reasons, because they were now directed against prisoners or hostages rather than slaves: Terki-Hassaine, *Relaciones políticas*; Vilar Ramírez, "Relaciones diplomáticas y comerciales."

127 Frémeaux, *De quoi fut fait l'empire*.

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Finally, for an accurate picture of the main object of the present study – the Muslim presence on Spanish soil in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries – we must compare it to the same phenomenon in Central and Western Europe as a whole.

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CHAPTER 1

Muslims in Europe, Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries

The Muslim presence in Central and Western Europe during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries was greater than had been thought, at least up to a few years ago. Eastern Europe, of course, was an entirely different case, especially in the Balkans, ruled by the Ottoman Empire – though it began to lose territory in the 1700s – and in large regions of southeastern Europe that were gradually absorbed into the Russian Empire. In certain areas of these territories Muslims either ruled or formed a majority, while in others they were a significant minority. Nor did they disappear from Balkan lands altogether, for there are still nuclei of Muslim populations outside the small area of European Turkey, as well as in much of southern Russia. We shall not be concerned with those cases here, however, since they are substantially different from those of Western Europe.[1]

As to Central and Western Europe, it has been and to some extent continues to be thought that the Muslim presence in the Early Modern period was scarce and brief, and therefore insignificant.[2] But recent research has proved that it was much more significant than has been acknowledged until now. The step from seeing Muslims as a *groupe invisible* to regarding them as *étrangers familiers* represents a significant advance in our understanding of the matter. We now have monographs on a considerable swath of European territory that show a good number of Muslims either visiting or living there for varying periods of time and many different reasons.[3] We also have overall views for a few countries, particularly France,[4] Great

1 Planhol, *Les nations du Prophète/Las naciones del Profeta*; Mantran, *Histoire de l'Empire musulman*.

2 In the long medieval period, Muslims occupied not only Spain and Portugal but Sicily, Malta, and more intermittently southern France and Otranto.

3 Matar, *In the Lands of the Christians*, *Europe Through Arab Eyes*, and "Europe Through Eighteenth-Century Moroccan Eyes"; Dakhlia, "Assujettis au baptême?"; Dakhlia and Kaiser, *Les musulmans dans l'histoire de l'Europe. II. Passages et contacts*; Dakhlia and Vincent, *Les Musulmans dans l'histoire de l'Europe. I. Un intégration invisible*; Valensi, *Ces étrangers familiers*; Lewis, *The Muslim Discovery of Europe/Comment l'Islam a découvert l'Europe*.

4 Dakhlia, "Musulmans en France"; Poumarède, "Négociants, voyageurs"; Desmet-Grégoire, *Le Divan magique*.

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Britain,[5] and Portugal.[6] As for Italy, there are studies on Naples[7] and Sicily,[8] which were ruled by Spain, and on the Republics of Venice[9] and Genoa[10] and the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, particularly Livorno.[11] There is research on the Papal States, headed by Rome,[12] and we can say the same for other areas of Europe such as Malta,[13] Vienna,[14] the Germanic territories, and Poland.[15] I will discuss the Spanish case at length in the next three chapters.

Many Muslims traveled freely to different European ports and cities. Some were official ambassadors and envoys of their respective governments, usually escorted by a large retinue. Many more arrived by force of political events or personal misfortunes, especially those who came as slaves. But there were also many exiles, apostates who abandoned Islam for Christianity, and persons fleeing periodic famines in the Maghreb. A smaller but still significant group were tradesmen and sailors. And then there were the varied individuals who passed through or lived in European towns for many reasons – travelers, distinguished visitors, soldiers, servants, adventurers, and others. While it was once believed that they were chiefly transients or unwilling travelers (i.e., slaves), we now know that some of them stayed to reside permanently in Europe.

Most of these were slaves or captives, although the number of those declined from the mid-seventeenth century onward and they had disappeared by 1800. As successive peace treaties were signed by countries on both sides of the Mediterranean, only those who were prisoners of war remained.

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5 Dakhlia, "Musulmans en France"; Matar, *In the Lands of the Christians*, "The Last Moors," and "The Toleration of Muslims"; D'Amico, *The Moor in English Renaissance Drama*.

6 Almeida Mendes, "Musulmans et moriscos du Portugal"; Matthee and Flores, *Portugal, the Persian Gulf*; Matthee, "Distant Allies"; Mendes Drumond Braga, *Mouriscos e Cristãos*; Lopes de Barros, *A comuna muçulmana de Lisboa*; Rosenberger, "Le Portugal et l'Islam Maghrebin."

7 Varriale, "Tra il Mediterraneo"; Boccadamo, *Napoli e l'Islam* and "Liberi, manomessi, schiavi."

8 Bonaffini, *La Sicilia e i barbareschi*, *Sicilia e Tunisia*, and *La Sicilia e il mercato degli schiavi*.

9 Pedani, *Venezia porta d'Oriente*, esp. chaps. 8 and 19, and "Presenze islamiche a Venezia"; Lucchetta, "Note in torno a un elenco."

10 Oldrati, "Giovanni Antonio Menavino"; López de Coca Castañer, "Comerciantes genoveses"; Castagneto, "Consoli genovesi"; Fleet, *European and Islamic Trade*; Zaki, "Le Maroc et Gênes"; Pistarino, *Genovesi d'Oriente*; Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant*.

11 Calafat and Santus, "Les avatars du 'Turc' "; Ghezzi, *Livorno e il mondo islamico*.

12 Caffiero, "Juifs et musulmans à Rome"; García-Hernán, "Persia en la acción del Papado"; Alonso, "A los orígenes de las relaciones."

13 Gugliuzzo, "Être esclave à Malte"; Brogini, *Malte, frontière de Chrétienté* and "L'esclavage au quotidien à Malte"; Fodor, "Piracy, Ransom, Slavery and Trade"; Wettinger, *Slavery in the Islands of Malta and Gozo*; Bono, "Malta e Venezia" and "Schiavi musulmani a Malta"; Fontenay, "L'esclave galérien" and "Chiourmes turques."

14 Do Paço, "Invisibles"; Sauer, *Von Soliman zu Omofuma*.

15 Schunka, "Türken taufen in Thüringen."

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1.1 Muslims, a Minority among Slaves

There is ample documentation throughout the Early Modern age of Muslim slaves in Central and Western Europe.[16] S. Bono recently estimated their number at 2.525 million of all origins between 1500 and 1800 – most of those, about 2.250 million, between 1500 and 1649. Their number declined significantly in the second half of the seventeenth century, leaving only about one hundred twenty-five thousand; it increased slightly in the eighteenth, however, to about one hundred fifty thousand.[17] A. Stella offers a figure of about two million slaves for Spain and Portugal over the same period, of whom three hundred to four hundred thousand would have been Muslims (North Africans and Turks).[18] It is hard to assess these figures, which will always be subject to debate.[19] If we accept Stella's then Bono's must be revised upward, giving a total of nearly three million slaves overall, of whom the Muslims would number five hundred to six hundred thousand.

Obviously Muslims did not make up the majority of slaves – most were from black Africa, having been brought directly from the Atlantic coast south of the Sahara. Of course we have to consider the sub-Saharan Africans who arrived in Europe after having been enslaved and Islamized in the Maghreb, but they were few in comparison to those who came by the Atlantic route (although some of the latter were also Muslim).

The religious, cultural, and ethnic identity of slaves differed greatly in the various European countries. In Portugal and Spain a majority were black Africans, which may have been the case in France and England also, especially in the capitals of Paris and London. But in Malta and most of Italy Muslim slaves far outnumbered those from black Africa.

There is no doubt that in Spain[20] and Portugal[21] the vast majority of slaves came from trade between the coasts south of the Sahara and the Iberian

16 Fiume, "La schiavitù"; Bono, *Schiavi*, "Schiavi in Europa," "Schiavi ottomano-maghrebini," and "Sklaven an der Mediterranen Welt"; Fontenay, "Pour un géographie de l'esclavage"; Stella and Vincent, "Europa, mercado de esclavos"; Marín and El-Hour, "Captives, children and conversion;" Moudine, "Le rachat des esclaves musulmans"; van Koningsveld, "Muslim Slaves and Captives"; Belhamisi, *Les captifs algériens*; Verlinden, *L'Esclavage dans l'Europe médiévale I & II*.

17 Bono, *Schiavi*, 73–75.

18 Stella, *Histoires d'esclaves*, 78–79; Stella and Vincent, "Europa, mercado."

19 Vincent, "L'esclavage en Méditerranée Occidentale."

20 We deal with Spain in the appropriate chapter.

21 Almeida Mendes, *Esclavages et traites modernes*; Vincent, "Captivité, esclavage" and "Esclavage au Portugal"; Stella, *Histoires d'esclaves*; Lahon, *Negro no coração do Imperio*; Fonseca, *Escravos e senhores* and *Os escravos em Evora*; Saunders, *A Social History of Black*

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Peninsula, a system in existence from the second half of the fifteenth century. In the 1500s the flow of slave labor shifted toward the American colonies settled by Spaniards and Portuguese, with the latter controlling most of the traffic in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Dutch, French, and English later joined the trade and eventually wrested commerce in slaves toward the aforementioned colonies from the Portuguese.[22]

In the Portuguese case, some Muslim slaves were captured in the course of chronic, mutual corsair activity, but most were taken when Portugal seized towns on the North African coast between Ceuta and Agadir. Portuguese enclaves there sent many military expeditions and raids into the interior that yielded a good number of slaves. But as indicated above, the nation directed its greatest effort to capturing slaves on the African coast south of the Sahara.[23]

For Italy we have monographs devoted to territories ruled by Spain such as Sicily,[24] Naples,[25] and Sardinia,[26] as well as for the Grand Duchy of Tuscany – especially its port of Livorno, where the corsair Order of Saint Stephen was based.[27] We also know of slaves in the Republics of Genoa[28] and

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Slaves and *Historia social dos escravos*; Vieira, *Los escravos no arquipélago de Madeira*; Ramos Tinhorão, *Os negros em Portugal*; Brasio, *Os pretos em Portugal*; Heleno, *Os escravos em Portugal*.

22 From the vast bibliography on the topic I will mention only Eltis and Engerman, *The Cambridge World History of Slavery*, vol. 2; Eltis and Richardson, *Atlas of the Transatlantic Slave Trade*; Heuman and Bumard, *The Routledge History of Slavery*; Klein, *The Atlantic Slave Trade*; Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery*; Eltis, "Trade between Western Africa and the Atlantic World" and *Economic Growth and the Ending of the Transatlantic Slave Trade*.

23 Rodriguez da Silva Tavim, "Educating the Infidels Within"; Vincent, "Esclavage au Portugal"; Rosenberger, "Mouriscos e elches."

24 Messana, "La 'resistenza' musulmana"; Bonaffini, *La Sicilia e il mercato degli schiavi*; Bono, "Ribellione e fuga"; Aymard, "De la traite aux chiourmes"; Motta, "La schiavitù a Messina"; Marrone, *La schiavitù nella società siciliana*; Avolio, *La schiavitù domestica in Sicilia*; González-Raymond, *La Croix et le Croissant* and "Les esclaves maures et l'Inquisition"; Fiume, *Il santo patrono e la città*; Fiume and Modica, *San Benedetto il Moro*.

25 Vincent, "Les esclaves des galères napolitaines"; Boccadamo, *Napoli e l'Islam* and "Liberi, manomessi, schiavi"; Varriale, "Conversioni all'ombra del Vesuvio" and "Tra il Mediterraneo e il fonte"; Carnevale, "Il corpo dell'altro"; Palmieri, "I turchi."

26 Carboni, *L'umanità negata*; Plaisant, "Un censimento di schiavi a Cagliari"; González-Raymond, *La Croix et le Croissant* and "Les esclaves maures et l'Inquisition."

27 Santus, "Moreschi in Toscana" and "Il turco e l'inquisitore"; Calafat and Santus, "Les avatars des 'Turcs' "; Angiolini, "Slaves and Slavery in Early Modern Tuscany" and *I cavalieri e il principe*; Origo, "The Domestic Enemy"; Bono, "Livorno e la schiavitù"; Ciano, "Gli schiavi ed i forzati"; Frattarelli Fischer, "La schiavitù a Livorno"; Salvadorini, "Traffici con i paesi islamici."

28 Lucchini, *La merce umana*; Bono, "Schiavi Musulmani a Genova"; Gioffre, *Il mercato degli schiavi a Genova*; Tria, *La schiavitù a Liguria*.

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Venice,[29] as well as in Rome – the capital of Christendom[30] – and some of the Papal States such as Bologna.[31] And finally, there are studies on slaves in the cities of Bari, Turin, Ferrara, and Mantua.[32]

There were also Muslims slaves in Northern and Central Europe, though in much smaller numbers.[33] We have cases from the Low Countries, such as the Dutch capture of 132 men from Salé in 1636; they were subsequently sold as slaves.[34] There are also notices from Great Britain,[35] the Austro-Hungarian Empire,[36] Germany,[37] and Poland.[38]

Malta was unquestionably the great slave market of the Early Modern age. The growing number of captured slaves there was spurred by the establishment of the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem on the island in 1530, and the burgeoning number of their galleys that patrolled the coasts of Muslim lands, especially in the Maghreb. Between 1548 and 1576 the number of slaves on the island remained at about four hundred, but by 1582 it had risen to eight hundred, in 1590 to 1,405, in 1599 to sixteen hundred, in 1632 to 1,846, and in 1669 to 2,190. In 1700 about three thousand were registered, a number that dropped to 2,500 between 1741 and 1769. When the French conquered the island in 1798 they found about two thousand captive Muslims.[39] Muslims as a whole – North Africans and Turks – always made up the largest contingent of slaves: their proportion varied between forty and eighty percent, with the latter figure being most common throughout the Early Modern period. There was also a certain

29 Ricci, "Les derniers esclaves domestiques"; Tenenti, "Gli schiavi di Venezia"; Lazzari, "Del traffico."

30 Hanb, "Gefangen und versklavt"; Nepi, "The Restitutiones ad libertatem"; Caffiero, "Juifs et musulmans à Rome"; Miege, "Captifs marocains en Italie"; Meredith-Owens, "Traces of a Lost Autobiographical Work"; Bertolotti, "La schiavitù pubblica e privata."

31 Sarti, "Bolognesi schiavi dei 'turchi'."

32 For Bari see Massa, "La schiavitù in terra di Bari"; for Turin, Cerutti, *Étrangers*, esp. chap. 2; for Ferrara and Mantua, Ricci, "Les derniers esclaves domestiques."

33 For an overview see Bono, "Schiavi europei e musulmani."

34 Caillé, "Ambassades et missions marocaines aux Pays-Bas," 59–60. For the eighteenth century see Boogert, "Redress for Ottoman Victims."

35 Shyllon, *Black Slaves in Britain*.

36 Do Paço, "Invisibles dans la banalité?"; Sauer, *Von Soliman zu Omofuma*; Alexandrescu-Dersca, "La Condition des captifs turcs."

37 Schunka, "Türken taufen"; Kreutel and Spies, *Leben und Abenteuer*; Osman and Kreutel, *Zwischen Paschas und Generälen*.

38 A Turk, Kasra Musa, was a slave or prisoner in Poland for thirty years before being freed in 1552: Dziubinski, "Un ancien esclave turc."

39 Brogini, *Malte frontière de Chrétienté*, 658–59. For French purchases of slaves in Malta in the eighteenth century see Labat Saint Vincent, "Achats et rachats." Fontenay, "Il mercato maltese degli schiavi."

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number of enslaved Jews in Malta, while blacks – subjects of Maghrebi states or members of tribal groups – were always in the minority.

The vast majority of these slaves belonged to the Order and spent their lives rowing in the galleys, laboring in the shipyard, and fortifying Birgu, Valetta, Sanglea, and the Slaves' Prison. Their harsh lives produced revolts in 1531 and 1596 and a plot in 1749, all of them swiftly crushed. Most held tightly to their beliefs and organized a prayer area inside the prison, but others accepted baptism, whether from conviction or a from wish to improve their living conditions. There are documented cases of both male and female slaves who married Maltese residents. There were also many who achieved their freedom through a variety of means. Between 1686 and 1706 757 safe-conducts were granted that allowed their bearers to return to their countries of origin.[40]

The extent of Muslim slavery in France should make us reconsider the true nature of the alliance between the "Most Christian King" Francis I and the Ottoman Empire, which resulted in the signed capitulations of 1536 and their later renewals. We could say the same of the many French peace treaties with Maghrebi countries, though most of them were meant to ensure the mutual ransoming or exchange of slaves. We have little notice of Muslim slaves in France before the mid-seventeenth century,[41] but from that time onward their presence increases. The king manumitted a group of slaves in 1669 on the occasion of an embassy from the Ottomans.[42] At around that time there was a pressing need for enough slaves to man the galleys: one ship's complement was a *chiourme*, of which about a third normally consisted of Muslims. In 1670 Louis XIV's envoy to Istanbul, who believed that both countries would have to free their slaves, estimated that the galleys of France held two thousand Turks, who formed the best of the crews. In the twenty-six years between 1682 and 1707 5,594 Muslim rowers were registered: there were about 1,026 in 1682, and between 1685 and 1687 their number rose to at least 2,040. In the the eighteenth

40 Gugliuzzo, "Être esclave à Malte"; Wettinger, "Esclaves noirs à Malte," *Slavery in the Islands of Malta and Gozo,* and "Coron Captives in Malta"; Bono, "Malta e Venezia" and "Schiavi musulmani a Malta"; Brogini, "Une activité sous contrôle" and "L'esclavage au quotidien à Malte"; Depasquale, "Quelques aspects de l'esclavage"; Fodor, "Piracy, Ransom"; Fontenay, "L'esclave galérien" and "Chiourmes turques"; Cassar, "A Medical Service for Slaves."

41 In 1505 a Moorish slave, Clémence, was set free. In the first half of the seventeenth century Marie de Médicis received two slaves as gifts: Mathorez, "Les éléments de population orientale," esp. 179, 199.

42 After that there are few data about Muslim slaves in France. In 1718 the Dey of Algiers demanded the freeing of nine slaves held in Marseille: Poumarède, "Négociants, voyageurs"; Mathorez, "Les éléments de population"; Berbrugger, "De l'esclavage musulman."

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century the count of Muslim slaves fell drastically[43] but they were still present until its final third, according to a few isolated notices.[44]

During preparations for the embassy of Mehmed Effendi to Paris in 1720, the sultan asked that five hundred Muslim slaves be freed; the French ambassador, Bonnac, bargained to reduce the number to "a hundred, [or] a hundred and fifty." Mehmed, who was interested in particular individuals enslaved in the galleys in Marseille, put the issue to Maréchal Villeroy in these terms:

> You claim to be the best friends of the Most Exalted Empire, [yet] you keep more than a thousand of the brethren of my Faith as slaves and in prison; you make them ply the oars in your galleys; what are their crimes? Why are they held in this slavery?[45]

The maréchal did not deny the existence of Muslim galley slaves, though he alleged that they enjoyed a certain freedom of movement.[46]

The falling number of Muslim slaves in France was matched in general terms by the rising number of sub-Saharan Africans.[47]

Enslavement of Muslims obviously occurred in countries or states that were enemies of the Muslims throughout the Early Modern age, like Spain, Portugal, Malta, and some Italian territories. Their mutual hostility made it a logical outcome. But we find it also in states that signed capitulations and treaties with the Ottoman Empire and North African powers – treaties that in theory should have ended slavery on both sides. Such was the case for France, England, and certain Central European states, as well as the Grand Duchy of Tuscany whose

43 Poumarède claims that between 1689 and 1693 over 1,250 slaves were registered in France, and he also notes the mercantile activity of Turkish galley slaves: "Négociants, voyageurs." Labat Saint Vincent, "Achats et rachats"; Boyer, "La chiourme turque"; Fournier, "Un marché de Turcs"; Mathiex, "Levant, Barbarie et Europe chrétienne."

44 In 1750 eight men from Crete were sent to the French galleys: Poumarède, "Négociants, voyageurs." Labat Saint Vincent, "Achats et rachats"; Desmet-Grégoire, *Le Divan magique*, 34–35; Boyer, "La chiourme"; Fournier, "Un marché de Turcs."

45 "Vous prétendez être les meilleurs amis du Très Haute Empire, vous retenez plus de mille de mes frères en ma Loi esclaves et en prison; vous leur faites tirer la rame sur vos galères; quels sont leurs crimes? Pour quelle raison les detener dans cet esclavage?": Mehmed Effendi, *Le Paradis del infidèles*, 144.

46 Mehmed explained his request: "I had decided to ask the minister, in the good climate that reigned between our two empires, for what crime the Turkish slaves in France had been enslaved": Mehmed Effendi, *Le Paradis des infidels*, 25, 142–47; quotations at 142–43.

47 Koufinkana, *Les esclaves Noirs en France*; Boulle, *Race et esclavage dans la France*.

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port, Livorno, received Muslim merchants and ships while maintaining the Order of Saint Stephen, which specialized in seizing Muslim prizes.[48]

In Mediterranean nations Muslims rowed in the galleys until those ships lost their usefulness in the early decades of the eighteenth century. They were also assigned to hard labor on a broad array of public works such as shipyards, mines, agriculture, roads, and fortifications; therefore we find large bagnios or holding places for prisoners in some cities.[49] During their long stays in port cities such as Toulon, Marseille, Naples, Valetta, and Cartagena, many galley slaves found work on their own or by contracting with domestic servants or porters; they set up stands where they sold coffee, liquor, and other products.[50] Some were owned by private individuals, but the conditions of their lives were harsh;[51] that fact, beside the slaves' natural desire to gain their freedom, explains the slave revolts in Malta in 1531, 1596 and 1749 and in Trapani in 1755.[52]

Slaves were able to establish some limited contact with Christians, especially those with whom they shared similar living conditions, a fact that in practice breached the rigid frontier that separated Islam from Christendom in the Early Modern period. On the rowing benches, in prisons and holding pens, in certain neighborhoods in port, in some private houses, in workshops, and in the fields, interaction between Muslims and Christians was the order of the day.[53] But mistrust and bad faith, even open hostility, were just as frequent.[54] Members

48 *Atti del Convegno L'Ordine di Santo Steffano*; Angioloni, *I Cavalieri e il Principe.*

49 There are many references to Turks in the French galleys in Zysberg, *Les galériens*.

50 When the Ottoman ambassador to France in 1720, Mehmet Effendi, asked about galley slaves in Marseille Maréchal Villeroy assured him that they were not held in prison but were at liberty and "sold things around town … they do not care about gaining their freedom. Each of them amasses a sum of money through trade, and if we sent them away they would not want to leave" ("[ils] trafiquaient en ville … [ils] ne se soucient point d'avoir leur liberté. Chacun d'eux amasse un certain fonds en trafiquant, et si nous les chassions ils ne voudraient pas s'en aller"): Mehmed Effendi, *Le Paradis des infidèles*, 142–47. See also Desmet-Grégoire, *Le Divan magique*, 36–39. Muslim galley slaves in Marseille set up stalls where they sold coffee and liquor or hired themselves out as domestic servants: Zysberg, *Les galériens*, 145–51.

51 Sarti, "Tramonto de schiavitù" and "Viaggiatrici per forza"; Bono, *Schiavi musulmani nell'Italia Moderna*, "Schiavi musulmani sulle galere," and "Capture di musulmani"; Livi, *La schiavitù domestica*.

52 A harsh but not very convincing picture of the slaves' conditions is in Belhammisi, *Les captifs algériens*. He modified it later in "Course et contre-course en Méditerranée."

53 We do not mean to paint an idyllic picture of harmonious living; there was always mistrust and hostility between the two groups.

54 In Marseille in 1704 a wave of robberies and violent crimes was blamed chiefly on the Turks: Zysberg, *Les galériens*, 162–70.

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of an Algerian delegation to Marseille in 1620 were massacred, while a series of attacks and robberies in that same city in 1704 was blamed on Muslim slaves.[55]

We are beginning to have more detailed information about places of worship, whether official or unofficial, but wherever a certain number of Muslims congregated they found a place in which to practice their religion. The muezzin's call to prayer issued from the mosque in Naples in the sixteenth century: "He placed his finger by his ear and said a Moorish expression that in Italian means 'God be praised,' and in this manner he called the Moors to the mosque to pray according to their custom."[56] There was also a space for prayer in the Slaves' Prison in Malta, in Marseille, Toulon,[57] and a similar one in the shipyard at Cartagena at the end of the eighteenth century.[58]

We know little about burying grounds for Muslims who died in Europe, aside from studies of cemeteries in Marseille and Toulon[59] and burial sites in Venice,[60] Naples,[61] and Cartagena.

Rulers in both the Maghreb and Western and Central European countries that bordered the Mediterranean maintained a sort of *entente* to guarantee a more-or-less humane treatment of captives; some religious freedom was also permitted on both shores, though it was much more limited for Muslims in Europe. By that means, complaints by Christian slaves in North Africa and Muslim ones in Europe did not set off a chain of reprisals against slaves held by the other side;[62] W. Kaiser has called it "reciprocity as a principle of security."[63] In 1707 a Turkish galley slave who kept a shop bought some liturgical objects that had been stolen from a church in Marseille; on being found out he was accused of theft and sacrilege and condemned to death. He managed to get a letter about his case to Istanbul, on which the Ottomans made clear to the French that if the Turk was executed they would take revenge on the French slaves they held.[64]

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55 On the "massacre of the Turks" in 1620 see Kaiser's interpretation, "Asymétries méditerranéennes," 429–40; for 1704 see Desmet-Gregoire, *Le Divan magique*, 38–39.

56 "Si meteva il dito a l'orechia et diciva una parola moresca, che in lingua italiana vuol dire Dio sia lodato, et in questo modo convocava li mori a la moschea afar oratione ad usanza loro": Varriale, "Tra il Mediterraneo."

57 For Malta see Gugliuzzo, "Être esclave à Malte"; for France, Desmet-Grégoire, *Le Divan magique*, and Boyer, "La chiourme turque."

58 For Cartagena (on which more below) see Barrio Gozalo, *Esclavos*, 137–225.

59 Bertran, "Les cimetières"; Joseph, "Le cimetière des forçats."

60 Lucchetta, "Note intorno a un elenco."

61 Varriale, "Conversioni"; Carnevale, "Il corpo dell'altro."

62 Bono, "Schiavi maghrebini in Italia."

63 "Réciprocité comme principe sécurisant": Kaiser, "Asymétries méditerranéennes."

64 Desmet-Grégoire, *Le Divan magique*, 39–40.

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Muslim slaves also had opportunities to gain their freedom, and everything indicates that ransom was the commonest method.[65] We know what great efforts Muslim authorities made to ransom their coreligionists captured at the Battle of Lepanto.[66] Some Moroccan sultans, like Ahmad al-Mansur, took a great interest in ransoming certain of their subjects,[67] but in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries it was merchants who negotiated most ransoms: they rescued tens of Muslims from Malta from the end of the sixteenth century through the seventeenth,[68] and also from Sicily.[69]

For the eighteenth century we have richer stores of documents, and monographs that have cast light on the important role played by Ottoman and Maghrebi ambassadors and envoys in gaining freedom for members of their faith.[70] The best-known case is the dedication of Sultan Muhammad b. Abdallah of Morocco, who in the second half of the eighteenth century managed to ransom or exchange all the Moroccan captives in Spain, as well as many Turkish, Algerian, Tunisian, and Tripolitan slaves in that country and six hundred Muslims in Malta.[71]

An undetermined number, which historians think was small, gained their freedom through the generosity of their owners or in exchanges of slaves, but many more bought their liberty with earnings from their own labor.[72]

If Muslim slaves in Europe contributed in even a limited way to communication between the two shores of the Mediterranean, it is logical to assume that their role was largest in Spain, Italy, Portugal, and Malta, the areas where

65 Bono, "Riscatto di schiavi"; Boubaker, "Réseaux et techniques de rachat."

66 Rosi, "Alcuni documenti" and "Nuovi documenti."

67 Ahmad b. al-Qâdi, a captive in Malta and southern Spain in 1586–87, was ransomed by Sultan Ahmad al-Mansur for twenty thousand *escudos*: Loukili, "D'une captivité musulmane."

68 Fodor, "Piracy, Ransom, Slavery."

69 Brogini, *Malte*, 358–64, 603–14; Boubaker, *La Régence de Tunis*, 167–76.

70 Ginio, "Piracy and Redemption." For Mehmed Effendi in France in 1721 see Mehmed Effendi, *Le Paradis des infidèles*, 25, 142–47. On Moroccan ambassadors to Spain see below, chaps. 4 and 6.

71 Mouline, "Un ambassadeur rédemptoriste"; Ben Driss, "L'impegno umanitario del sultano"; Lourido Díaz, *Marruecos*, 41–84, and "La obra redentora del sultán"; Arribas Palau, "Un rescate" and "El marroquí Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Hadi." There were also ransoms for individuals such as Lalla Fatma bint Muhammad b. Abd al-Rahman al-Sharif, who was a captive in Malta together with her husband and a servant in the 1790s and wrote twice to Muley Sliman asking for their freedom: Loukili, "D'une captivité musulmane."

72 For the Italian case in particular see Bono, *Schiavi musulmani*, 383–460; Nepi, "The Restitutiones ad libertatem"; Fodor, "Piracy, Ransom."

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their numbers were greatest. Where they were few, in Northern and Central Europe, their influence was smaller.

1.2 Hundreds of Muslim Embassies

During the Early Modern period the Ottoman Empire, the North African Regencies, and Morocco had no permanent official representation in Central and Western Europe. The Sublime Porte demanded for its merchants in Christian lands the same protections that Westerners enjoyed under the Ottomans, but the requirement seems to have been limited to Venice and the borderlands of the Hapsburg Empire.[73] Permanent representations in the form of embassies and consulates, however, did not appear until the late eighteenth century. Before that there were only a few trade representatives in a largely unofficial capacity. In contrast, European kingdoms, republics, and cities maintained many consulates general, consulates, and vice consulates in the Ottoman Levant and the Maghreb throughout the Early Modern age.[74]

Muslims rulers sent a large number of ambassadors and envoys – certainly more than three hundred – to Europe.[75] Although it may seem somewhat tedious to list them, even if not exhaustively, we must offer some sense of the weight that they represented. The Ottoman Empire sent many ambassadors to European countries: over one hundred to Venice from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, almost half of them between 1500 and 1550.[76] France received more than thirty in the same period: in the first two centuries, at least in 1533, 1534, 1565, 1571, 1581, 1583, 1597, 1601, 1607, 1609, 1618–1619, 1652, and 1669. The eighteenth century saw delegations by Mehmed Effendi, the first with the official title of "ambassador" (1720–1721), his son Said Effendi (1741–1742), Ali Effendi (1797), Muhid Effendi, and Halet Effendi, who witnessed Napoleon's coronation in 1804.[77] The best-known embassy is that of Mehmed Effendi,

73 Kaiser, "Asymétries," 419; Pedani, "Consoli veneciani."

74 Ulbert, "Bibliographie."

75 I will not be concerned here with the many embassies led by Europeans or Jewish subjects of the various Muslim states.

76 A total of 176 between 1384 and 1762: Pedani, *In nome di Gran Signore*, "Ottoman Envoys to Venice," and "Ottoman Diplomats in the West." In the first half of the sixteenth century the Porte sent an ambassador to Venice almost every year, and nine Persian ambassadors arrived there between 1600 and 1639. Ambassador Ali Bey, in 1514, brought an escort of eighty persons: Valensi, *Ces étranges familiers*, 195, 198.

77 These included the embassies of Mahmûd (1581), Hasam Agha and Ali Mütereferrika (1583), Mustafa Agha (1601), Hüseyn Agha (1618–19) and Suleyman Aga (1669): Valensi, *Ces étrangers familiers*, 193, 195–96, 286–87; Poumarède, "Soldats et envoyés"; Desmet-Gregoire,

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who left an interesting account of Paris as the "Paradise of the infidels" at that time.[78] The Sultan also sent delegations to London,[79] Vienna,[80] Berlin,[81] Florence, Ferrara, and other European cities.[82] But only at the end of the eighteenth century did the Ottoman Empire decide to open permanent embassies in London (1792), Berlin (1794), Vienna (1796), and Paris (1796).[83]

The sultans of Morocco sent about a dozen ambassadors and envoys to France. The first was the Morisco Ahmad Ibn Qasim al-Hajari (1611–1614), followed by other representatives in 1612–1613, 1619, 1681–1682, 1685, 1698–1699, 1759, 1772–1773, 1774–1775, 1777–1778, 1781, 1786, and 1807.[84] London received more than twenty embassies: in 1588–1589, 1595, 1600–1601, 1628, 1637–1638, 1638, 1657, 1681, 1685, 1700 (two), 1706–1708, 1723, 1725, 1737, 1762, 1766, 1773, and 1781.[85] Several Moroccan ambassadors and envoys arrived in The Hague,

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Le Divan magique, 18–25; Mehmed Effendi, *Le Paradis des infidèles* (notes by Veinstein, 22–26); Herbette, *Une ambassade ottomane*.

78 Guarisco, "Un ambassadeur ottoman"; Mehmed Effendi, *Le Paradis*.

79 One in 1583: Valensi, *Ces étrangers*, 292. Mahmoud Raïf led an embassy from 1793 to 1796: Mehmed Effendi, *Le Paradis*, 242–48. Brotton,*The Sultan and the Queen*.

80 Kara Mehmed Pacha was sent in 1665 and Ibrahim Pacha in 1719: Mehmed Effendi, *Le Paradis*, 16, 22.

81 More than two hundred people formed the delegation of Achmet Effendi: Valensi, *Ces étrangers*, 199, 286.

82 To Ferrara in 1558 and Florence in 1593: Pedani, *In nome*, 192.

83 Bacqué-Grammont *et al.*, *Représentants permanents*.

84 Their names were Ahmed El-Guezouli (1612–13), Sidi Farès (1619), Hadj Mohamed Temim (1681–82 and 1685), Abdallah ben Aicha (1698–99), Hadj Tahar Medout (1759), Ali Pérès (1772–73 and 1781), Abdallah Escalante (1774–75), Tahar Fennich (1777–78), Hadj Larbi Moreno (1786), and Hadj Driss Errami (1807). Matar, *Europe through Arab Eyes*, 72–106; Penz, *Une ambassade marocaine* and *Les emerveillements parisiens*; Caillé, "Les naufragés" and "Ambassades et missions marocaines en France." Also useful, though it concerns a later period (1845–46), is the memoir *Une ambassade marocaine chez Louis-Philippe*.

85 They were led respectively by Merzouk Ahmed Benkacem (1588–89), caid Ahmed ben Adel (1595), Abdeluaheb ben Messud Anun (1600–01), Pasha Ahmed Benadellah (1628), Jawdar Ben Abdellah (1637–38), caid Mohamed Benaskar (1638), Abdelkrim Annaksis (1657), Mohammad Ben Haddu Attar (1681), Abdallah ben Aisha (1685), Mohammad Cardenas (1700), Haj Ali Saban (1700), Ahmed ben Ahmed Cardenas or Ahmed Qardansh (1706–08), Abdelkader Perez (1723 and 1737), Mohammad ben Ali Abgali (1725), Abdelkader Adiel (1762), Admiral el-Arbei ben Abdellah ben Abu Yahya al-Mestiri (1766), Sidi Taher ben Abdelhaq Fennish (1773), and Mas'ud de la Mar (1781). We should also mention the envoys from the corsair republic of Salé, Mohammed Bensaid and Ahmed Narvaez (1627) and Mohammed Clafishou (1629). Brown, "Anglo-Moroccan Relations." Twenty persons formed the delegation of Mohammad Ben Ali Aggali: Valensi, *Ces étrangers*, 197–98, 292. *La Gazeta* of Madrid reported on a number of these embassies, like those of El Harbi Misteri to London (1767) and Fennish (1772–73): *Gazeta de Madrid*, 24–31 May 1767; 22 June 1767; 24 September 1772.

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capital of the Low Countries: in 1609–1610, 1610–1611, 1611–1614, 1612–1613, 1624–1625, 1629, 1645, 1659, and 1770.[86] Moroccan representatives were also sent to Vienna (1783),[87] Malta,[88] Naples,[89] and Cagliari (1786 and 1792).[90] In almost every case the motive was the ransoming of slaves or an attempt to ensure the peace after a serious confrontation at sea.[91]

The Regency of Algiers, for its part, sent twenty-eight delegations to Western Europe, most of them to the court in Paris.[92] The most dramatic proved to be the embassy of 1620, during which about fifty Muslims, most of them members of the delegation, were slaughtered. The incident ("the massacre of the Turks") was perpetrated by an angry mob as the embassy passed through Marseille: it was rumored that an Algerian captain had killed the whole crew of a French ship.[93] Algiers also sent diplomatic representatives to the courts in London[94] and the United Provinces.[95]

The Regency of Tunis sent at least twenty-four ambassadors to France between 1616 and 1825. In the seventeenth century they traveled in 1616–1617, 1660, 1666, 1681–1683, and 1689–1690; in the eighteenth they did so in 1716–1717,

86 The ambassadors were Hammou Ben Bachir (1609–10), Ahmed Ben Abdallah with an escort of five persons (1610–11), the aforementioned Morisco Ahmad Ibn Qasim, who combined the journey to the Netherlands with his mission to France (1611–14), Ahmed el-Guezouli with four companions (1612–13), Youssef Biscaino with five (1624–25), the Morisco Mohamed Vanegas, also with five (1629), and Mohammed Ben Askar (1645). The triple embassy of Brahim Duque, Mohammed Penalosa, and Brahim Manino (1659) had an unknown number of members, but one of them was a woman; finally Hadgi Mehemet Resini (1770): Caillé, "Ambassades et missions marocaines aux Pays-Bas"; Valensi, *Ces étrangers*, 197, 292; *Gazeta de Madrid*, 18 September 1770.

87 Caillé, "Un ambassade marocaine."

88 Mouline, " Un ambassadeur rédemptoriste"; Arribas Palau, "Rescate de cautivos," "El marroquí Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Hadi," and "Un rescate de 600 cautivos."

89 Arribas Palau, "El sultán de Marruecos envía un regalo."

90 Pinna, "Riscatto di schiavi."

91 Caillé, *Les accords internationaux*.

92 Among them those of Morat Raïs (1567), Ali Pinchinin (1576–77), 1620, Hamza (1628), two in 1684 (one with a train of twelve persons), and Mehemet Elemin (1690–91): Valensi, *Ces étrangers*, 195, 197–98; Poumarède, "Soldats et envoyés," 426–27.

93 In the riot two of the Regency's interpreters or *chaoux*, Caynam or Quenan Agha and Rozan Bey, were murdered along with ten ship's captains and about forty captives who were being held in two buildings. Another fifteen managed to escape, as did seven or eight other Muslims who were elsewhere in Marseille at the time: Kaiser, "Asymétries"; Pillorget, "Un incident diplomatique" and "Histoire du massacre des Turcs," 191–93; Grammont, *Histoire du massacre des Turcs*.

94 Matar, *Europe through Arab Eyes*, 72–106; for the 1625 embassy see Valensi, *Ces étrangers*, 292.

95 Valensi, *Ces étrangers familiers*, 195.

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1727–1729, 1734, 1743, 1771, 1777, 1797, 1802, and 1825.[96] Tunis sent ambassadors to other courts as well, including to Vienna in 1732. Yussouf Khodja was dispatched to London (1721) and later to Naples (1732–1733).[97]

Tripoli dispatched several delegations as well, especially to France and England.[98] The Mamluk rulers of Egypt likewise directed embassies to Europe before they were overcome by the Ottoman conquest in 1517.[99] Seyyed Mobarak (Asic Mobarac or Mombareca in contemporary sources) was the king or sheikh of Ahwaz ("Oeza" or "Ueza" in Spanish documents), a kingdom in the Persian Gulf area northeast of Basra between the Ottoman and Persian empires; he dispatched a delegation that arrived in Naples in July 1617. It consisted of a Portuguese and a certain "Sheikh Ferhan, one of our most notable Christians and our ambassador," and was charged with negotiating an alliance against the Turks – specifically, for the military conquest of Basra and Bahrain. Its members reached Madrid on 3 October, but their efforts bore no fruit.[100]

In the first half of the seventeenth century in particular, when both Europe and Persia hoped for a mutual alliance against the Ottoman Empire, the Safavids sent many embassies to different countries. The Republic of Venice received nine of these between 1600 and 1639, among them one led by Muhammad Emin Beg and Fethi Beg in 1603.[101] It was common for these delegations to visit other European courts as well as the city of Venice. In 1599 Ambassador Hussein Ali Beg (Cussein Alibey) left Persia accompanied by the famous Englishman Anthony Sherley. Their retinue included four gentlemen: Ali Quli (the ambassador's nephew), Uruch Beg, Hasan Ali Beg, and Bunyad Beg, as

96 The ambassadors were Baba Drevis, Dérouiche (1616–17), Baba Ramadan (1660, 1666, and 1681–83; he complained about the treatment he received and his hosts in turn complained of his conduct), Mehemet Bouloukbachi and Hadj Ali Chaouch (1689–90, involving new complaints), Ahmed Khodja and Ahmed (1727–29), Ahmed Agha and Hadj Abadalla Agha (1734), Ali Agha and Mehemed Khodja (1743), Ibrahim Khodja (1771), Suleiman Agha (1777), Mohamed Khodja (1797), Mustapha Arnaout (1802), and Sid Mahmoud Kahia (1825). Matar, *Europe through Arab Eyes*, 72–106, and "La France vue par des ambassadeurs"; Newman, "Tunisian Diplomatic Representation"; Demerseman, "Une mission tunisienne"; Pellegrin, "Notes d'histoire tunisienne"; Hugon, "Une ambassade tunisienne." Matar, *Europe through Arab Eyes*, 72–106; Matar, "La France vue par les ambassadeurs"; Newman, "Tunisian Diplomatic Representation"; Demerseman, "Une mission tunisienne"; Pellegrin, "Notes d'histoire tunisiennes"; Hugo, "Une ambassade tunisienne."

97 Fendri, "Yûsuf Khûja chez le Prince Eugène."

98 In 1687, 1704, and 1775, the last led by Sidi Abdurrahman Bediry: Valensi, *Ces étrangers*, 292; Desmet-Grégoire, *Le Divan magique*, 18–25.

99 Wansbrough, "A Mamluk Ambassador."

100 Gil Fernández, *El imperio luso-español*, 2:417–21.

101 Valensi, *Ces étrangers*, 195, 287; Zekiyan, "Xoga Safar ambasciatore."

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well as fifteen servants, among them a *faqih* named Amir. Hussein bore letters from the Shah to the Duke of Muscovy, King Sigismund III Vasa of Poland, Emperor Rudolf II of Germany, the Queen of England, the monarchs of Scotland, France, and Spain, the lords of Venice, and the Pope. In exchange for an alliance against the Turks the Shah was offering them friendship, an exchange of ambassadors, the establishment of permanent Christian embassies in Persia, and freedom for Christians in his lands to practice their religion both in public and in private. The delegation reached Moscow in December 1599, and in October 1600 Rudolf II was their host in Prague. Because an Ottoman ambassador was already present in Venice as they approached, they avoided tensions by bypassing that city. They entered Florence in March 1601 and were welcomed by the Duke at Pisa; by April they were in Rome. The Englishman left them before they set out toward Spain in July 1601. By then they were reduced to a mere "ten or twelve Moors," since their secretary, barber, and cook had stayed in Rome to convert to Christianity under the Pope's protection. The whole delegation, in fact, had already shrunk after four servants had returned to Persia from Moscow. Hussein and Sherley had quarreled, since each of them considered himself the sole ambassador, and in the end they parted company. By the time they reached Spain only the Persian was in sole command; we shall describe the mission further in Chapter 4.[102]

In that same year of 1600 Shah Abbas sent Assad Beg, disguised as a merchant, to Europe to learn what had become of Hussein Ali Beg's embassy; on finding no news he decided to return to Persia but died while crossing Turkish territory. Later, in 1604, Bastam Qoli Beg and his secretary Diego Miranda led a second mission to Rome from the Shah, but Bastam perished on the way to Lisbon, while Miranda, who replaced him, died tragically in Valladolid. Shah Abbas, disturbed by the lack of news from them, sent three new envoys to Europe in 1604: Zain-ul-'Abidin Beg, Zejnel Khan Shamlu, and Mehdi Quili Beg. The three were at Rudolf II's court in Prague in 1605, and one of them reached France and was received by the king.[103]

In 1607 Ali Qoli Beg was in Tsaritsyn as a Persian ambassador on his way to Rome. Zain-ul-'Abidin Beg led another embassy from the Shah in 1608, visiting Holland, Flanders, and France; he sailed for home from Marseille in September of that year.[104] Also in 1608 the Shah sent a delegation similar to that of 1599

102 Gil Fernández, *El imperio luso-español*, 1:79 ff.; Alonso, "Embajadores de Persia"; Davies, *Elizabethans Errant*; Penrose, *The Sherleian Odyssey*; Ross, *Sir Anthony Sherley*.

103 Shah Abbas sent Assad Beg to Venice in 1600 for news of Hussein and Sherley's embassy, but he returned empty-handed to Persia: Gil Fernández, *El imperio*, 2:40–44, 79, 107–08, 174, 186–87, 190, 571–72; Persia, *Relaciones de Don Juan de Persia*, 245–60.

104 Gil Fernández, *El imperio*, 2:49.

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that visited the courts of Poland, Prague, the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, the Papal States, England, and Spain; its co-leaders were Robert Sherley, brother of Anthony, and the Persian Denguis Beg. The latter was executed by the Shah on his return home in 1613.[105]

Two more Persian ambassadors, Çinal Cambreque and Azambeque, were sent to France in 1608 and embarked on their return journey in Lisbon at the end of that year.[106] In September 1609 Ali Qoli Beg's delegation arrived in Rome (the Shah called him "one of my confidants whom I usually send with such embassies") accompanied by Francisco de Acosta, with letters for the Pope and Philip III.[107] Musa Beg was in Holland in 1625, while Naqd Ali Beg went to England in 1626.[108] All these embassies were attempts to form a common front between Persia and the European powers against the Ottoman Empire, but they produced no detectable results. Still, there was one more to Louis XIV in France and another led by Mohammed Reza Beg in 1715.[109]

Little is known about how the consular networks of the Ottoman Empire and the Maghrebi countries appeared and were consolidated in Europe. It happened at a late date, as is confirmed by a recent bibliographic inventory of consulates from their origins to World War I, which lists 3,305 monographs. Only thirty-seven refer to Muslim countries: there are thirteen for the Ottoman Empire, twelve for Tunis, two for Morocco, and ten for Persia,[110] and most of those references are not to the creation of consulates from Muslim countries in Christian Europe but to the delegations that we have been describing in the preceding pages.

A few Europeans did act as consuls or trade representatives in Europe for sovereigns in North Africa and the Levant, but we will not be discussing them here. By the Treaty of Passarowitz (1718) between the Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman Empires, each side had the right to establish consulates. The first Ottoman consul, Kazgancizade Omer Aga, was dispatched to Vienna in 1725, but the Austrians were opposed to a permanent Ottoman presence there: they did everything they could to have him recalled, and after they succeeded in 1732 no successor was named and the consulate lapsed.[111] By 1802 several

105 The embassy was not received in Venice, and on arriving in Rome met with another Persian ambassador: Gil Fernández, *El imperio*, 2:59, 105, 123, 125; Alonso, "La embajada persa de Denguiz-Beg" and "El P. Antonio de Gouvea."

106 Gil Fernández, *El imperio*, 2:172–73.

107 Gil Fernández, *El imperio*, 2:284–88.

108 Gil Fernández, *El imperio*, 2:121–22.

109 Poumarède, "Soldats et envoyés"; Matthee, "Between Aloofness and Fascination"; Herbette, *Une ambassade persane*.

110 Ulbert, "Bibliographie: L'histoire de la fonction consulaire."

111 Wurm, "Enstehung und Aufhebung des osmanisches General-konsulates."

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European port cities had welcomed an Ottoman consul and/or trade representative: Marseille, Livorno, Naples, Venice, Ancona, Malta, Trieste, and Odessa.[112] The same happened in some Spanish cities such as Barcelona, Palma de Mallorca, Alicante, and Cádiz; in many of those consulates the representative was a European.

It seems that North African consulates were not founded in Europe until the mid-nineteenth century. Morocco had a consular representative in the English port of Gibraltar from the early 1800s.[113] The same was true of Tunis, whose consulates appeared in Europe throughout the nineteenth century, particularly in Italy, France, and Belgium.[114] The early French colonization of Algeria prevented that country from establishing any consulates in Europe.

The almost complete lack of permanent embassies and consulates of the Ottoman Empire, the North African Regencies, and Morocco in European ports and cities put those Muslim countries at a clear disadvantage in defending the interests of their merchants there,[115] while existing capitulations already gave European tradesmen favorable treatment, compared to Muslims, in lands of Islam. The result was, as we have already observed, an asymmetrical relationship.[116]

In sum, during the three centuries that interest us the Ottoman Empire, Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli sent numerous embassies – probably more than three hundred – to Europe. They generally came with a considerable retinue of secretaries, interpreters, stewards, and others, including slaves. Since a group might be made up of as few as five individuals or as many as two hundred, we can speak of about six to seven thousand Muslim members of

112 Georgeon *et al.*, *Dictionnaire de l'Empire Ottoman*, 292–93; Kuneralp, "Diplomates et consuls ottomans." The Ottoman Empire maintained a consulate general in Livorno and vice consuls in Cagliari, Genoa, and Villefranche: Cayci, "La question de la suppression des consulats."

113 Brown, "Anglo-Moroccan Relations." There is some mention of a representative of Sultan Muhammad bin Umar Bajja al-Hassani in Gibraltar early in the nineteenth century but after the Napoleonic wars: Erzini, "Hal yaslah li-taqansut (Is he suitable for consulship?)."

114 The Bey of Tunis had permanent agents in Europe, a vice consul in Nice from 1818 onward, and one in Malta from 1822: Cayci, "La question de la suppression"; Matrat, "La Société Pastré Frères"; Newman, "Tunisian Diplomatic Representation in Europe"; Smida, *Consuls et consulats de Tunisie*.

115 A good many treaties between Christian and Muslim nations mentioned the possibility of opening consulates from the latter in Europe. The peace treaty of 1685 between France and Tripoli contained a clause that allowed for a person of quality to reside in Marseille and oversee conformity with the treaty, but the clause was never applied, nor were similar ones for other North African countries: Valensi, *Ces étrangers*, 195.

116 Kaiser, "Asymétries méditerranéennes" and "La excepción permanente."

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delegations that moved through different European countries. Residents of cities and towns they traversed, excited by centuries-old stereotypes about Muslims, were fascinated by their showy, exotic dress and their customs, especially those related to food and eating.[117] Many also brought strange animals as gifts for the sovereigns. Both the ambassadors and members of their delegations were intrigued in turn by all they saw on their travels between courts and their places of residence.[118] We must imagine that the dialogue established by those mutual gazes signaled some approximation of two worlds that were not always so opposed as is normally thought – especially since some members of those retinues decided to remain in Europe instead of returning to their countries of origin, whether or not they converted to Christianity. We should compare those ruptures with their own world with those of Christians who decided to live out their lives in Islamic lands, most but not all of whom were renegades.

We must bear in mind that in the great majority of cases the embassy's objective was to settle naval disputes, or to arrange the ransom or exchange of slaves that each side held from the other.

We should also recall that some embassies gave rise to serious incidents, such as the slaughter of the Algerian delegation to Marseille in 1620; but there were many smaller clashes, sometimes provoked by the envoys themselves. Some behaved in ways offensive to their host countries;[119] others claimed the rank of ambassador when they were no more than delegates, or demanded honors they did not deserve.[120] We will see these same behaviors and arguments repeated with North African envoys to Spain in the eighteenth century.

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117 Mehmed Effendi speaks of the expectations raised by his delegation of more than eighty persons in France in 1720–21: *Le Paradis des infidèles*, 69.

118 Lewis, *The Muslim Discovery of Europe/Comment l'Islam a découvert l'Europe*; Paradela Alonso, *El otro laberinto español*.

119 French authorities claimed that "The houses of the Turkish ambassador to Vienna are always guarded by soldiers, and this is the only way to stop the Turks' excessive license and debauchery. The memory of what took place every day in Paris with the Persian ambassador in 1715 shows the necessity of warning the subjects of such scandals, which are very difficult to remedy once they have arrived" ("Les maisons de l' ambassadeur turc à Vienne sont toujours gardées de soldats, et l'on ne peût arrêter que par ce moyen la licence et la débauche excessives des Turcs. Le souvenir de ce qui se passa tous les jours à Paris chez l'ambassadeur de Perse en 1715 fait connaître la nécessité de prévenir les sujets de scandales auxquels il est très difficile de remédier lorsqu'ils sont arrivés"): Mehmed Effendi, *Le Paradis*, 100. On the ambassador's interest in French women see *Le Paradis*, 37.

120 The Dutch court complained in 1645 that Mohamed ben Askar tried to pass for an ambassador when he was really a delegate: Caillé, "Ambassades et missions … aux Pays-Bas," 62. Süleyman Aga provoked French protests when he insisted on being received at court as an ambassador in 1669: Veinstein, introd. to Mehmed Effendi, *Le Paradis*, 23. Mehmed Effendi himself was angry at being assigned a lower rank than the Persian ambassador,

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Members of European courts looked to the archives to learn how previous delegations had been received and how to act accordingly.[121]

In the light of these incidents and the expense of maintaining ambassadors and their retinues, European rulers showed little interest in receiving such embassies and often ordered their representatives in the Ottoman Empire and North Africa to do everything possible to prevent them.[122]

1.3 Merchants in Ports and Cities

Throughout our period there is documented activity by Muslim tradesmen in a number of European ports; while most of them were present only occasionally, others stayed for relatively long periods. They were far fewer in number, and lesser in the importance and volume of their business affairs, than the European merchants established in the Ottoman Levant and North Africa, again a clearly asymmetrical situation.[123] Yet Muslim merchants in Europe in the Early Modern age were much more numerous than previously thought, and published research has demonstrated their presence in the principal port cities of the continent and even its interior. Most of them, though not all, engaged in small-scale commerce. These Muslim merchants also formed part of that initial *groupe invisible* that eventually became *étrangers familiers*, constituting a significant presence.[124]

Those merchants are difficult to identify in contemporary documents, however, making it hard to form a clear picture of Muslim commercial activity in European ports. But Venice clearly saw the greatest presence and activity by Muslim tradesmen, especially subjects of the Ottoman Empire, throughout our period. Especially active in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,[125]

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who arrived in Paris in 1715 with a retinue of only ten or twelve followers, while Mehmed had more than eighty: *Le Paradis*, 37, 42.

121 Veinstein, introd. to Mehmed Effendi, *Le Paradis*, 30. This was done when imposing a quarantine on the Ottoman ambasador and his escort when they arrived in Toulon (17 December 1720 to 25 January 1721), at a crucial moment when there was a plague epidemic in Marseille: Mehmed Effendi, *Le Paradis*, 30, 69.

122 When Mehmed Effendi's imminent voyage to Paris was announced, the French consul in Istanbul was instructed to dissuade the Turks from sending embassies to Europe by all means possible: Mehmed Effendi, *Le Paradis*, 30.

123 Kaiser, "La excepción permanente."

124 Valensi, *Ces étrangers familiers*.

125 Minchela, *Frontiere aperte*; Pedani, "Venezia e l'Oriente" and "Presenze islamiche a Venezia"; Preto, *Venezia e i Turchi*; Kafadar, "A Death in Venice"; Vercellin, "Mercanti turchi a Venezia."

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they came to own a property in which to live and store their goods: the first *Fondaco dei Turchi* was created in 1575 and was joined by a second in 1621.[126]

We know that Muslim tradesmen stayed for varying periods in France, but there is little firm documentation.[127] While they were never very numerous, their number obviously grew as the eighteenth century advanced. A traveler who passed through the port of Marseille noted streets full of "an infinite number of people from every country and of every condition, men and women: Turks, Greeks, Egyptian ladies, Moors."[128] Among the characters in paintings of Marseille's port by Claude Joseph Vernet, especially in one dated 1754, there are several merchants in Oriental dress.[129]

Still, specific information about Muslim merchants is meager. Of the 489 foreign tradesmen established in Marseille during the eighteenth century only forty-three, fewer than ten percent, came from North Africa or the Levant, and most of those were Jews, Greeks, or Armenians.[130] An examination of the city's *Cahiers de Doléances de la Sénéchaussée* for the second half of the century yields only fourteen Turks and Moors.[131] We must conclude that scarcely any notable Muslim tradesmen settled in French ports, especially Marseille; those we find were probably on short visits as *gens de passage* or small businessmen (the reason we know little about them) who gave the Provençal port some of its famed local color. In 1620 there were two Tunisian and two Turkish tradesmen in the city during the "massacre of the Turks,"[132] and after the tragedy other Tunisian and Algerian merchants asked the consuls in Marseille if it was safe to travel there. A Tunisian of Morisco origin appeared in person to try to recover what he could of the belongings of those killed.[133]

126 Bernardini, "Fondaco come fondamento di civiltà"; Burke, "Francesco di Demetri Litino"; Concina, *Fondaci*; Sagredo and Berchet, *Il Fondaco dei Turchi*. The presence of Persian merchants in Venice is also documented: Fechti Beg arrived there with loads of silk to sell in about 1608: Gil Fernández, *El Imperio*, 1:166, 2:149.

127 In 1575–76 the ship captain Arnaut Mami signed powers of attorney in Marseille, and a certain Maumet from Tunis appears in a notarial document from Martigues in 1578: Kaiser, "Asymétries," 424, 439.

128 "Un nombre infini de gens de tous pays et de toute condition, hommes et femmes, des Turcs, des Grecs, des Égyptiennes, des Maures": Poumarède, "Négociants, voyageurs," 421.

129 One hangs in the Musée de la Marine in Paris.

130 Carrière, *Négociants marseillais*, 1:266–87.

131 Poumarède, "Négociants, voyageurs," 422.

132 The authorities saved their lives by putting them in prison; two other "pouvres hommes" were also jailed, along with the ambassador's official trumpeter. One of the merchants may have been Oumer Demelval: Kaiser, "Asymétries," 428–29, 433.

133 Kaiser, "Asymétries," 438.

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From the late seventeenth century we know of several Muslim merchants who traded in Marseille. One was the Tunisian Mohammad Ben Amor Tunisi, who was not well treated by the local authorities.[134] A certain Omar, also from Tunis, dealt in gold dust and other goods there around 1709. Archam Benconolly, a Turk from the Regency of Algiers, lived at least four years in Marseille.[135] In 1728 some Turks from Chania in Crete arrived there to sue a French merchant for non-payment of a shipment of oil he had bought from them.[136] In 1757 a Turkish merchant of Tunis, Amour Ben Abdella, found it difficult to sell a cargo of wool that he had taken to Marseille on his own initiative. In 1759 permission was denied to an "Algerian Turk, son of the leader of the navy," when he wished to unload a shipment of silk fabric, and in the same year two Tunisian merchants with goods from Alexandria were quarantined in the lazzaretto. Two Moroccan businessmen spent a few months in Marseille in 1767.[137] During the War of the Convention between Spain and France (1793–1795), a number of French captains sold their ships to their Tunisian counterparts. Several Tunisian tradesmen worked in Marseille between 1799 and 1815, including H. Chaouch, S. Ben Yedder, Mohammed Bourras, Sahib Tabah, and Mohammed Morali, a captain who arrived at the head of a convoy of ships.

We should add to the above the members of Muslim diplomatic retinues who pursued commercial activity during their time in Europe. Two merchants from the Regency of Tunis joined the train of their embassy to Paris in 1803, led by Sidi Mustapha Arnaout.[138]

It was not always easy to engage in trade in Marseille. Mulla Osman had sold a load of wheat to the commissioner of the Toulon shipyard, who failed to pay him; he sued and had to wait two years for satisfaction. The Bey and his Prime Minister, Mustapha Khodja, intervened to defend Osman on two occasions, even asking help from the French Minister of Foreign Affairs; Khodja named his emissary M. Peritier as consul, although France resisted recognizing him as such. In 1819 Tunis sued again, to demand permanent representation in Marseille, while the Algerians argued that Article 21 of the treaty of 1720 gave them the right to name an agent in the city.[139]

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134 Boubaker, *La Régence de Tunis*, 174; Poumarède, "Négociants," 421–22.

135 Desmet-Grégoire, *Le Divan magique*, 31.

136 Desmet-Grégoire, *Le Divan magique*, 31.

137 Kaiser, "Asymétries," 440–41.

138 Poumarède, "Négociants," 422. For how the North African merchant marine lost a valuable opportunity see Panzac, *Les corsaires barbaresques*.

139 Poumarède, "Négociants," 422; Tlili Sellaouti, "L'accueil des barbaresques"; Desmet-Grégoire, *Le Divan magique*, 27.

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Maghrebi merchants and sailors arrived in other French ports as well. The interpreter Ruffin assisted several who reached the coasts of France without any resources. One, a merchant from Tripoli, was in Brest in 1778 after the English ship in which he was traveling was seized by a French corsair. The next year Ruffin helped another seven Muslims out of their difficulties. In November 1809 a Tunisian convoy with about four hundred crew members was forced into the port of Mahon by a storm, then was detained for three months in Marseille.

The port of Livorno apparently saw visits by Algerians, Tunisians, and Ottomans in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, though we have little information about them. As a free port it gave them complete liberty to carry out business there, at least in theory.[140] In the first half of the seventeenth century Mohammad Quassadi and Mohammad Essowi served there as representatives of Mohammad Siala, the great Tunisian merchant from Sfax, who also launched several of his own ships toward that port. In 1615–1616 Gio Pérez (or Mohammad Giar or Sayyar), Domenico Fernández, and Ali Maldonatto, Moriscos resident in Tunis, traveled to Livorno on business.[141]

We know much more about Muslim tradesmen in Malta, called "a sort of Christian Algiers" because its galleys preyed constantly on Muslim ships.[142] The Egyptian captain Homor Ben Selem, who had been enslaved on the island, made at least nine trips between Malta, the Levant, and North Africa.[143] In the early seventeenth century Mohammad Nail, of Djerba, represented the interests of the Sfax merchant Mohammad Siala on Malta, and we know of another tradesman from Sfax, Sidi Balfai, who spent a short time on the island. The Tunisian Ibrahim Asfouri made journeys to Malta where, in addition to other business, he helped to ransom Maltese captives in Tunis and Muslims on Malta. Alhi Ben Mami, a Turk resident in Tunis, was conducting business in Malta in 1629. Two ship's captains dealt in oil: Hamed Ben Abdallah and captain Boueba of Djerba. Mohammad from Tunis also frequented Malta with his ship.[144] In the 1630s and 1640s several Muslim tradesmen, with their own or other ships, received safe-conducts of varying lengths from the Order of Saint John to sell their cargoes on the island: they included Mihamet Bin Borham from Tripoli in Syria in 1633, Said Bin Chacem of Algiers in 1643, and Ahmed from Rhodes in 1646.[145]

140 Calafat and Santus, "Les avatars du 'Turc'."
141 Boubaker, *La Régence de Tunis*, 171–73.
142 Fontenay, *La Méditerranée*, 324.
143 Brogini, *Malte frontière*, 394–96.
144 Boubaker, *La Régence*, 171–76.
145 Brogini, *Malte*, 656.

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Information about Muslim traders in Sicily – which was under Spanish rule in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries – is scarcer, but they were certainly present there. Mohammed Corrath, a Tunisian merchant who lived with his wife in Palermo from 1607 to 1614, owned a ship that plied between Palermo, Tunis, and Bizerte, and he too played a role in ransoming captives.[146]

There were Muslim merchants in Rome who arranged ransoms,[147] as well as Persian tradesmen in England.[148] In the port cities of Mahon and Gibraltar, under English rule from the early eighteenth century, Muslim traders were active throughout the 1700s.[149] We have already seen how a Tunisian convoy with four hundred sailors took shelter from a storm in Mahon in 1809. In the same year a second Tunisian ship, under its captain Hadj Yahya, was also forced into safe harbor there.[150]

As S. Boubaker has demonstrated for Tunisians, Muslim merchants found it very difficult to live permanently and prosper in the ports of Marseille, Genoa, and Livorno. In those cities European and Jewish businessmen limited the activity of their North African competitors as much as they could, reducing their presence to short stays and their commerce to small-scale trading. These constraints on the merchants' free exercise of trade only strengthened as the seventeenth century advanced.[151]

Ironically the ports that historians have seen as the most tolerant, especially Marseille and the free port of Livorno, were the ones that made life most difficult for Muslim merchants. The same was true of Malta – the "Christian Algiers," with its Order of Saint John – and of Sicily, ruled by Spain. Possibly in those places, at least in the seventeenth century, Muslim tradesmen planning to stay only briefly might have met fewer problems. But the same strictures came to apply, so that with rare exceptions there were few Muslims engaged in commerce on the northern shore of the Mediterranean.

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146 Boubaker, *La Régence*, 175.

147 For instance Mehmet Agha, "mercator africanus," associated in 1582 with the Roman *arciconfraternità del Gonfalone*: Kaiser, "Asymétries," 423.

148 Robert Sherley sailed from England for Persia in 1613 with some Persians in his retinue: Gil Fernández, *El imperio*, 2:359; Davies, *Elizabethans Errant*; Penrose, *The Sherleian Odyssey*; Ross, *Sir Anthony Sherley*.

149 For Algerian ships that entered Mahon and Gibraltar see Martín Corrales, "Intercambios comerciales."

150 Tlili Sellaouti, "L'accueil des barbaresques"; Valensi, "Les relations commerciales"; Emerit, "Essai d'une marine marchande."

151 Boubaker, *La Régence*, 176; Kaiser reached the same conclusion in "Asymétries."

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1.4 Muslim Converts to Christianity

Muslim converts to Christianity are documented throughout our period and all across the European continent, though in far fewer numbers than the three hundred thousand Christian converts to Islam, or "renegades."[152] Information about Muslims is almost always isolated and scattered, so that it is hard to assess the true dimensions of the phenomenon.[153]

Leaving Spain aside, everything indicates that Italy saw the largest number of conversions in the Early Modern age: more than a thousand Muslims converted in Rome during our period,[154] about five hundred in Naples from 1565 to 1828,[155] and about 310 in Florence from 1600 to 1800.[156] We have notice of individual cases from other Italian cities such as Venice,[157] Genoa, Livorno, Lucca, Catanzaro, and Turin.[158]

We also know of many baptized Muslims through Inquisition records: 124 "Moors" were charged in Sicily from 1541 to 1707 and twenty-two in Sardinia between 1570 and 1679. Of course, those who were persecuted by the Holy Office were individuals who returned to their former faith in some form after having been baptized,[159] so we should add to these figures the larger number who would have integrated fully into Christian society and presented no problems for the Inquisition.

Prominent Muslims who converted were the ones who made the greatest impact. One of the most famous was Muhammad el-Attassi, a native of Fez, who became Baldassare Loyola de Mandes after his conversion. Schooled in

152 Bennassar, *Los cristianos de Alá*.

153 Bono, *Il Mediterraneo*, esp. the chapter "Schiavi e convertiti da una riva all'altra," 79–110. Also Bono, "Conversioni di Musulmani" and "Maghrebini convertiti."

154 Nepi, "The Restitutiones ad libertatem"; Caffiero, "Battesimi, libertà e frontiere" and *Battesimi forzati*.

155 The exact number is 534, though some were not Muslims: Varriale, "Conversioni," "Tra il Mediterraneo e il fonte," and "La capital de la frontera"; Mazur, "Combating 'Mohammedan Indecency'."

156 Marconcini, *Por amor del cielo* and "Una presenza nascosta."

157 Rothman, "Becoming Venetian."

158 Lenci, "Relazione del battesimo"; Sinopoli, "Conversioni di turchi." A "Turk from Anatolia," Gerolamo Motta, who was doubtless a convert, lived in Turin in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries; he was personal tailor to Prince Eugene of Savoy and amassed a large fortune, which he left to the local charity hospital: Cerutti, *Étrangers*, esp. chap. 2. For some baptisms in Livorno in the 1600s see Galasso, *Alle origini di una comunità*, 141–43.

159 I have not included the Moriscos, renegades, and *pro-moros* from the study that contains these figures: González-Raymond, *La Croix et le Croissant*; see also her "Les esclaves maures et l'Inquisition."

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the faith by Jesuits, he was destined for India to undertake the conversion of Muslims there, but died in Madrid on his way to embark at Lisbon in 1667.[160]

Another notable case was that of Hassan bin Muhammed al-Wazzan al-Fazi of Granada. Exiled to Fez with his family after his native city fell in 1492, he received an excellent education it its *madrasa*. In 1518, aged twenty-five and an experienced traveler, he was captured by corsairs and offered as a gift to the Pope on account of his great talents. Nominally converted to Christianity under the name Leone il Africano, he was a leading intellectual of his time. He is thought to have died in Tunis around 1554 after having embraced Islam once more.[161]

Several members of the Hafsid dynasty that ruled Tunis until 1574 opted for conversion after their exile to Naples and Sicily. Since they all accepted the protection of the Spanish monarchy and moved often between Spain and Italy, I will discuss them more fully in the chapter on converts in Spain.

Many Muslims also converted to Christianity in France, particularly in Paris.[162] When the Ottoman ambassador visited the city in 1669 he attracted "a troop of Turks dressed in French clothing," among them "many Turks who had become Christians [and] wish to return with him to take up their former religion";[163] one of them, "named Jean … was baptized in Rome." A convert who became famous was Dominique de Saint-Thomas, known as "père Ottoman," though after his death he was considered an impostor.[164] Another notable figure was Luis Ovanete, born in Istanbul, who arrived in France in the Ottoman ambassador's retinue in 1721. He served in the French army for several years, rising to the rank of lieutenant of infantry, and was naturalized in 1745.[165] We hear of occasional conversions outside of Paris as well: in Marseille,[166] Toulouse

160 Freller, "Osman and Muhammad el-Attaz"; Colombo, "A Muslim Turned Jesuit" and "Baldasarre Loyola Mandes"; Preste de Almeida, "De Fez à Loreto"; Alonso Acero, *Sultanes*, 107–08; García Goldáraz, "Un príncipe de Fez jesuita"; Lebessou, "La seconde vie d'un sultan."

161 Davis, *Trickster Travels/León el Africano*; Rauchenberger, *Johannes Leo der Afrikaner*; Berbrugger, "Études biographiques. Léon l'Africain."

162 A Turk converted in 1596. In 1604 four young Turks arrived in Paris accompanied by Trinitarian fathers; all were baptized and two became men of religion themselves: Mathorez, "Les éléments de population."

163 "Une troupe de Turcs habillés à la française. … plusieurs Turcs qui se sont faits chrétiens veulent s'en retourner avec lui pour rentrer dans leur ancienne religion." Mehmed Effendi called them "Turcs mal convertis": *Le Paradis*, 23.

164 Poumarède, "Négociants, voyageurs," 420–21.

165 Poumarède, "Négociants," 423.

166 Claude Levantin, certainly a Muslim, was a translator in Marseille from 1571 to 1596 and converted. We shall speak further on of galley slaves who converted: Mathorez, "Les éléments."

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(nine cases),[167] Cassis (two),[168] and one each in Nantes, La Rochelle, Ablon,[169] and Orthez.[170] Occasionally galley slaves also converted: one in 1647,[171] five between 1685 and 1687,[172] and another in 1718.[173]

More studies are now being published of Muslim converts in Portugal: some were North Africans who accepted Christianity in Portuguese ports on the Moroccan coast,[174] while others converted in cities in Portugal.[175]

We are beginning to learn more about conversions in Malta, where some Muslims turned Christian in hopes of easing their burden of slavery. Others were baptized on their deathbeds – a fact that reveals more about the excessive zeal of Christian priests who attended them than about their own wishes.[176]

There are recorded cases of Muslims who converted in England.[177] Among Muslims converted in the Low Countries was Mullé Bamet, who claimed to be "the son of Muley Mahomet, king of Morocco," though he may have been an impostor. In 1603, at the age of thirty-nine and using the name Enrique Xerife "prince of Morocco," he joined a reformed Christian sect and entered the service of the Prince of Nassau. He requested and received a commission in the Dutch cavalry, granted by the Estates General.[178] A few Muslims were also baptized in German states.[179]

We have not yet determined how many of these conversions were sincere or self-interested, voluntary or forced; but the change of religion is still significant. In most cases these new Christians took an irrevocable step. In any event, the fragmentary data we have collected should confirm that conversion to Christianity was not as rare as has been claimed, and that it represented a clear parallel to conversion to Islam by renegades.

167 They escaped from Spanish galleys in 1644 near Bayonne: Mathorez, "Les éléments."
168 One of the abovementioned escapees from Bayonne in 1644: Mathorez, "Les éléments," 197. Also Jean de Morea, baptized in Cassis in 1690: Desmet-Grégoire, *Le Divan*, 25.
169 A fifteen-year-old youth in Nantes; an Algerian in La Rochelle in 1655; and a forty-year-old Turk baptized by Protestants in Ablon in 1604: Mathorez, "Les éléments," 195–97.
170 Couture, "Baptême d'un Turc," 90.
171 Mathorez, "Les élements," 197.
172 Two Islamized black Africans (one of them from Morocco), an Egyptian, a Turk from Constantinople and another from Epirus: Boyer, "La chiourme," 72–73.
173 Desmet-Grégoire, *Le Divan*, 34.
174 Rosenberger, "Mouriscos et elches"; Bouchareb, "Les conséquences."
175 Rodriguez da Silva Tavim, "Educating the Infidels Within"; Ricard, "Louis de Grenade."
176 There were various instances in 1654–55: Brogini, *Malte*, 685.
177 Dakhlia, "Assujettis au baptême?", 172–73.
178 Alonso Acero, *Sultanes*, 105–06; Coste, "Un Prince tunisien converti."
179 Schunka, "Türken taufen in Thüringen."

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1.5 Exiles, Travelers, Soldiers, and Adventurers

Muslim exiles were present in Europe throughout the period under study. Possibly the most important was Sultan Djem (or Prince Cem or Zizimo), born in 1459 as the third son of Caliph Mehmet II, the conqueror of Constantinople. On his father's death he was defeated by his first-born brother, Bayezid, in the struggle for the throne. With his followers he sought refuge in Malta among the Knights of Saint John, who sent him as a virtual hostage to the French court. In 1489 he was placed under the protection (or the vigilant eye) of the Pope in Rome, and when Charles VIII of France arrived in Rome on his campaign of Italian conquest he took Djem with him to Naples. There he died, almost certainly poisoned, without ever having converted to Christianity.[180]

A prominent figure in the early 1600s was Fakhr el-Din, a Druze leader who became governor of Chouf in Lebanon. At a time of violent internal struggles in the region, the Grand Vizier in Istanbul sent troops against him and he fled; sailing from Sidon to Tuscany in 1612, he was received by Grand Duke Cosimo II, with whom he had already been in diplomatic contact. He hoped that Cosimo would offer military help against his enemies in Lebanon in exchange for Tuscan influence there, and while he failed in that goal he did steep himself in Renaissance culture. Afterward he lived for three years in Sicily. In 1618, when the situation in his homeland had improved, he returned there and recovered his post, enlarging the governorate to Mount Lebanon and Latakia. After many battles to preserve and augment his power he was defeated by Ottoman troops and taken to Constantinople, where he was executed in 1635.[181]

The largest group of Muslim exiles in Europe, however, was made up of members of the ruling Maghrebi dynasties (Zayyanids, Hafsids, Saadids, and Wattasids) who had been deposed and sought to regain their thrones. Most of them found refuge – perhaps not in the conditions they had expected – in either Spain or the territories it held in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: Naples, Sicily, and Portugal. I will touch on them briefly here and return to them at greater length in Chapter 4.

Abu Hassun, head of the Wattasid dynasty, was defeated by the Saadids in 1549; he went to Portugal and with help from there returned to Morocco in 1554. In that year he fell in battle against Muhammad al-Shaykh al-Mahdi.[182]

180 Vatin, *Sultan Djem*; Boscolo, "Le vicissitudini di Cem"; Rainero, "La prigionia e la morte del Sultano Gem"; Inalcik, "A Case Study"; Ertaylan, *Sultan Cem*; Thuasne, *Djem Sultan*.

181 Gorton, *Renaissance Emir*; El Bibas, *L'Emiro e il Granduca*; Cuffaro, "Fakhr ad-Din II alla corte dei Medici"; Caroli, *Fakhr ad-Din II*.

182 Alonso Acero, *Sultanes*, 66–79.

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His grandson, baptized with the name Gaspar de Benimerin, served the Spanish monarchy on the Indies run and on the islands of Santiago, Cabo Verde, and Terceira, as well as in Flanders, Naples, and Hungary. He settled in Naples where, supported by Carlos Gonzaga, Duke of Nevers, he created a new military order, the Milicia Cristiana. On his death in 1641 he was buried in the church of Santa María de la Concordia in Naples.[183]

Some members of the Saadid dynasty also sought refuge in Europe. In 1574 Abu Abdallah Muhammad ibn Abdallah al-Mutawakkil fled from his uncles Abd al-Malik ("el Maluco") and Ahmad, who expelled him from Fez and Marrakech in 1576. He found military and financial support in Portugal and returned to Morocco, where he perished in the Battle of the Three Kings (Alcazarquivir).[184] His son Muley Shaykh (Xeque) and the latter's uncle Muley Nazar (Nsar) were sent to Lisbon, where they lived for ten years surrounded by relatives and a large retinue. Philip II used them to pressure the Moroccan Sultan Ahmad al-Mansur; the sultan retaliated by negotiating with the prior of Crato, Don Antonio, who was seeking help from Morocco and England to recover the Portuguese throne.[185] Muley Xeque was eventually baptized as Felipe de África or Austria and saw military service in Flanders and Milan, dying near that city.[186] His uncle Muley Nsar, who considered himself the only legitimate pretender to the throne, returned to Morocco in 1595, but lacking military or financial support from Spain he lost his life there in 1596.[187]

The son of Sultan al-Mansur, Muhammad al-Shaykh (Muley Xeque), fought his brothers Muley Zidan and Abu Faris for control of all Morocco but was forced to flee to Portugal, arriving in Villa Nova de Portimão in 1609. With Spanish help he was able to return to Morocco and vanquish his brothers, ceding the Spaniards the fortified port of Larache in exchange.[188]

183 Varriale, "La media luna al revés"; Alonso Acero, *Sultanes*, 79–88; Viguera, "Noticias sobre el Magreb"; Castries, "Trois princes marocains convertis"; Escallon [Scaglione], *Origen y descendencia*.

184 Alonso Acero, *Sultanes*, 91–92; Valensi, *Fables de la mémoire* and "Silence, dénegation"; Berthier, *La Bataille de l'Oued el-Makhazen*; Nekrouf, *La Bataille des Trois Rois*; Bovill, *The Battle of Alcazar*.

185 Alonso Acero, *Sultanes*, 98–100.

186 Alonso Acero, *Sultanes*, 98–100. For Muley Xeque's letters to the Spanish monarch see García-Arenal *et al.*,, *Cartas marruecas*. La Véronne, "Séjour en Andalousie de deux princes"; Guastavino Gallent, "Don Felipe de África"; Oliver Asín, *Vida de don Felipe de África*.

187 Alonso Acero, *Sultanes*, 92, 94; La Véronne, "Séjour."

188 Alonso Acero, *Sultanes*, 102–05.

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Abd al-Karim Ibn Tuda, of the family that ruled Alcazarquivir, Larache, and Arcila, was a relative and supporter of al-Mutawakkil. He was dispatched to Lisbon in 1578 with Sidi Hammu, the former governor of Meknes. They were eventually able to return to Morocco.[189]

The Hafsid dynasty also had its exiles. Muley Hassan, the king of Tunis deposed by the Ottomans in 1534, was restored to his throne the following year by Charles V.[190] When he traveled to Augsburg to seek Charles's support, his son Hamida took advantage of his absence to proclaim himself king, and on his father's return defeated and blinded him. Muley Hassan managed to leave Tunis, living out his life in Sicily and Naples until his death around 1550. A son who lived with him in Sicily, Muley Bucar, was captured by an Ottoman galley in 1551 and taken to Istanbul.[191] Meanwhile Hamida was ousted from Tunis by the Ottomans in 1569 and fled to Italy. When Spain reconquered his city in 1573 it placed the former king's brother Muley Muhammad on the throne, while Hamida and his partisans, conveyed to Naples as captives, were set free in Sicily. During the new Ottoman conquest of Tunis Hamida tried to return and reclaim his throne but died of the plague, leaving a widow and two sons. He bequeathed most of his fortune to one of them, known as "El Cojo" (the Lame), who had expressed a wish to return to Tunis and live as a Muslim; the other son, also called Hamida, had provoked his father's anger and near-disinheritance by expressing a wish to be baptized while he lived in Naples. Hamida the younger received baptism in August 1575, a few days after his father's death, taking the name Carlos de Austria and with Don John of Austria as his godfather. He was the support of his mother and other family members. On becoming an officer of the galleys of Naples he designed a coat of arms that showed a lance between two swords and above them a downward-facing crescent moon that symbolized his rejection of Islam. At his death in 1601 he left his estate to the monastery of Santa María la Nueva in Naples, run by minor friars of the Franciscan order. With his wife Luisa de Austria he had a son, Enrique de Austria, "grandson of King Amida of Tunis," who was baptized at birth.[192]

Other members of the same family appear in the sources. A man who claimed to be Carlos de Austria's brother was baptized during Philip II's reign. He lived with his wife Virginia in Sicily, and in around 1605–06 wrote to Philip III lamenting his financial difficulties.[193]

189 Cabanelas, "El caíd marroquí 'Abd al-Karim."
190 Boubaker, "Le traité hispano-hafside."
191 Alonso Acero, *Sultanes*, 139–42.
192 Alonso Acero, *Sultanes*, 142–46; Monchicourt, "Études kairouanaises."
193 Alonso Acero, *Sultanes*, 146–47.

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Descendants of Muley Muhammad, whom the Spanish had placed on the throne of Tunis in 1573, included his oldest son Muley Nazar, who had lived in Sicily and died in battle in Tunis. Another son, Muley Abderrahman, was in Palermo in 1574 in charge of three of his father's wives, two of his brother's, and a number of servants. Muley Abderrahman did not relinquish a claim to the throne: in 1594 he claimed to have support from several sheikhs and holy men as well as sixty thousand partisans, but the Viceroy of Sicily did not trust him. His death in that year extinguished the last hopes of any Hafsid return to power in Tunis.[194]

Muley Ahmad, son of Muley Abu Abdallah and brother of Muley Hassan, lived in Sicily from an early age. In 1570 he proposed himself to Philip II as the ideal candidate to expel the Turks from Tunis, and offered his four wives and seven children as hostages in exchange for help in regaining the throne. In 1581 he went with his oldest son Muley Memu to Tunis, where after several years of struggle they were both captured in 1592 and sent to Istanbul, dying in prison there.[195] Also in 1592 another descendant of Muley Ahmed, also called Muley Hassan, asked financial help from Philip II for himself and his other family members who were still in Sicily. There were three sisters, one of whom was baptized in 1588 in the chapel of the royal palace at Palermo, taking the name María. There were also three wives of Muley Ahmed: one named Embarca, with her son, and another whose name is unknown with an unmarried daughter. Guademala, wife of Muley Muhammad who had been deposed in 1574, was caring for a granddaughter in Sicily.[196]

Other exiles came from the Zayyanid dynasty. Muley el-Nasser el-Thabti (Muley Nazar), son of the king who had reigned in Tlemcen from 1521 to 1534, fled from the Saadid offensive and sought help from the Spaniards, taking refuge with his family and followers in Oran in 1551. There he spent several years while his pleas for help to reclaim the throne went unattended.[197] His brothers Muley Ahmed and Muley Hassan joined him in exile in Oran.[198]

Moriscos expelled from Spain between 1609 and 1614 passed through several European countries, usually only briefly. Their presence was felt most strongly in France. King Henry IV, who maintained contacts with Moriscos from Valencia, allowed them passage in their travels toward North Africa and the Ottoman Levant; at the same time he decreed that those who wished to stay had

194 Alonso Acero, *Sultanes*, 148–49.
195 Alonso Acero, *Sultanes*, 149–51.
196 Alonso Acero, *Sultanes*, 151.
197 Alonso Acero, *Sultanes*, 113–14.
198 Tarruell, *Oran y don Carlos*, 283.

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to renounce Islam[199] and could not settle south of the Dordogne and Garonne rivers. Bordeaux and Toulouse placed obstacles to Morisco passage and settlement, though small groups managed to remain in Languedoc, Béarn, Guyenne, Paris, Bordeaux, Biarritz, Montpellier, Marseille, and Olliules.[200] We also have record of their presence elsewhere in Europe: in Portugal,[201] Genoa, Rome, Naples, Livorno,[202] and Holland.[203]

Muslim travelers also passed through Europe in the Early Modern period, and we have spoken of some of them above, particularly those who accompanied embassies.[204] One of the most significant, since he left a written account of his impressions, was Ahmad Ibn Qasim al-Hajari, who visited France and the Low Countries in the seventeenth century.[205]

There is a growing bibliography on free Muslims who lived in or traveled through different European countries. There were exiles, slaves who had gained their freedom through self-purchase or their owners' decisions, members of diplomatic missions, and others who spent long periods in Europe. Some of them declined to return to their countries of origin and lived out their lives in Europe, whether or not they changed their religion.

In France we must take account of military men, especially the thirty thousand Turkish Janissaries and sailors of the Ottoman fleet under Barbarossa that wintered in Toulon from September 1543 to March 1544. The French king, fearing that prolonged contact between the Ottoman troops and the local population would cause violence, ordered the town (whose population was about five thousand at the time) emptied and manned with allied troops, though the evacuation was never complete. Local residents complained to the king about losses of goods and property because of the Turks, but they do not seem to have suffered unduly.[206]

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199 The measure applied to all Muslims, not only Moriscos: Mathorez, "Les éléments," esp. 194.

200 Michel, "Les morisques en France"; Santoni, "Le passage des morisques"; Turbet-Delof, "Documents sur la diaspora morisque"; Temimi, "Le passage des morisques à Marseille"; Gafsi and Mohieddine, "À propos du passage des morisques"; Cardaillac, "Morisques en Provence" and "Procès pour abus contre les morisques"; Ricau, "L'expulsion des morisques espagnols"; Mathorez, "Les élements."

201 Bouchard, *Os pseudo-moriscos de Portugal* and "Spécificité du problème morisque au Portugal"; Mendes Drumond Braga, *Mouriscos e cristiãos no Portugal*.

202 Pomara Saverino, "I rifugiati. I moriscos e l'Italia" and "Cristianos malos?"; Temimi, "Le passage des morisques."

203 Caillé, "Ambassades et missions … aux Pays-Bas," 58–59.

204 Newman, "Arab Travellers to Europe."

205 Al-Hajari, *Kitâb Nasir al-Dîn*.

206 Poumarède, "Soldats et envoyés"; Isom-Verhaaren, "Barbarossa and his Army"; Deny and Laroche, "L'expedition en Provence."

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In the eighteenth century the French Regiment of Saxe-Volontaire – created in 1743 and dissolved in 1745 – accepted Turks and Tatars as long as they professed the religion of Islam.[207]

There are also a few cases of civilians such as Isaac Bey, who in the 1770s assisted the interpreter P. Ruffin, receiving a pension from the king. There was a legion of interpreters, domestic servants, adventurers, and others in several European cities, among them Paris and Marseille.[208] It was not common for Muslims, whether Maghrebi or Turkish, to be naturalized in France, since it required renouncing Islam, though there were occasional cases from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries.[209]

In sixteenth-century Naples an area near the harbor was known as the *Fondaco dei Mori*, frequented by slaves from the shipyard and the galleys as well as by free Muslims.[210] Some freedmen also lived in Livorno.[211] In Malta, as in Naples, the number of free Muslims was considerable, as is confirmed by the Order of Saint John's decree to expel them in 1645.[212] We know of some Muslims in the Low Countries, among them former slaves whom the Dutch freed from their Spanish masters.[213]

It is hard to establish the true number and significance of Muslims – slave or free, converted or not – who visited or settled in the various European countries. Almost four decades ago G. Veinstein thought that they were very few:

> Movement of men usually occurs in only one direction: it is Westerners who – whether merchants, pilgrims, refugees, or renegades in the Sultan's

207 Poumarède, "Négociants, voyageurs," 422.

208 Poumarède, "Négociants," 421; Desmet-Grégoire, *Le Divan magique*, 26–27.

209 Some Turks were naturalized and baptized around 1524. In the early 1600s Marie de Médicis employed at least one male and three female Turks, possibly free persons, in her tapestry workshops. Two Turks belonging to the king's guard were naturalized around 1647, as were two Turks in 1709, one in 1711, two in 1720, one in 1749, and two in 1750: Mathorez, "Les éléments."

210 Varriale, "Conversioni" and "Tra il Mediterraneo."

211 Galasso, *Alle origini*, 142.

212 Brogini, *Malte*, 665.

213 One was Mohammad Ould Aicha, a native of Fez who, as a slave in Cádiz in 1596, was freed by the Dutch who beseiged and destroyed the city; after living for some time as the guest of an Amsterdam merchant, he was eventually taken to Morocco. When the Spaniards abandoned the city of Sluis in 1604 the Dutch found about one hundred Muslim slaves, whom they took to Morocco the next year, landing them in Safi: Caillé, "Ambassadeurs, chargés de missions."

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> service – guarantee contact between the West and the East; the opposite is exceptional.[214]

Twenty-five years later, and speaking only of France, G. Poumarède believed that Muslim presence there in the Early Modern age had been scarce, with only sporadic and isolated cases:

> The Muslim presence is therefore a reflection of the relationships woven between France and the Ottoman, Persian, and North African worlds. The political and diplomatic ties that unite them explain the presence of thirty thousand Turks in Toulon in 1543 and the passage of the Eastern ambassadors who visit the court throughout the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. In the same way, stays by Muslim tradesmen in the kingdom's port cities are explained by the expansion and intensification of France's commercial relations with the rest of the Mediterranean. The employment of slaves from Islamic countries in the galleys recalls how far these relations are also marked by tensions, rivalries, and sometimes declared conflicts. Under these conditions the Muslim presence remains very small and often ephemeral. While it underlines the genuine progress of familiarity between East and West, at the same time it reveals the limits of that *rapprochement*.[215]

From what we have laid out here, however, the presence of Muslims does not seem to have been so very marginal, or we could not explain the existence of

214 "Le mouvement des hommes se fait presque en sens unique: ce sont les Occidentaux qui, marchands, pèlerins, réfugiés, renégats au service du Sultan, assurent le contact entre l'Occident et l'Orient; l'inverse est exceptionnel." Although he is speaking of travels between the West and the Ottoman Empire, his thought also applies to North Africa: Veinstein, "Introduction" to Mehmet Effendi, 10.

215 "La présence musulmane est ainsi à l'image des relations tissés entre la France et les mondes otomans, perse et barbaresque. Les liens politiques et diplomatiques qui les unissent expliquent la présence de 30.000 Turcs à Toulon en 1543 ou le passage de ces ambassades orientales que se rendent à la cour tout au long des XVIe, XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles. De même, le séjour de négociants musulmans dans les ports du royaume se justifie par l'essor et l'intensification des relations commerciales de la France avec l'ensemble du bassin méditerranéen. Quant à l'utilisation d'esclaves originaires des pays d'Islam sur les galères, elle rappelle combien ces rapports sont aussi marqués par des tensions, des rivalités et parfois des conflits déclarés. Dans ces conditions, la présence musulmane reste infime et souvent éphémère. Elle souligne les progrès réels d'une familiarité entre l'Orient et l'Occident, mais révèle en même temps les limites d'un tel rapprochement": Poumarède, "Négociants," 425.

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sites where they lived and engaged in commerce, such as the Fondaco dei Turchi in Venice and the Fondaco dei Mori in Naples; places of worship or mosques, whether tolerated or clandestine (the mosque in Naples, the Prison des Esclaves in Malta); or Islamic burial grounds (at Venice, Marseille, Toulon, and Naples).[216] Malta was the exception: after rebuffing the Turkish assault in 1565 the island considered itself a sacred space and forbade any Muslim or Jewish interments.[217] Obviously, however, Muslim slaves who died on Malta must have been buried there, probably on the beaches – that was the case in Spain, as we shall see.

⁂

There is no doubt that the largest group of Muslims who lived for any period in Europe, willingly or unwillingly, in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries was made up of slaves; they were far more numerous than all the ambassadors, merchants, exiles, converts, and adventurers put together. It bears repeating that there were many more Muslim slaves in Spain, Italy, Malta, and Portugal than in France, England, the Low Countries, and northern Europe in general.

It is striking that there were so few Muslim tradesmen in European ports that maintained peaceful relations with Islamic countries, ratified by treaties and capitulations. It is logical that we have little information from northern ports, but strange in the case of French ports, especially Marseille, and the free port of Livorno. There was no interest in encouraging Muslim traders to settle there, though we have no studies to confirm the fact. Was the situation different in Italian, Maltese, Spanish, and Portuguese ports? We cannot be certain. But in the latter group Muslims may have had somewhat more freedom to settle and trade, at least in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. If that proves true, then paradoxically it would be the countries assumed to show the strongest religious intolerance toward Muslims that most tended to accept their presence, always with certain limitations.

For the moment W. Kaiser seems to offer the best interpretation of this clear asymmetry in Christian-Muslim relations. He suggests that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when diplomatic treaties guaranteed no reciprocity (and were usually violated in any case), the void was filled by the principles of war, a code of honor, and traditional hospitality:

> In the absence of reciprocity ensured by diplomatic treaties, this principle – arising from war and a code of honor assumed to be shared, as well

216 Lucchetta, "Note intorno a un elenco"; Babinger, "Dâvûd-Celebi"; Bertran, "Les cimetières."
217 Brogini, *Malte*, 684.

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> as customary hospitality – creates a secure though fragile framework for Muslim merchants who reside in or pass through European ports [and] who can expect to receive "favors and good treatment."[218]

In other words, the Treaties and Capitulations signed with the French, English, and Dutch did not guarantee reciprocity for subjects of the Ottoman Empire, the North African Regencies, and Morocco in the ports of those states. In Marseille, London, Amsterdam and elsewhere in northern Europe, activity by Maghrebi and Ottoman merchants received no protection. The same was true of Livorno, which was open to any tradesman irrespective of his religion. Clauses in the treaties that proved inconvenient to Europeans were almost always ignored. Nonetheless, the proliferation of treaties of peace and commerce in the 1700s favored some degree of commercial activity by Muslims in the aforementioned ports.

Paradoxically, compensation for the absence of treaties took the form of a principle of warfare that guaranteed a certain reciprocity; it was matched by a code of honor and customary hospitality that allowed more space for activity by Muslims in Spanish, Italian, Maltese, and Portuguese ports. The determining factor was the dominance of trade in those markets:

> In the eighteenth century the principle of reciprocity, now well established by diplomatic agreements with the Maghrebi regencies, remains troublesome as to freedom of worship; and it is viewed openly as an obstacle to commerce, an obstacle that everyone tries to bypass in order to estalish dominance in all exchanges with the Maghreb.[219]

Even keeping all this in mind, it is clear that the impact of Muslim presence was very different in northern and southern Europe. In the countries of the "northern invasion," France included, there was no significant number of slaves, merchants, or free Muslims, baptized or not. Perhaps this explains why, in those countries' imaginary, the figure of the exotic ambassador held sway: in spite of the luxury in which such men traveled they lived off the bounty of the courts they visited, leading to the notion that they were greedy for gifts and

218 Kaiser, "Asymétries," 442.

219 "Le principe de la réciprocité au XVIIIe siècle, désormais bien établi dans les accords diplomatiques avec les régences du Maghreb, reste gênant en ce qui concerne la liberté de culte, et il est franchement considéré comme un obstacle dans le commerce, obstacle que chacun tente de conturner afin d'établir sa domination dans les échanges avec le Maghreb": Kaiser, "Asymétries," 442.

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favors. This is the caricature we see in Shakespeare and Molière. Edward Said based his fundamental book *Orientalism*, at least in part, on this vision of the Muslim, whom we could think of as one who is arrayed for a festival.[220]

In Spain and its dominions (Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, Malta, Portugal) there was also an impression of "exotic" ambassadors and they were likewise considered avaricious – more in the courts at Valladolid and Madrid than along the coasts. But this role in the national imaginary was countered to some extent by actual, physical, daily coexistence – marked by more or less tolerance – with tens of thousands of slaves, hundreds of exiles and their families, many tradesmen, and thousands of immigrants, converts, and adventurers.[221] People formed an image of them that, while still negative, had more facets than that held by northern Europeans. It was also formed much closer to home.[222] Aside from the exoticism of the ambassadors and certain exiles, the prevailing view was of the Muslim enslaved, impoverished, and submissive – but someone with whom negotiation was possible. In the south and along the Mediterranean frontier the Muslim was a neighbor, and though he might be a slave or an infidel he formed part of the society that enslaved and marginalized him. His image in Spain was not so different from that of other marginalized groups such as gypsies, Moriscos or New Christians, paupers, and convicts. Finally we must stress once again, as we shall see in the following chapters, that the Muslim presence in Europe, particularly in Spain, was more significant than has previously been thought.

220 Said, *Orientalism*.

221 We should consider how relationships between slaves and freed Muslims (converted or not), a common phenomenon on both shores of the Mediterranean, increased the opportunities for slaves to interact with the society that had robbed them of their freedom: Boccadamo, *Napoli e l'Islam*; Tarruell, "Circulations," 198.

222 This in spite of the hostility that Muslims inspired at the same time, together with the "excesses of the Inquisition": religious persecution as a founding element of the state: Bernal Rodríguez, *Monarquía e Imperio*, 195.

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CHAPTER 2

The Spain That Enslaves and Expels: Moriscos and Muslim Captives (1492 to 1767–1791)

In Spain, as in Europe as a whole, Muslims were present in larger numbers from the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries than has formerly been realized. As we noted above, the greatest attention has been focused on two specific minority groups, Moriscos and slaves. The first were expelled from Spain between 1609 and 1614, although a certain number managed to evade expulsion or return to the Peninsula later on. The second were almost always a minority among all slaves in Spain in the Early Modern period, except at specific times and places; the vast majority came from the Atlantic coast of sub-Saharan Africa, although many of those arrived already Islamized. It is also true that the number of slaves on Spanish territory fell drastically from the second half of the seventeenth century and continued its decline through the eighteenth, though there was a slight increase in the late 1700s as Spain joined the slave trade with the American colonies.

Most historical works about Muslims in Spain, therefore, concentrate on the Moriscos (more or less Christianized, more or less Islamized) from 1492 to 1614. And the enormous bibliography on slavery concentrates on slaves from sub-Saharan Africa in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, leaving Muslims on the margins. Moriscos and slaves, in short, have captured almost all the interest of historians even though, as we shall see, free Muslims were very numerous.

2.1 The Moriscos between Islam and Christendom

For more than a century historians, both in Spain and elsewhere, have focused on the Morisco minority and produced oceans of research which it is impossible to summarize here. It concerns virtually every topic related to Muslims who remained in the lands reconquered by the Christians: the Mudejars of Castile, the Moors of Aragon, the Sarraïns of Valencia. All (estimated at between three hundred thousand and six hundred thousand souls) were subsumed under the term "Moriscos," which arose after the Christian conquest of Granada in 1492. The capitulations offered to the vanquished promised that all Muslims who chose to remain in the Peninsula could do so freely and continue to exercise their religion. This status continued the medieval practice, not

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unlike the tolerance shown toward *dhimmi*s or "People of the Book," Christians and Jews, in Islamic lands. Yet pressure to convert began to be applied almost immediately, and when certain leading Nasrid families accepted baptism, tensions arose that led to the Albaicín revolt in Granada in 1499; after spreading to the Alpujarras mountains it was crushed in 1501. One immediate result was the 1502 decree of forcible conversion imposed on all Muslims in Castile and Granada, who would be called "Moriscos" from then on. In 1515–1516 conversion was imposed on the Mudejars of Navarre and in 1526 on the Muslims of the Crown of Aragon. The Moriscos, already stripped of their land and property and forced to adopt Christianity, remained under suspicion by the authorities, especially the Catholic Church, which was loath to allow any religious manifestation other than its own. This position hardened after the Council of Trent (1545–1563) and the consolidation of the Counter-Reformation.[1] The Moriscos' restiveness brought about a new uprising, the War of Granada or the Alpujarras (1568–1571), again savagely repressed by the king's armies. Most of the conquered survivors were exiled to other areas across the Peninsula, while many prisoners, including women and children, were enslaved[2] – some actually coming to be owned by other Moriscos.[3] Hostility against them never ceased, as they were thought to form an Ottoman fifth column within Spain.[4]

The volume of existing bibliography on the Moriscos makes it unnecessary to discuss them at length here. Important research on the group was produced throughout the nineteenth century[5] and the topic received renewed attention in the 1950s[6] and 1970s.[7] Dozens more books have appeared since then, in addition to innumerable journal articles, book chapters, and conference papers that, with few exceptions, I cannot take account of here.[8]

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1 Poutrin, *Convertir les musulmans*.

2 Garrido García, "La esclavitud morisca" and "La esclavitud en el reino de Granada"; Vincent, "Les esclaves d'Almeria"; Andújar Castillo, "Del esclavo morisco al berberisco"; Cabrillana, "Esclavos moriscos en la Almería."

3 Martín Casares, *La esclavitud*, 275–93, "Moriscos propietarios de esclavos," and "Moriscos propietarios de personas esclavizadas."

4 Rubiera Mata, *Carlos v, los moriscos y el Islam*; Hess, "The Moriscos: An Ottoman Fifth Column."

5 Boronat y Barrachina, *Los moriscos españoles*; Lea, *The Moriscos of Spain/Los moriscos españoles*; Danvila y Collado, *La expulsión de los moriscos*; Janer, *Condición social de los moriscos*; Circout, *Histoire des Mores, Mudejars, et des Morisques*.

6 Lapeyre, *Géographie de l'Espagne morisque*; Caro Baroja, *Los moriscos del Reino de Granada*.

7 Domínguez Ortiz and Vincent, *Historia de los moriscos*; Cardaillac, *Morisques et chrétiens*.

8 Amelang, *Historias paralelas*; Márquez Villanueva, *Moros, moriscos y turcos*; Vincent, *El río morisco*; Carrasco, *La Monarchie Catholique et les Morisques*; Candau Chacón, *Los moriscos en el espejo del tiempo*; Perceval, *Todos son uno*; Galmés de Fuentes, *Los moriscos* (*desde su misma orilla*); Epalza, *Los moriscos antes y después de su expulsión*; Temimi,

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Because most Moriscos lived in three regions of Spain, the existing bibliography is especially rich for those former kingdoms: Aragon,[9] Valencia,[10] and the former Nasrid kingdom of Granada,[11] which included the region of Almería.[12] But there is much research on the lives and fortunes of Moriscos in all the territories of the monarchy. In western Andalusia the main centers were Seville[13] and Córdoba.[14] In Murcia, most though not all studies have concerned the Moriscos of the Valle de Ricote.[15] In La Mancha, we are well informed about the Campo de Calatrava and Almansa.[16] The former kingdoms of Castile and León have yielded studies centered on Toledo,[17] Ciudad Real,[18] Cuenca,[19] Valladolid,[20] Salamanca,[21] Ávila,[22] and Zamora.[23] The case of Catalonia is also well known.[24]

Métiers, vie religieuse et problematique, *Las prácticas musulmanas*, and *Religion, identité*; Bunes Ibarra, *Los moriscos en el pensamiento histórico*.

9 Conte, *Los moriscos de la ciudad de Huesca*; Carrasco Urgoiti, *El problema morisco en Aragón*.

10 Catalá Sanz and Urzainqui Sánchez, *La conjura morisca de 1570*; Mas i Forners *et al.*, *La senda del èxode*; Catalá Sanz and Pérez García, *Los moriscos de Cortes*; Ardit, *La expulsión de los moriscos*; Salvador Esteban, *Felipe II y los moriscos*; Epalza *et al.*, *Moros y moriscos en el Levante peninsular*; Bramon, *Contra moros i jueus*; Reglà, *Estudios sobre los moriscos*; García-Cárcel and Císcar Pallarés, *Moriscos i agermanats*.

11 García-Arenal *et al.*, *The Orient in Spain/Un Oriente español*; Barrios Aguilera, *La convivencia negada*; García Pedraza, *Actitudes ante una muerte en Granada*; Gallego Burín and Gámir Sandoval, *Los moriscos del Reino de Granada*.

12 Cabrillana, *Almería morisca*.

13 Boeglin, *Entre la Cruz y el Corán*; Fernández Chaves and Pérez García, *En los márgenes de la ciudad de Dios*.

14 Aranda Doncel, *Moriscos y cristianos en Córdoba* and *Los moriscos en tierras de Córdoba*; Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, *Moriscos y cristianos en el Condado de Casares*.

15 Ortega López, *Historia e historiografía de la expulsión*; García Avilés, *Los moriscos del Valle de Ricote*; Vilar, *Los moriscos del Reino de Murcia*; Flores Arroyuelo, *Los últimos moriscos*.

16 Moreno Díaz del Campo, *Los moriscos de La Mancha*; Gómez Vozmediano, *Mudéjares y moriscos en el Campo de Calatrava*; Ponce Herrero, *Almansa*.

17 Magán and Sánchez González, *Moriscos granadinos en la Sagra de Toledo*.

18 Dadson, *Los moriscos de Villarrubia de los Ojos*.

19 García-Arenal, *Inquisición y moriscos* and "Los moriscos de la región de Cuenca"; Cirac Estopañán, *Moriscos de Granada en la Diócesis de Cuenca*.

20 Gómez Renau, *Comunidades marginadas en Valladolid* and *La comunidad mudéjar y morisca de Valladolid*.

21 Martín Benito, "Moriscos en Ciudad Rodrigo"; Sierro Malmerca, *Judíos, moriscos e Inquisición en Ciudad Rodrigo*.

22 Tapia Sánchez, *La comunidad morisca de Ávila*.

23 Martín Benito, *Los moriscos del obispado de Zamora*.

24 Biarnés, *Els moriscos a Catalunya*; Cardaillac, "Quelques notes sur la communauté morisque de Catalogne."

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In the present study we cannot enter deeply into the Morisco minority's relations with its Christian neighbors and exploiters. We know how the story ends: with the expulsion. Although a few Moriscos managed to remain by various means, and still fewer were able to return, the immense majority left Spain forever.[25]

We have many studies of the Moriscos who settled in North Africa, particularly in Morocco and Tunisia. Many of them harbored an understandable hatred for the country that had expelled them.[26]

If I do take up the Moriscos here it is because even though their forced conversion made them nominal Christians, many continued loyal – with greater or lesser intensity and authenticity – to Islam. Consequently many of these crypto-Muslims were pursued by the Inquisition, making that institution's documents one of the richest sources for studies of this population. In places like Cuenca, the Balearic Islands, and many other points in the Peninsula the grim pressures of the Holy Office revealed that some of these New Christians had not made a true conversion.[27] It is equally true that many of them were really no longer Muslims, even though their Old Christian neighbors assumed that they still clung to Islam at heart.

The sacking of Morisco communities after the Christian victory in Granada resulted in tensions, open conflicts, bloodily repressed uprisings, and enslavement of the defeated rebels of 1571. But in spite of this violence and domination some Moriscos and some Old Christians managed to coexist and even collaborate.[28] We know that some sectors of Spanish society were opposed to the expulsion for a variety of reasons, a fact that explains, among other things, why not all the Moriscos were expelled and how some who did leave Spain managed to return. Those cases, few as they may seem to us, must have required collaboration and solidarity with Old Christians, even if the latter

25 García-Arenal and Wiegers, *The Expulsion of the Moriscos/Los moriscos: expulsión y diáspora*; Lomas Cortés, *El proceso de la expulsión*, *El desterrament morisc valencià, El puerto de Denia y el destierro morisco*, and *La expulsión de los moriscos del Reino de Aragón*; Bernabé Pons, *Los moriscos*; Marañón, *Expulsión y diáspora de los moriscos*; Moliner, *La expulsión de los moriscos*; Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, *Heroicas decisiones*; Lisón Hernández, "Mito y realidad de la expulsión"; Pizzi, *Los moriscos que no se fueron*; and the collection *Destierros aragoneses*, vol. 1.

26 García-Arenal, *Las diásporas*; Epalza and Petit, *Étude sur les Moriscos andalous de Tunisie*; Gozalbes Busto, *Los moriscos en Marruecos*.

27 González-Raymond, *La Croix et le Croissant* and "Les esclaves maures et l'Inquisition"; Cardaillac, *Les morisques et l'Inquisition*; Vidal, *Quand on brûlait les morisques*; García-Arenal, *Inquisición y moriscos*.

28 Dadson, *Tolerance and Coexistence/Tolerancia y convivencia*; Chacón Jiménez, "El problema de la convivencia."

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group's self-interest was involved.[29] Further, many expelled Moriscos entered into negotiations with Spanish authorities and even collaborated with them. For example, the Moriscos of the fortress of Salé in Morocco discussed with the king of Spain the possibility of surrendering that port to his royal troops, although the talks came to nothing.[30]

For the purposes of our argument we must consider two factors that, while difficult to evaluate, undoubtedly carried weight at the time. One is that some exiled Moriscos kept lines of communication open with Spanish authorities with a view toward a possible return to the Peninsula, as in the case of Salé we have just described. The other is that some Moriscos until their expulsion, and some who either escaped it or returned, were more or less openly crypto-Muslim, yet that did not prevent their maintaining relations with their Old Christian neighbors that were, if not especially friendly, not openly hostile either. Though there is no question that the expulsion was an exercise in intolerance and hatred,[31] it is also true that space remained for communication and negotiation between Christians (Old and New) and Moriscos (Muslims and crypto-Muslims) throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

2.2 Muslims, a Minority among Slaves

As in the case of the Moriscos, there is an enormous bibliography on slavery and slaves in Spain in the Early Modern age, making it impossible to cite every pertinent source. There are studies of Spanish territory as a whole[32] as well as of regions and cities all across the geography of Spain. For western Andalusia we have monographs on Huelva, Palos, Moguer, and Ayamonte,[33] Cádiz and Puerto Real,[34]

29 Dadson, "Los moriscos que no salieron" and "Asimilación, expulsión"; Soria Mesa, *Los últimos moriscos*.

30 Bouzineb, *La Alcazaba de Buregreb* and "Plática en torno a la entrega de la Alcazaba de Salé"; Sánchez Pérez, *Los moriscos de Hornachos*.

31 Amelang, *Historias paralelas*, 53.

32 Almeida Mendes, "Esclavages et traites modernes"; Stella, *Histoires d'esclaves*; Philipps, *Slavery in the History of Spain/Historia de la esclavitud en España*; Cortés López, *La esclavitud negra* and *Los orígenes de la esclavitud negra*.

33 Izquierdo Labrado, *La esclavitud en la Baja Andalucía I-II*; González Díaz, *La esclavitud en Ayamonte*.

34 Morgado García, *Una metrópoli esclavista*; Díaz Rodríguez, *Negros y fraile en Cádiz*; Izco Reina, *Amos, esclavos y libertos*; Parrilla Ortiz, *La esclavitud en Cádiz*; Torres Ramírez, *La compañía gaditana de negros*; Sancho de Sopranis, *Las cofradías de Morenos en Cádiz*.

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Seville,[35] and Córdoba.[36] For eastern Andalusia there are studies on Granada, Guadix and Baza,[37] Málaga,[38] Jaén,[39] and Almería;[40] for Extremadura, on the towns of Badajoz, Cáceres, Llerena, Jerez de los Caballeros, Zafra, Barcarrota, and Salvaleón.[41] In the Spanish Levant there is information about Murcia,[42] Valencia, and Alcoy;[43] in Catalonia, on Barcelona;[44] in Castile,[45] on Madrid[46] and Valladolid;[47] and further work on Aragon,[48] the Basque Country,[49] and Galicia.[50] Finally, there is pubished research on slaves in the island groups of the Balearics (Majorca and Ibiza)[51] and the Canaries.[52]

It strikes us immediately that the geography of slavery overlaps to a great extent with that of the Moriscos: both groups were concentrated in southeastern Spain, to the east of an imaginary diagonal line running from Catalonia to the

35 Franco Silva, *Esclavitud en Andalucía*, *Los esclavos de Sevilla*, *La esclavitud en Sevilla*, and *Regesto documental*.

36 Salinero, *Maîtres, domestiques et esclaves*; Osorni-Ávila, *Les esclaves de Lucena*.

37 Martín Casares, *La esclavitud en la Granada*; Asenjo Sedano, *Esclavitud en el Reino de Granada*.

38 Bravo Caro, "Esclavos en Málaga"; González Arévalo, *La esclavitud en Málaga* and *El cautiverio en Málaga*; Pino, *Esclavos y cautivos en Málaga*; Gómez García and Martín Vergara, *La esclavitud en Málaga*; Vincent, "Les esclaves à Malaga" and "La esclavitud en Málaga."

39 López Molina, *Una década de esclavitud en Jaén*; Coronas Tejada, "Esclavitud africana en Jaén."

40 Vincent, "Les esclaves d'Almeria"; Andújar Castillo, "Del esclavo morisco al berberisco."

41 Periáñez Gómez, *Negros, mulatos y blancos*; Álvaro Rubio, *La esclavitud en Barcarrota*; Sánchez Ruano and Fernández Márquez, *El fenómeno esclavista*; Cortés Cortés, *Esclavos en la Extremadura meridional*.

42 Peñafiel Ramón, *Amos y esclavos en la Murcia del Setecientos*.

43 Sanchis Llorens, *Aportación de Alcoy*; Graullera Sanz, *La esclavitud en Valencia*; Cortés Alonso, *La esclavitud en Valencia*.

44 Martín Corrales, "La esclavitud negra en Cataluña" and "Esclavos norteafricanos"; Armenteros Martínez, *L'esclavitud a la Barcelona del Renaiximent*.

45 Domínguez Ortiz, *La esclavitud en Castilla* and "La esclavitud en Castilla."

46 Larquié, "Captifs chrétiens et esclaves maghrébins" and "Les esclaves de Madrid"; Bravo Lozano, "Mulos y esclavos. Madrid."

47 Fernández Martín, *Comediantes, esclavos y moriscos en Valladolid*.

48 Gómez de Valenzuela, *Esclavos en Aragón*.

49 Azpiazu, "La sociedad vasca ante la esclavitud" and *Esclavos y traficantes*.

50 Pérez Constanti, "Venta y manumisión de esclavos en Galicia."

51 Ferrer Abárzuza, *Captius i senyors de captius a Eivissa*; Vaquer Bennassar, *Captius i renegats*.

52 Trujillo Yáñez, *La población esclava de Teror*; Anaya Hernández, *Moros en la costa*; Bruquetas de Castro, *La esclavitud en Lanzarote*; Lobo Cabrera *et al.*, *La "otra" población*; Lobo Cabrera, *Los libertos en la sociedad canaria* and *La esclavitud en las Canarias orientales*; Marrero Rodríguez, *La esclavitud en Tenerife*; Renshaw de Orea, *La esclavitud doméstica en Canarias*.

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border between Andalusia and Extremadura. Curiously, the same area corresponds with that of most immigration from the Maghreb today.[53]

It is essential to bear in mind that from the mid-fifteenth century to at least the second half of the seventeenth, the basic population of slaves consisted of blacks brought directly from the Atlantic coast of sub-Saharan Africa.

In Seville, for instance, of 1,902 slaves registered between 1491 and 1513, 895 were of that provenance, while North Africans totaled only 131. (The remaining 876 were of unknown origin.)[54] In the Canary Islands, of a total of 1,956 slaves sold between 1510 and 1600, 1,602 were black or mulatto while North African Muslims (called "Moriscos" in the islands) were only 243, with 121 either Indian or of unknown origin.[55]

In Valencia, of some 2,722 slaves registered from 1500 to 1516, black Africans numbered 1,868 beside only 22 Muslims (the origin of the rest is unknown). In the same city, of 2,564 slaves registered by the bailiffs from 1569 to 1686, 750 are identified as black, mulatto, or other mixed-race categories such as *membrillos*, *loros*, and *morenos*, from which we assume they were sub-Saharan Africans. Muslims formed a majority with 1,043, the rest being of unknown provenance. All in all, blacks formed the majority of the 5,284 slaves identified in Valencia in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: 2,168, against 1,065 Muslims.[56] In Cádiz, of 9,811 slaves who were baptized between 1600 and 1699 we find 1,776 Turks, Moors, and North Africans beside 4,059 blacks and mulattos; we do not know the origin of the other 3,976.[57] A second count in the same city a century later tells us that of 2,035 slaves baptized between 1700 and 1799 a mere 154 are identified as Turks and Moors.[58] In Ayamonte, out of 2,181 sales of slaves concluded between 1583 and 1800, 2,073 were for blacks; the remaining 108 included some Muslims, but most were of unknown origin.[59] Of the 3,362 slaves in Huelva, Palos, and Moguer from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries, 1,978 were black or mulatto and 232 were Moors, the rest consisting of Indians, Canarians, and others.[60] In an account of 2,837 slaves in Badajoz, Cáceres, Jerez

53 It would be interesting here to apply the concept of "Path Dependence," which studies how historical precedents influence the present even when the causes of that path dependence no longer seem to operate: Fontana, "Espacio global y tiempo profundo."

54 Franco, *Regesto*. The figures are calculated in Cortés López, *Los orígenes*, 41.

55 These figures suggest that many "ransoms" on the coast of the Sahara sought to exchange North Africans for black slaves: Lobo, *La esclavitud*, 142–58.

56 Graullera, *La esclavitud*, 126–27, 134–35; Cortés Alonso, *La esclavitud en Valencia*, 58–61, and "Procedencia de los esclavos negros."

57 Morgado García, *Una metrópoli*, 130, 134, 146, 150.

58 Parrilla Ortiz, *La esclavitud*, 92–97.

59 González Díaz, *La esclavitud*, 50–51, 134–35.

60 These figures are doubtful because they come from two overlapping time periods, one from 1452 to 1765 and the other beginning in 1560: Izquierdo Labrado, *La esclavitud*, 1:93–96, 107, 115, 118, 125.

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de los Caballeros, Llerena, Trujillo, and Zafra, blacks number 2,552 against only 93 Muslims, the rest being of unknown origin.[61] For Barcelona, of a sample of 1,237 slaves from 1479 to 1516 we know the provenance of 1,018: 589 were black and only 294 Muslim (Moors and Turks, according to the sources).[62]

In other areas, however, particularly on the coasts of Valencia, Murcia, and Málaga and on Majorca, Muslim slaves formed a majority. In Majorca, of 1,869 slaves counted from 1480 to 1620, Muslims formed a majority with 1,637 (1,419 Moors, 210 Turks, and 8 Moriscos), but a mere 153 were black.[63] In Málaga, in a tally of 3,576 slaves 1,437 were Muslims and 1,377 were black.[64] We have two later census counts for that city from the second half of the sixteenth century: in 1578 810 slaves were registered, and it appears that 15.3 percent were Moors and 17 percent Moriscos.[65] In 1581 the number of slaves was 575, of whom Muslims (North Africans, Turks, Moors, Arabs, and Moriscos) totaled 421 against only 20 blacks from Guinea; the rest were of varied or unknown origin.[66] In Cartagena, of a total of 1,099 baptized between 1640 and 1789 the majority, 707, were Muslims while blacks numbered only 54, the rest being of unknown provenance.[67] In Madrid, out of 476 slaves we identify 184 Muslims and 53 blacks, the origin of the rest being unknown.[68]

For a few cities including Granada,[69] Córdoba,[70] Jaén,[71] Valladolid,[72] Cáceres, and Trujillo,[73] we have not cited figures because the data related to Muslim slaves there are difficult to interpret. None of the figures cited should

61 Periáñez Gómez, *Negros*, 75.

62 Armenteros Martínez, *L'esclavitud*, 109–10.

63 The remaining 79 were "Easterners," Canarians, Jews, and Balkans: Seguí Bertran, "¿Unas islas asediadas?", chap. 12.

64 González Arévalo, *La esclavitud en Málaga*.

65 Bravo Caro, "Esclavos en Málaga en 1578."

66 Vincent, "Les esclaves à Málaga" and "La esclavitud en Málaga en 1581."

67 Sánchez Torres, "La esclavitud."

68 Larquié, "Les esclaves," 60.

69 Blacks formed a majority until 1569, when they were greatly outnumbered by Moriscos enslaved after the Alpujarras War: Martín Casares, *La esclavitud* 91–99.

70 We have 719 documented sales of slaves between 1579 and 1621. Only 18 were white, presumably Muslims, North Africans, and Turks, though some may have appeared among the blacks and mulattos. There were also 278 Moriscos: Aranda Doncel, "La esclavitud en Córdoba."

71 A total of 250 sales involved 285 slaves between 1569 and 1574. Most of those sold were Muslims, including 180 Moriscos, and we assume most of the 46 "others" were also Muslim: Aranda Doncel, "Los esclavos en Jaén." Between 1675 and 1685 we know of about 90 slaves of whom 57 were Muslims and 21 blacks: López Molina, "Una década de esclavitud."

72 Of 280 slaves registered in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries 75 percent were black, while among Muslim slaves Moriscos formed a majority: Fernández Martín, *Comediantes, esclavos*, 129–33.

73 Of the 108 registered in both cities from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries the great majority were black and mulatto, with very few Muslims. Moriscos were also few, and

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be taken as definitive, in view of the nature of our documentation; further, the various monographs cited use different methods of classification and each one has nuances that require consideration.[74] Table 1 provides an interesting summary of the figures given above:

TABLE 1 Origin and/or religion of slaves in Spanish cities and regions

	Time Period	Total	Blacks	Muslims	Others and unknown
Seville	1491/1513	1,902	895	131	876
Barcelona	1479–1516	1,237	589	294	1,108
Majorca	1480–1620	1,869	153	1,637	79
Málaga	1487–1538	3,576	1,377	1,437	762
Málaga	1581	575	20	421	134
Valencia	1489–1686	5,721	2,618	1,064	2,039
Canary Is.	1510/1600	1,956	1,602	243	121
Cádiz	1600–1699	9,811	4,059	1,776	3,976
Madrid	1650–1700	476	184	53	239
Cádiz	1700–1799	2,035	1,876	154	5
Ayamonte	1583–1800	2,181	2,073	--	108
Huelva[a]	1560–1765	3,362	1,978	232	1,152
Extremadura[b]	16th-18th c.	2,837	2,552	93	192
Cartagena	1640–1789	1,099	54	707	238

[a] Huelva, Palos, and Moguer.

[b] Badajoz, Cáceres, Jerez de los Caballeros, Llerena, Trujillo, and Zafra.

Sources: Franco, *Regesto*; Lobo, *La esclavitud*, 142–58; Graullera, *La esclavitud*, 126–27, 134–35; Cortés Alonso, *La esclavitud en Valencia*, 58–61; Morgado García, *Una metrópoli*, 130, 134, 146, 150; Parrilla Ortiz, *La esclavitud*, 92–97; González Díaz, *La esclavitud*, 50–51, 134–35; Izquierdo Labrado, *La esclavitud*, 1:93–96, 107, 115, 118, 125; Periáñez Gómez, *Negros*, 75; Armenteros Martínez, *L'esclavitud*, 109–10; Seguí Beltrán, "¿Unas islas asediadas?"; Vincent, "Les esclaves à Málaga" and "La esclavitud en Málaga"; Sánchez Torres, "La esclavitud en la Cartagena." for Madrid: Larquié, "Les esclaves"; González Arévalo, "La esclavitud," 67

tend to disappear from the record after the Granadan War: Aragón Mateos and Sánchez Rubio, "La esclavitud en la Alta Extremadura."

74 The provenance of slaves is difficult to establish, since historical sources do not always provide that information. Further, some authors classify them by their place of origin while others use criteria such as skin color or entry through a given port city. Therefore the figures in Table 1 are mere estimates that may be improved through better interpretation of the original documents, something beyond the scope of the present work.

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In spite of the cautions we have mentioned, it is clear that slaves from south of the Sahara were dominant throughout the Early Modern period. Of the more than thirty-eight thousand slaves documented, black Africans made up almost twenty thousand, while Muslims were somewhat over 7,500. We see that more than eleven thousand were American Indians, Asians, Europeans, and others, those of unknown origin being the most numerous. In short, there were many more slaves from black Africa than North African Muslims, even if we assume that some of the former had embraced Islam already.

We should pay attention to regional differences, however, since everything indicates that at certain times and places Muslims outnumbered black Africans. In Granada, for instance, we can see that black slaves dominated until 1569, when they were displaced by the large number of Moriscos enslaved after the Alpujarras rebellion.[75] In Málaga the Muslim slave majority arose first from the conquest of the Kingdom of Granada, then from the Spanish offensive on the North African coast (from the seizing of Oran in 1509 to that of Tunis in 1535), and finally from the crushing defeat of the Alpujarras in 1571.[76] In Jaén, out of ninety slaves bought and sold from 1675 to 1685 there were sixty-four Muslims and only twenty-six blacks and mulattos.[77] I have not included Murcia in Table 1 because we have only one document consisting of seventy-eight slave sales: the few blacks and mulattos listed were captured in Oran or by corsairs at sea, and only one is clearly linked to the Atlantic slave trade in black Africans.[78]

These cases, however, do not invalidate the fact that the immense majority of slaves in Spain in Early Modern times came from sub-Saharan Africa. As we noted above, A. Stella estimated their total number at two million, of whom only three or four hundred thousand would have been Muslims (including the Moriscos enslaved after 1570.)[79] It is risky to accept these figures, since our knowledge of slaves and captives from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries is so uneven and our information is still fragmentary and of varying quality. Some kinds of sources, like baptismal and marriage records, contain data on Maghrebis, Easterners, and blacks, but death notices usually do not. While

75 Martín Casares, *La esclavitud en la Granada*, 91–99.

76 Bravo, "Los esclavos"; González Arévalo, *La esclavitud en Málaga*; Vincent, "Les esclaves à Málaga" and "La esclavitud en Málaga."

77 López Molina, *Una década de esclavitud*, 135–38.

78 Peñafiel, *Amos*, 39–52.

79 Although it is hard to trust such estimates completely, a point of departure can be Stella, *Histoires d'esclaves*, 78–79.

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almost all black slaves eventually became Christian only a minority of Muslims did so, explaining the preponderance of blacks in baptismal records.

Maghrebi slaves have been relatively invisible to historians in comparison to black Africans, who arrived in such huge numbers by the Atlantic route from the Gulf of Guinea and nearby regions. The late eighteenth century also saw a surge in black slavery as Spain took a more active role in the slave trade – while it was legal, from 1789 to 1817, and especially afterward in its illegal form (1821–1866).[80]

Even a brief review of the data about Muslim slaves in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries will show how difficult it is to estimate their numbers. In the sixteenth century the chief source for North African slaves was the Spanish conquest of Maghrebi ports; our first point of reference, therefore, is Spanish expansion into North Africa from the conquest of Melilla (1497) up to the final loss of Tunis (1574). When a city was conquered some or all of its residents would be enslaved: Oran yielded eight thousand slaves, and Bougie and Tripoli a total of eighteen thousand.[81] Those victories – the conquest of Tunis in 1543 is one example – brought so many slaves into the Peninsular market that prices for them fell sharply.[82]

A second source of slaves was the many raids launched from Spanish strongholds and the Canary Islands onto the nearby coasts of North Africa and the Sahara, respectively. We know that between 1510 and 1594 at least 154 armed slave-seeking expeditions left the Canary Islands: eighty-seven from Fuerteventura, fifty-nine from Gran Canaria, and eight from Lanzarote. Together they captured more than ten thousand Africans.[83]

The third factor was the squadrons of royal galleys belonging to the Monarchy: those of Spain, Naples, and Sicily as well as the Armada of the Ocean Sea (which, though its chief mission was to protect the route to the Indies, also served as a virtual corsair fleet in the Strait of Gibraltar). These ships captured many enemy vessels with their crews, and also landed troops in various North African ports, sacking them and enslaving many of their inhabitants.[84]

80 Martín Corrales, "La paulatina desaparición," "La esclavitud negra en Cataluña," and "La esclavitud en la Cataluña."

81 Domínguez Ortiz, *La esclavitud*, 7.

82 For the increased number of slaves in Málaga after the conquest of Tunis see Bravo Caro, "El municipio de Málaga." For the arrival of North African slaves in Valencia after the conquest of Oran, Bougie, and Tripoli see Cortés Alonso, *La esclavitud*, 297–421.

83 Lobo, *La esclavitud*, 66–69, 142.

84 Lomas Cortés, "L'esclave captif" and "Les galériens du Roi"; Serra Puig, "Galeres catalanes."

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In fourth place were private corsairs who also engaged in the capture of slaves, especially in the sixteenth century.[85] In subsequent centuries their activity in this area declined sharply.

A fifth source was the creation of small defensive flotillas (often consisting of only one or two ships) to protect certain points along the Spanish coastline. These managed to make a number of captures, by the initiative of either local authorities or nearby residents.[86] There were also defenses on land against North African corsairs who came in search of slaves and booty, by which the invaders were often seized and enslaved themselves.[87] The same fate awaited Muslim corsairs who were shipwrecked on the Spanish coast.

The sixth and final factor was the enslavement of most of the Moriscos defeated and captured after the Alpujarras War of 1568–1570. Although these were nominally Christian, in fact their presence added considerably to the number of slaves who can be counted as Muslim.[88]

At the present state of our knowledge it is very risky to estimate how many Muslim slaves lived in Spain in the sixteenth century. The figure for Majorca can be considered virtually definitive, since it is based on documentation from all over the island – administrative, municipal, ecclesiastical, and royal: about 1,419 North Africans, 210 Turks, and eight Moriscos, for a total of 1,869 slaves between 1480 and 1620.[89] The same can be said for the Canary Islands, whose inhabitants captured about ten thousand slaves in the 1500s, some through raids on the Saharan coast and many others through ransoms negotiated with North Africa; only 243 were Muslims, however.[90] For Málaga we have the figure of 1,437 Muslims (North Africans and Turks) between 1487 and 1538.[91] In the

85 Alonso Acero, *España y el Norte de África*; García-Arenal and Bunes Ibarra, *Los españoles y el Norte de África*; Seguí Beltrán, "¿Unas islas asediadas?".

86 For Catalonia see Serra Puig, "Galeres catalanes"; for the galleys of Denia, Lomas Cortés, "Las galeras de Denia"; for the Balearic Islands, Seguí Beltrán, "¿Unas islas?".

87 For the Balearics see Seguí Beltrán, "¿Unas islas?", chap. 12. There are many reports of North African corsair ships and their crews being captured after a wreck on the Spanish coast. In 1596 30 corsairs were taken when their galliot ran aground on the beach at Cádiz: Tarruell, "Circulations," 134. In 1692 after an Algerian ship foundered off Majorca several of its crewmen were seized: Vernet Ginés, *El rescate del arráez argeli Bibi*.

88 Garrido García, "La esclavitud morisca" and "La esclavitud en el reino de Granada"; Martín Casares, *La esclavitud en Granada*; Vincent, "Les esclaves d'Almeria"; Andújar Castillo, "Del esclavo morisco al berberisco"; Cabrillana, "Esclavos moriscos en la Almería."

89 The remaining 140 were blacks (from either North Africa or the Guinean coast), Easterners, Canarians, and Jews: Seguí Beltrán, "¿Unas islas asediadas?".

90 Lobo, *La esclavitud*, 66–69, 142–58.

91 More than 450 slaves arrived there after Spain conquered Oran: González Arévalo, *La esclavitud*, 57–58, 67.

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1578 census only one-third of slaves were North Africans and Moriscos, while in the census of 1581 they numbered 421 out of a total of 575.[92]

Our other information is very fragmentary, emerging from bills of sale and baptismal registers in a variety of places. One would have to weigh its significance at each specific site, comparing the figures for Muslims with those for slaves as a whole, a task that goes beyond the present study. Here we will simply mention some scattered notices: in Seville, 131 Muslims between 1453 and 1513;[93] in Barcelona, about 294 between 1479 and 1516;[94] in Valencia, we saw that there were about 1,064 in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[95] In Valladolid there were forty to sixty at the same period;[96] in Huelva, Palos, and Moguer, only 232 between 1560 and 1765, and there were hardly any in Ayamonte.[97] In Extremadura only 93 are found out of a total of 2,837[98] (see Table 1). At the moment it seems useless to combine these into a total of Muslim slaves, since the result would be a reduced and incomplete number. And all the figures offered should be treated with caution since scholars, using several kinds of documentation, have applied different criteria for classifying slaves.

In the seventeenth century the chief source of Muslim slaves was corsair activity by the king's ships, though it does not seem to have been very efficient. Raids from Spanish presidios like Oran, Melilla, and Ceuta and from the Canary Islands diminished in both frequency and the number of captures. As time went on Spain increasingly gained slaves by seizing Muslim ships that prowled the Spanish coasts, detaining Maghrebi corsairs who came ashore in Spain to raid, and arresting the victims of shipwrecks. Spanish privateers pursued and caught French, English, and other European vessels when those countries were Spain's adversaries in war. Muslim targets were not as desirable, since the ships' cargoes had less value; most slaves taken from them were sold in Livorno and Malta.[99]

92 Bravo Caro, "Esclavos en Málaga"; Vincent, "Les esclaves à Málaga" and "La esclavitud en Málaga"; González Arévalo, *la esclavitud.*

93 Franco, *Regesto*, 41.

94 Armenteros Martínez, *L'esclavitud*, 109–10.

95 Graullera, *La esclavitud*, 126–27, 134–35; Cortés Alonso, *La esclavitud en Valencia*, 58–61.

96 Fernández Martín, *Comediantes, esclavos*, 129–34.

97 In Izquierdo Labrado, *La esclavitud*, v. 1, there are differences in the calculated total for the period 1452–1765 (p. 125) and the figures for each individual century in the preceding pages (93–96, 107, 115, 118), since the data for the sixteenth century begin in 1560. For Ayamonte see González Díaz, *La esclavitud*, 50–51, 134–35.

98 Periáñez Gómez, *Negros*, 75.

99 López Nadal, *El corsarisme mallorquí.*

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Our information from the Balearic Islands is scattered. From 1620 to 1659 we know of only twenty-five Muslim corsairs captured.[100] We know more about the participation of privateers in the second half of the century: although most attacks were made against European vessels, Balearic privateers captured at least 976 Muslims between 1652 and 1698: 654 by captains from Majorca, 274 from Ibiza, and forty-eight from Minorca.[101] These figures should be considered a minimum, since we do not know the total number of ships seized or the number of crewmen and passengers in each one. We cannot simply add these figures to our data about sales, purchases, baptisms, legal suits, escapes, and manumissions involving Muslim slaves in the islands during the 1600s.

For Catalonia we have reliable information on the number of Muslim rowers in the galleys of the Catalan squadron from the late sixteenth to the early seventeenth centuries, though the total is not large.[102] There was a surge in captures in the late 1600s when several Catalan coastal towns armed their own galleys.[103] In 1685 a galliot from Barcelona caught two frigates off Sitges that carried forty-five "Moors from Algiers"; these were sold to a Genoese for 3,060 piasters.[104] In 1687 a polacre under the king's flag entered Barcelona's port with eighteen Moors, who were bought by the French and sent to Marseille.[105] In 1700 sixteen Algerians were captured in Tossa and eventually sold to a Genoese,[106] while in 1702 forty Algerians were sold to various merchants.[107]

100 Vaquer Bennasar, *Captius i renegats*, 32.

101 The basic source is López Nadal, *El corsarisme mallorquí*. There are more limited data in González-Raymond, *La Croix et le Croissant* and "Les esclaves maures"; Fajarnés, "Una presa del Capitán Calafat," 1–2.

102 In the seventeenth century Muslim slaves made up about 20 percent of rowers, which grew to one-third: Heras Santos, "Los galeotes."

103 For the early seventeenth century see Serra Puig, "Galeres catalanes"; for its end, Martín Corrales, "Impulso de la actividad marítima."

104 In the sea battle one Muslim captain and four Turks were killed. The French consul in Barcelona tried to buy the slaves for his country's galleys and petitioned Madrid to be allowed to take them out of the country, but he did not receive authorization: see letters from the consul dated 16 June, 4 July, and 14 July 1685: Archives Nationales, Paris, Affaires Étrangères, B-I, 178, fols. 76–79.

105 The king's polacre sank off Montjuich. When local residents saw the Turks aboard "it was an occasion for the populace, who saw only Turks on deck, to hurl themselves on the vessel and steal whatever they could." An order to return the stolen goods on pain of excommunication was ignored. The 18 Turks, already sick, were held in unhealthy quarters and some of them died, while the survivors were bought and conveyed to Marseille in a tartane: ANP, AE, B-I, 178, fols. 98–102; letters from the French consul in Barcelona dated 26 January, 2 March, and 27 April 1687.

106 ANP, AE, B-I, 178, fols. 201–03; letter from Soleil, 14 March 1700.

107 In the French consul's opinion "This was not a great matter except for three or four whom the King of Spain took as his own by right": ANP, AE, B-I, 178, fol. 270; letter from Soleil, 4 June 1702.

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For Andalusia we have a census of the Muslim slaves who were living in Puerto Real in 1690, drawn up in anticipation of a visit from a Moroccan ambassador who could arrange exchanges for Christian captives.[108] At about the same time there was increased activity in the market for North African slaves in Seville.[109]

For the remaining Spanish territories we must resort to registers of sales and purchases, baptismal records, and other kinds of civil documents. We have noted that in Cádiz at least 1,776 baptisms of Muslims were registered in the 1600s;[110] in Valencia, 1,043 from the mid-sixteenth to the late seventeenth centuries;[111] and in Huelva, Palos, and Moguer, seventy.[112] While we have some data on Muslim slaves in other places it is very difficult to establish their number for Extremadura,[113] Valladolid,[114] Jaén,[115] and Madrid.[116]

We know a good deal about Muslims who served in the royal galleys in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[117] These ships reserved about one-fifth to one-third of their benches for Muslim slave oarsmen, and did not always obtain them by capturing enemy corsair ships: in Majorca there were domestic slaves who committed crimes and were condemned to the galleys.[118] Still, many men did come from ship captures: between 1682 and 1697 the Mediterranean galley squadron seized at least eight Muslim ships that yielded 302 slaves.[119] Because in the present state of our knowledge it is risky to estimate the total number of Muslim galley slaves in Spain in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, we shall not do so at this time.

While there are somewhat fuller data for the eighteenth century, it is still hard to estimate how many Muslim slaves lived in Spain. Only one military operation in that period, the Spanish conquest of Oran in 1732 (the Algerians had taken it in 1708), brought in a good number of slaves. In the other Spanish presidios in North

108 Izco Reina, "El censo de moros."
109 Santos Cabota, "El mercado de esclavos berberiscos."
110 Morgado García, *Una metrópoli*, 130, 134, 146, 150.
111 Graullera, *La esclavitud*, 126–27, 134–35.
112 Izquierdo Labrado, *La esclavitud*, 1:115.
113 Periáñez Gómez, *Negros*, 75–93.
114 Fernández Martín, *Comediantes, esclavos*, 129–34. When the Persian ambassador Hussein Ali Beg arrived in Valladolid in 1601 he was assigned a Turkish slave who tried to assassinate a member of his retinue who had converted to Christianity: Don Juan de Persia, *Relaciones*, and the Alonso Cortés ed.
115 López Molina, *Una década de esclavitud*.
116 Bravo Lozano, "Mulos y esclavos"; Larquié, "Les esclaves de Madrid."
117 Lomas Cortés, "L'esclave captif" and "Les galériens du Roi."
118 For Majorca see Seguí Beltrán, "La pena de galeras en Mallorca."
119 Martínez Martínez, "Los forzados de Marina," 86.

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Africa there were attacks in reprisal for earlier ones, but fewer slave-catching raids like those undertaken in the two previous centuries.[120]

The large number of corsair captures arose from the new naval policy initiated by Bourbon ministers, especially from the mid-1700s onward. Under the Marquis of Ensenada a new fleet was built that was able to combat North African corsairs, made up essentially of ships of the line and squadrons of xebecs and assisted by a good many privateers, some of whose captains joined the royal Armada.[121] A royal decree also granted rights to those who captured enemy privateers and license to sell them on the open market, exempting them from paying the thirty ducats that the Crown charged for each slave it wanted for its own galleys.[122] In battles at sea Spanish corsairs captured 8,439 Muslims alive, while 1,264 died in the fighting when their ships were seized.[123] Along the Catalan coast 949 North African corsairs were made captive between 1721 and 1780, of whom 181 died in battle.[124]

The complete cessation of slavery was achieved only after a series of peace treaties between the Spanish Monarchy and other rulers: with the Sultan of Morocco (1767), the Ottoman Caliph (1782), the Bey of Tripoli (1784), the Dey of Algiers (1786), and the Bey of Tunis (1791). Article 13 of the Spanish-Moroccan Peace Treaty of 1767 stipulated that officers, soldiers, and sailors captured in war would be considered "prisoners," since "His Moroccan Majesty wishes to erase from the memory of men the odious name of slavery." Old people, women, and children would be set free at once.[125] The same language was repeated in the later treaties with the Ottomans, Tripolitans, Algerians, and Tunisians.

We conclude from the above that the entity most directly concerned with the capture and possession of Muslim slaves in the Early Modern age was the monarchy. It employed them chiefly in the galleys of the royal fleet, but when those fell out of use it diverted them to public works such as the mines at Almadén, the naval shipyards at Cádiz and Cartagena, hospitals, and new roads. Still, from the late 1600s and early 1700s the crown's principal concern was the exchange of captives and/or prisoners. The original impulse was probably to free Spaniards from the garrisons at Larache and Oran, seized respectively by

120 Galindo y de Vera, *Historia, vicisitudes*, esp. Part 4.

121 The reform of the Spanish Armada was not a success in its rivalry with England, France, and other European powers. But it did help to persuade the North African regencies to sign treaties with the Spanish Monarchy: Merino Navarro, *La Armada Española en el siglo XVIII*.

122 Domínguez Ortiz, *Sociedad y Estado*, 338.

123 Barrio Gozalo, *Esclavos y cautivos*, 144–45.

124 Martín Corrales, "Esclavos norteafricanos," 383.

125 Cantillo, *Tratados*, 687.

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the Moroccans in 1689 and the Algerians in 1708. All our sources indicate that the aim continued in force throughout the eighteenth century.

In contrast, private individuals do not seem to have cared particularly to arm vessels against the Muslims. During the period when the largest number of Muslim prisoners were taken, those enslaved were sold to the French, the Genoese, or directly in Livorno or Malta. That was certainly the case in Majorca in the second half of the seventeenth century and in Catalonia throughout the 1700s.[126] Most North Africans were captured along the Spanish coast, whether by royal fleets or by ships armed by local initiatives to combat the menace of enemy corsairs.

To the extent that exchanges, ransoms, and manumissions did not keep pace with captures, the crown throughout the eighteenth century could count on a few thousand slaves that it set to work in the galleys, shipyards, Almadén mines, and road construction. The number of Muslim galley slaves remained steady at about one thousand until they were discontinued in 1748;[127] from 1700 to 1733 about 1,373 of them occupied the rowers' benches, constituting 16 percent of all rowing crews.[128] Of these 1,100 had been captured by royal ships, 190 had been purchased, and thirty came from ransoms: that is, they were slaves bought in order to set other rowers free (twenty-five were exchanged, seventeen replaced, and two condemned.)[129] In 1740 there were 585 slaves assigned to the seven galleys in the royal fleet, 114 of whom were released as too old or ill to work.[130]

It appears that the largest number of slaves was employed in naval shipyards: in 1766, of 1,453 royal slaves there were 906 working in Cartagena, eighteen in Cádiz, and five in El Ferrol. Building the road over the Guadarrama Mountains employed 230; 265 worked on a road in Catalonia; and twenty-nine captains and first mates helped build the Segovia-to-Lleida road.[131] Slaves worked in the Almadén mines from at least 1550.[132]

126 Although its focus is privateering against the English, see the relevant work in this regard by Martínez Shaw, "Un mal negocio." For the Balearics see Martín Corrales and López Nadal, "Entre la iniciativa privada"; also López Nadal, *El corsarisme mallorquí*.

127 Barrio Gozalo, "La esclavitud."

128 Martínez Martínez, *Los forzados de Marina*, 103.

129 Martínez Martínez, *Los forzados*, 106.

130 In that year there were only 471 Muslim rowers available although 500 were needed: Martínez Martínez, *Los forzados*, 51.

131 Barrio Gozalo, *Esclavos*, 146, and "La mano de obra esclava"; Martínez Martínez, *Los forzados*. About twenty Moorish slaves made a failed attempt to escape and were then assigned to work on water pumps, but they all died in a short time: Casal Martínez, "La audacia de los esclavos"; Domínguez Ortiz, *Sociedad*, 338.

132 Gil Bautista, *Las minas de Almadén*, 152–58; Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, "Esclavo del rey." In 1632 an owner from Cáceres sold a "young male North African slave, twelve or thirteen

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The more important prisoners, ship's captains and first mates, were held in several places including the castle of Santa Catalina in Cádiz, the Alhambra in Granada, the Alcázar in Segovia, and the castle of Lleida. In principle most were not required to work, though sometimes the reality was different. Two prominent captains taken in 1751 were sent to the Alhambra, while three more captured in 1761 were confined in Santa Catalina in Cádiz. The authorities feared that wealthier captains and other slaves might bribe their jailers to escape, so five who had been in Cartagena and two from the Alhambra were transferred to the Alcázar of Segovia as a more secure prison. By 1764 their number had increased to eighteen and they were sent on to Lleida; four years later that group and others from Segovia were moved to Cartagena in preparation for an exchange with Christian captives. In 1769 thirteen captains and first mates were dispatched from Málaga, Cartagena, and Cádiz to Segovia. There the number of prisoners peaked at fourteen, though by 1781 only two remained. The governor of the Alcázar declared that "when the Court is at San Ildefonso, the courtiers like to come and see them and they must appear decent."[133]

In fact there was no strong impulse to maintain Muslim slaves in the eighteenth century, as we can show through a few examples. At times of plague in North Africa, Spanish ships would protect themselves from infection by sinking captured corsair ships along with their crews.[134] In 1757 a ship commanded by the Catalan captain Balanzó destroyed an Algerian frigate in combat but sailed away from its forty-three survivors, who were picked up later by private boats from the nearby port of Palamós.[135]

In considering the treatment that Muslim slaves or captives received on Spanish soil we must bear three factors in mind. First, the slave had a value for sale or exchange – in short, he was merchandise – and therefore his life had to be preserved, in good condition if possible. In 1576 the residents of the village of Casares in Málaga, after catching the captain of a North African brigantine that had foundered on the coast while escaping the Galleys of Spain, threw him off a tower. The authorities strongly disapproved, since the captain could have brought a good ransom.[136]

Second, captives interacted with Christian society in a great many ways that depended on social class and the nature of the individuals who owned them

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years old, who was sold to the Fúcars for [work in] Almadén for thirty thousand *maravedís* because he had grown disobedient and troublesome": Periáñez Gómez, *Negros*, 401.

133 Barrio Gozalo, *Esclavos y cautivos*, 139, 142–44.

134 Barrio Gozalo, *Esclavos*, 138.

135 Barrio Gozalo, *Esclavos*, 141; Martín Corrales, "Esclavos norteafricanos," 381.

136 Cited in Tarruell, "Circulations," 135, based on Lamoine and Planas, *Entre traces mémorielles*.

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or whom they encountered. It was possible to gain one's freedom, and there was the option of conversion to Christianity (about which more below), even if some degree of coercion was involved.

Third, slaves could not be mistreated too severely. Information circulated widely in the Mediterranean, and authorities in slave-holding countries had to control their prejudices and behave with a certain moderation; if one side pressured or abused its slaves, the other could take severe reprisals. In the "Monroy Affair" of 1609–1622, an Algerian was unable to ransom his daughter, who had been forcibly converted to Christianity in Corsica; Algiers took revenge against three Trinitarians from Castile, who died in prison. Relations between Spain and Algiers deteriorated sharply as a result.[137]

The Algerian captain Bibi Muhammad, an expert and dangerous corsair, was captured when his ship went down off Majorca. The island's Viceroy was reluctant to have him exchanged or ransomed, because

> it will disappoint local residents to be robbed of these slaves, the fruit of their expeditions and the very reason they undertake them, for they use them to exchange for any Majorcans who might be captured (as often happens, Algiers being so near and the Algerians so often raiding). That could discourage [our own] corsairs and make them reluctant to pursue them any more, which would be a great disservice to His Majesty and contrary to the public good.[138]

137 For the whole episode see Hershenzon, *The Captive Sea*, 54–55, 114–15, 163–68, 172–74, 177. Tarruell, "Circulations," 162.

138 "[N]o dejará de causar algún desconsuelo a aquellos naturales el que se los despoje de estos esclavos que es el fruto de sus corsos y el fin con que salen a ellos, con los quales suelen hacer canje si sucede el cautivar algunos mallorquines, que con la vecindad de Argel y corsos que también practican los argelinos sucede muchas veces, lo que podría influir en desaliento de los mismos corsos y que en adelante se entibiasen en salir a ellos, lo que seria un gran deservicio de Su Majestad y contra el beneficio de la causa pública." The Viceroy went on to say that "this Moor is a very great corsair, very active on these coasts and those of Catalonia, where he has taken many prizes. For beside his long experience he is very brave, bold, and enterprising, and above all very intelligent and clever in both seafaring and corsair warfare, and capable of taking on any important adversary" ("este moro es un gran corsario, muy práctico en estas costas en las cuales, y en las de Cataluña, tiene hechas muchísimas presas, porque a más de su gran practica, es muy valiente, muy arrojado y atrevido y sobre todo muy inteligente y sagaz, así de la marinería, como del modo de hacer los corsos, y capaz de emprender cualquier facción grande"): Vernet Ginés, *El rescate*, xi-xiii, quotation at xi.

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The captain, who was also known as Robacols or Robacoles, had been acquired by the fishermen's guild of Palma de Mallorca. He wrote several times to Algiers claiming to be badly treated, and one of his letters was intercepted by the Spanish authorities:

> I have lived with them for three years, the entire time chained on a flat roof with a ring around my neck and shackles on my feet, suffering great hunger and thirst. And because they have me in this prison I have not been able to learn if any of your letters have come for me, or when.[139]

Nonetheless he managed to get some letters through to his family, who informed the Dey of Algiers and interested him in Bibi's ransom. Bibi also found allies among the clergymen who oversaw the bagnios where Christian slaves were held. In April 1692 these wrote to the Viceroy, describing how slaves in the Regency of Algiers were treated:

> In this city they allow slaves to come to church and attend the holy sacraments, and on feast days their owners send them out to fulfill their Christian duties. They do not force anyone to abandon the Christian religion; they invariably treat them well; and if any slave complains to the Governor that his owner mistreats him, they punish [the owner] and make him sell the slave to someone else. So, excellent Sir, why do Spaniards mistreat or force [their slaves], when as you know, soldiers of Christ wish to proceed with kindness? If we do not do so, these infidels seize the chance to act badly toward these poor slaves and toward us; for although we are free it breaks our hearts to see our churches shuttered and our brothers ill-used.

Things changed after news (whether real or exaggerated) of Bibi's ill-treatment arrived:

> We have had a great misfortune because they have closed all of our churches and put every slave from the island of Majorca in chains: all because a Turk, the captain of a settee who is called Biue Maamet Rex, a captive in Majorca, writes to the Governor of this city and royal house

139 "[H]e vivido tres años y he estado en ellos sobre un terrado con una argolla en el cuello y grillos en los pies y gran hambre y sed, y por estar encarcelado en esta prisión en que me mandaron poner no he podido saber cuando vinieron las cartas de vosotros, o si las tuviese o no": Vernet Ginés, *El rescate*, 25–26.

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> that he is enslaved to a fisherman's wife who (according to what he writes) must be ferocious. She will not let him practice his religion, gives him nothing to eat, and keeps him chained by the neck at night, and he also complains of how badly the other slaves are treated.

Therefore the friars asked the Viceroy of Majorca to treat the Algerian slaves

> with love and charity, so that in this city we Christians will be treated in the same way and not feel the pain of being afflicted and ill-used, and worst of all without churches and sacraments.[140]

After hearing this news the Viceroy ordered the captain transferred to the city prison. His owners, the fishermen's guild, were required to pay one *real* a day to ensure he had proper food. When they asked permission to sell Bibi to the galleys the Viceroy declined, "because it seemed to me that this new punishment and pressure could harm the poor Christian captives in Algiers."[141] He also visited the captain in prison, where "this Moor came forth to thank me for what I had done on his behalf, and to show his gratitude he offered to send new letters to Algiers describing the changes that had been made and how well they were treating him." The Viceroy sent that information to the king and the Council of State to be conveyed to the Trinitarians in Algiers, so they

140 "En esta ciudad permiten a los esclavos que vengan a las Iglesias, que frecuenten los Santos Sacramentos, y en los días de fiesta sus mismos patronos los envían a que cumplan con la obligación de cristianos; no fuerzan a nadie a que deje la Religión Cristiana: los tratan uniformemente bien: y si alguno se queja ante el Gobernador de que su dueño lo maltrata, le castigan y se lo hacen vender a otro, pues que razón obra Señor excelentísimo que los españoles maltraten ni fuercen, cuando los soldados de Cristo son voluntarios como V.E. sabe, para que nosotros no obremos con suavidad, y especialmente cuando con lo contrario se da ocasión a estos infieles a que hagan lo mismo con estos pobres esclavos y con nosotros, que aunque libres, sentimos en el corazón ver cerradas nuestras Iglesias, maltratados nuestros hermanos. … [H]emos tenido un gran pesar por cuanto nos han cerrado todas las iglesias y puesto en cadenas todos los esclavos de la Isla de Mallorca: por cuanto un turco, capitán de una saetía que se llama Biue Maamet Rex, cautivo en Mallorca, escribe al Gobernador de esta Ciudad y Casa del Rey como se halla esclavo en poder de una mujer de un pescador que, según las cosas que escribe debe ser una fiera, que no le deja vivir en su ley, que no le da de comer, que de noche lo tiene con una cadena al pescuezo: quejase también del mal trato de los demás esclavos. ...[C]on amor y caridad, para que en esta ciudad hallemos los cristianos la misma correspondencia y no tengamos el desconsuelo de vernos afligidos y mal tratados, y lo más sensible, sin Iglesias y sin Sacramentos": Vernet Ginés, *El rescate*, 21–24.

141 "[P]areciéndome podía esta nueva vejación y apremio redundar contra los pobres cautivos cristianos en Argel": Vernet Ginés, *El rescate*, 23–24, 28–29.

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could inform the Dey in the hope that "with this, the poor Christian captives may find relief."

The Dey of Algiers, for his part, took a keen interest in obtaining Bibi's freedom through an exchange or ransom.[142] This case became entangled with the matter of a captain Hassan, a rower in the Galleys of Sardinia, because Cristóbal Mateu, a Valencian slave in Algiers, had been freed after promising to ransom Hassan. When time passed without any action by Mateu, however, the Dey took his revenge by seizing the first Valencian who arrived in the port of Algiers: it was Carlos Vidal, a boatswain who "was on an [English] ship traveling under safe-conduct." The Dey offered to exchange both Vidal and a Spanish noble, Raimundo de San Martín, for Bibi and Hassan.

When no exchange had been made by 1694, the Dey once more ordered all the Majorcan slaves in Algiers into prison, making sure that the news would reach Spain to put pressure on the authorities there. Fray Pablo Garriga, who was in the city at the time, wrote a letter at the Dey's behest stating that "because of this captain, all the Majorcans are in prison and three who were free out of charity have been arrested, every day with new and extraordinary punishments." He believed that the Dey would not set any Majorcan free "either by exchange or for money."[143] A second letter in Arabic from the Dey himself to the Viceroy of Majorca repeated these terms.[144]

Finally, the Viceroy of Majorca and the Council of State convinced the king of Spain to agree to exchange Bibi and Hassan for Carlos Vidal and Raimundo de San Martín. The exchange was made before the end of 1694.[145]

Cases such as these continued into the eighteenth century: sources show how complaints by Muslim slaves in Spain had negative repercussions for Christians in the bagnios of Algiers, and vice-versa. Such laments, and the efforts by authorities on both sides to ensure comparable treatment of the enslaved, are documented for 1758, 1759, 1761, 1762, and 1766.[146]

We could cite many more examples. Clearly, poor treatment of slaves on one shore of the Mediterranean found an echo on the other; but authorities on both sides, while forced to carry out some reprisals, tried to limit their severity. Further analysis is needed to determine how "reasonable" each side was prepared to be in applying this kind of pressure.

142 Vernet Ginés, *El rescate*, xii-xiii.
143 Vernet Ginés, *El rescate*, 42.
144 Vernet Ginés, *El rescate*, 37–40.
145 Vernet Ginés, *El rescate*, xix.
146 Barrio Gozalo, *Esclavos y cautivos*, 176–82.

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We have mentioned above how slaves had to be provided with the basic necessities of shelter, food, and clothing, however scanty or deficient. We have several examples of the attention received by crews of Muslim corsair ships that were captured and brought into Spanish ports.[147]

One of the most vivid examples of the kind of medical and other assistance that captured corsairs received occurred in Barcelona in 1754. An Algerian pink with fifty-nine crewmen aboard was seized, though six died when the boat taking them to shore capsized. Confined in the lazzaretto, the men spent two days in their original clothing, though that should have been burned immediately and they should have been bathed and supplied with clean clothes. The scene of quarantine was chaotic: the soldiers guarding the Algerians insulted the doctor from Barcelona's Board of Health because they had not been paid. Meanwhile the local governor insisted on feeding the prisoners with wheat from their own ship, even though it had gone bad; many fell ill and complained of stomach pains. The governor yielded and sent them some beans, believing that "that has made them happy," but they continued to complain of a lack of firewood or oil for cooking the food. The doctor requested a cartload of straw because the building was so cold in the mornings. Other quarantined men began to suffer from various ailments: one had a fever and it was thought that "since he came from the mountains" and had had a fright when his shipmates drowned, he had turned "melancholy." Another's head injury had become infected. A third man suffered from "a swelling and was heated," so the doctor dosed him with "mercury pills": "in recent days this Moor complained that he had some slight pains, and it was learned that he was very avid for Moorish women and that it came from that." His shipmates declared that on leaving Algiers "this Moor had suffered discharges," although they had passed. The quarantine ended on 23 September without further incident.[148]

147 In 1727 four vessels from Mataró seized a launch that approached its coast with seven Muslims and a Genoese renegade on board; all were examined by medical officers and placed in quarantine: IMHB, FS, serie V, leg. 7, fols. 88–89, 11 October 1727. In Barcelona in 1729 the crew of a Tunisian galliot, twenty-one corsairs in all, were captured by the Malta squadron and likewise put in quarantine: IMHB, FS, serie V, leg. 7, fols. 216–17, 20 June 1729.

148 The pink had been sighted off Montjuich and captured by a squadron under the command of Álvaro Cabreros. Of the six drowned men one corpse floated to the surface, so the local health authorities forbade fishing for fifteen days in a radius of three leagues from the spot: IMHB, FS, Serie I, leg. 8, fols. 191–92, 195, 197–99, 210, 214–16, 218, 220–26, 229–33: the reports are dated 2–4, 9–11, 14, 19, and 23 October 1754. Another doctor from the lazzaretto declared that the sick Algerian had "a swelling, as a result of some discharges he contracted in Puerto Mahón": FS, Serie V, leg. 9, fols. 70–75, 12 and 18 September 1754. Serie I, leg. 8, fols. 238–40.

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In 1756 a packet-boat belonging to Antonio Barceló seized a galliot and "after having killed twenty-six Moors aboard, brought the rest directly into this port." Five of the nineteen survivors – or thirteen, in another account – were injured ("he is bringing five seriously wounded and asks for a surgeon"). Their clothing was burned and, wearing new garments, they were taken to the lazzaretto in Barcelona, the healthy ones by land and the wounded in boats. One named Larrax, probably the captain, had three serious wounds: "one on his head almost to the bone, one hand almost severed, and his thigh pierced through and through." Moreover he presented "the novelty of a total blockage of urine from a stone in the neck of his urinary bladder, with a swelling or tumescence of the hypogastric region that I very much fear may produce an inflammation or kill him."[149] That same month the king's xebecs arrived in Barcelona with an Algerian pink captured off Tossa with sixty-seven Moors aboard, three of them wounded; they were deposited in the lazzaretto to wait out their quarantine.[150]

Another illuminating instance took place in 1757. In the waters off Palafrugell Captain Balanzó had "sent … an Algerian frigate full of Moors to the bottom," after which his ship continued its journey. The town councillors reported that on 22 June they had ordered the Algerian survivors pulled from the water with fishing gear, so that twenty-seven were rescued. Some had taken refuge "on some rocks called the Formigas that are in the sea in sight of that town [Palamós] – sixteen Moors from a galliot that had fought with the pink of captain Juan Balansó of Mataró." Most of the captured men had severe wounds and were housed in a converted windmill and a tower near Palafrugell, under the authority of the town council.[151] Ten crewmen aboard a Catalan boat that had been captured by an Algerian xebec, then retaken by two royal vessels, received similar treatment.[152]

149 This was one of the two Algerian galliots that had attacked Balanzó at the mouth of the River Llobregat: IMHB, FS, Serie I, leg. 9, fols. 119, 121, 13 June 1756. The quarantine cost 2,213 *reales de ardite* and 12 *sueldos*: FS, I, leg. 10, fols. 8–9. Another doctor confirmed Larrax's diagnosis: "he cannot piss because of a stone that fills the opening to his bladder." Another quarantined man, Ali, was feverish: FS, Serie I, leg. 11, fols. 79–82, 7 and 10 June 1762.

150 IMHB, FS, Serie I, leg. 11, fol. 93. Marqués de la Mina to board of health (Junta de Sanidad del Ayuntamiento), 19 June 1762.

151 The Board of Health of the royal Audiencia wanted to know if the Catalan captain had communicated with the corsairs, and requested information on the Catalan boat, its captain, and its destination. It received a report from the Commandant of Gerona and the town councillors of Palamós: IMHB, FS, serie V, leg. 9, fols. 178–79, 25 June 1757.

152 The ships, engaged in corsair warfare in the Mediterranean, were captained by Isidoro Postigo. The boat had been seized on 22 July 1757: IMHB, FS, Serie V, leg. 9, fols. 221–22, 4 September 1757.

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Sometimes an excess of zeal could result in tragedy. In August 1772 an Algerian galliot commanded by Captain Say was seized off Palamós; there had been thirty-eight Moors on board, of whom thirty-six survived to be brought into Barcelona. The Board of Health found fault with the medical treatment the slaves received, condemning in particular "the ill effects of the perfumes and baths given to the Moors and Turks brought in by the king's galliots." As a consequence of the fumigation they had undergone – using only one-sixth the amount of products that the law required, for the time it took to recite two Credos – the men emerged from quarantine "half dead, in convulsions, apoplectic, and with other effects." It was ordered that from then on there should be no more "fumigations nor baths for the syphilitic."[153]

At many other times during the 1760s there must have been incidents similar to the ones we have narrated, though our information about them is less clear.

Port authorities did not always allow captured Muslim corsairs to be quarantined in their lazzarettos; sometimes their entry was forbidden out of fear of plague. That was the case for twenty-nine Muslims captured in 1737 and taken to Málaga,[154] and for the men of an Algerian xebec taken by the Galleys of Malta off Cadaqués in August 1758.[155]

Ransoms of Muslims are documented throughout the Early Modern age, though they were arranged more systematically by the late eighteenth century. Our information for the 1500s is scarce and fragmentary.[156] Some well-known individuals were ransomed, like Ahmad b. al-Qadi, a captive in the south of Spain, who was redeemed by the Sultan of Morocco for the sum of twenty thousand *escudos*.[157] In the Canary Islands ransoms were common in the sixteenth century and mostly designed to exchange captive Muslims for an

153 On their release from quarantine the Algerians were taken to the Ciutadella: IMHB, FS, Serie I, leg. 13, fols. 92–93, 99–100: 29 August 1772 and 18 September 1772. Serie V, leg. 11, fols. 13–14: 4 December 1772.

154 The health authorities in Málaga, for fear of contagion, turned away Captain José Muñoz, commander of the frigate that had captured the ship, and all its crew: IMHB, Serie V, leg. 8, fol. 237, 28 September 1737.

155 The Maltese galleys were ordered to take charge of the xebec and convey the captured Algerians out of the kingdom: IMHB, FS, Serie V, leg. 10, fols. 22–26, 2 September and 18 October 1758.

156 For ransoms of Muslims see Vidal Castro, "Le rachat des captifs musulmans."

157 Loukili, "D'une captivité musulmane à l'autre." The sultan pursued freedom for other subjects, including Captain Amar, enslaved in the Galleys of Spain. One of his ambassadors, Amete Voytade or Botarbo, obtained freedom for thirty-four Moroccans in Lisbon in 1582: Tarruell, "Circulations," 123.

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undetermined number of black Africans.[158] In 1512 an ambassador from Tunis was authorized to ransom any Muslim slaves on Spanish territory that he could.[159]

From the late seventeenth to the end of the eighteenth century we have fuller and more precise information about ransoms, especially exchanges of captives. After the Moroccans took the fortress of Larache in 1689, the number of Spaniards enslaved provided motivation for both sides to exchange slaves and prisoners. The following year, when the Moroccan ambassador al-Gassani visited the court in Madrid, an exchange was agreed to by which an undetermined number of Muslim slaves, most of them Moroccan, were freed in response to the freeing of survivors of Larache.[160] This trend grew stronger in the eighteenth century, as I will show in Chapter 5.

In the period under study an unknown number of Muslim slaves gained their liberty through letters of manumission or a provision of their master's will. They were probably not many, since owners placed very heavy conditions on their slaves who wished to be freed. The so-called *cortados*, slaves hired out to third parties, found it especially difficult to pay the sums demanded. After the Moroccan ambassador Sidi Ahmed al-Gazzal had observed slaves in Cartagena, he remarked:

> These slaves are very poor and needy, and what they gain after their hired labor is not enough to feed their children, because prices are so high. … We spent a long time in their company while they wept and pleaded with us, and we cried and lamented even more.[161]

Even so, and bearing in mind that slaves who sought their freedom tended to exaggerate their misfortunes somewhat, their number was almost certainly larger than has generally been supposed. We shall return to this subject in Chapter 4.

158 Most Muslims captured by Canarians were exchanged for slaves from sub-Saharan Africa: Lobo Cabrera, "Rescates canarios."

159 Cortés Alonso, *La esclavitud en Valencia*, 419, 422.

160 Ben Hadda, *A Moroccan Ambassador*; Arribas Palau, "De nuevo sobre la embajada de al-Gassani"; Vernet, "Embajada de al-Gassani"; Sauvaire, *Voyage en Espagne d'un ambassadeur*; Stanley, "Account of an Embassy from Morocco."

161 Paradela Alonso, *El otro laberinto*, 65.

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Attempts to flee were very frequent: there are documented cases in Cáceres,[162] Badajoz,[163] Jaén,[164] Barcelona,[165] and Cartagena,[166] and they must have occurred also in many other cities and towns for which we still have no information. Since we hear only about those who were recaptured, there is no way to know how many escaped successfully.

We shall take up the question of religious practices among Muslim slaves in the section about free Muslims on Spanish soil.

⁂

The defeated and dispossessed Moriscos, like captured and enslaved Muslims (of whom many were caught while raiding Spanish shores in search of Christian slaves), formed a marginal population within Spain. Nor were they alone, for they shared that marginal status with paupers, convicts, and others whom society did not treat much better – including Gypsies, who like Muslims reacted with irreverence when religious processions passed by. Within that zone of exclusion Moriscos and Muslim slaves interacted with their counterparts, either sharing their misfortunes or competing with them for alms from respectable

162 Juan Ronquillo, "by nation a North African Moor," escaped from Cáceres in 1585 but was caught in Salamanca; the Morisco Alvar López, who also fled Cáceres, was arrested in 1582: Periáñez Gómez, *Negros*, 443, 449, 482.

163 Juan de Aliste, a Morisco slave from the village of Almendral in Badajoz, escaped to Mexico: Periáñez Gómez, *Negros*, 445.

164 Of eight escaped slaves at least four were Muslims whose names show they had been baptized: Francisco in 1676, Simón Alonso in 1677, Salvador in 1678, and Bernarda de Quiñones in 1689. All were recaptured: López Molina, *Una década*, 48–50, 62, 70, 84.

165 On the night of 12 July 1762 two Algerians whose ship had been captured by Spanish vessels escaped their quarantine in the lazzaretto in Barcelona. One slipped his foot out of its manacle and the other took the manacle with him, breaking a link in its chain and carrying both manacle and chain away "in a manner that has amazed everyone because [the place] was well guarded at night." The town crier immediately proclaimed that anyone who helped the escapees would be sentenced to death. When they were recaptured in Malgrat on 30 July it was determined that they had had no accomplices: IMHB, FS, Serie V, leg. 10, fols. 102–03, 18 August 1762; Serie I, leg. 11, fols. 164, 168, 2 July and 12 July 1762.

166 On 12 April 1763 twenty Muslim slaves took over a fishing barge tied up in the shipyard and, having a favoring wind, managed to slip out of port even though they came under fire. A second barge manned by twelve soldiers and some officers and sailors, joined by two tenders manned by grenadiers and a Minorcan xebec, pursued them. The xebec caught up with the fugitives two leagues outside Pormán and engaged them in combat; the slaves defended themselves with rocks, but after six were killed and eight wounded they surrendered. A rumor in the city that all the Muslim slaves had revolted had the entire garrison mustered and armed, and in the confusion thirty-four Muslims were wounded before the true situation was known: Martínez Rizo, *Fechas y fechos*, 1:157.

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society. Often both Moriscos and *cristianos nuevos de moro* served as a bridge between Old Christians on the one hand and unrepentant Moriscos, together with free and enslaved Muslims, on the other.

Nonetheless a frontier did exist between the Moriscos and other marginalized groups, and between all of them and the larger society; neither side intermarried with the other, for example.[167] Though the Moriscos had been baptized, most of them continued in their old faith, and virtually all of those expelled from Spain accepted their new reality and "returned" to the practice of Islam. Only a few embraced the Church sincerely.

As for Muslim slaves, most of those who became Christian had been baptized at birth, in numbers much larger than has been acknowledged until now. Both groups formed a sort of mirror image of the Christian renegades who became Muslim in lands of Islam.

Out of the hundreds of thousands of Muslim slaves only a small number gained their freedom, whether through manumission, an owner's testament, or self-purchase. Everything indicates that the great majority of these Muslim freedmen preferred to remain in Spain – both those who had converted to Christianity and those who had not.

167 Amelang, *Historias paralelas*.

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CHAPTER 3

Spain, Land of Refuge and Survival for Thousands of Muslims: Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries

We have already described how Moriscos and slaves have attracted the greatest attention from historians, who have barely begun to turn to the many, previously neglected free Muslims living in Spain: exiles, merchants, adventurers, military men, spies, converts, and others.[1] The eighteenth century has received the least scrutiny, since the Morisco period was over and Muslim slavery gradually disappeared after the Spanish monarchy signed treaties of peace, friendship, and trade with the Sultan of Morocco, the Dey of Algiers, the Beys of Tunis and Tripoli, and the Ottoman Caliph. The growing number of Muslims who came to Spain after the establishment of peaceful relations has largely been ignored.

We have also observed that the maritime frontier between Spain and Muslim lands should not be called "forgotten," since it was always being crossed; indeed, like all borders, it was always porous.[2] It was certainly never forgotten by all the Muslims who sought refuge in Spain for shorter or longer periods. A notable group were the exiles from royal families who had lost their thrones and who traveled with their trains of relatives and partisans (see Chapter 2). Others were fleeing the authorities in their homelands, sometimes for having converted to Christianity or committed serious crimes such as homicides. Many more were refugees from the frequent famines in the region, preferring slavery in a Christian country to death by starvation in their own.

In the following Map 1 we have located the geographical points in Spain where Muslims have been identified during the long age of hostility from 1492

1 The exception is B. Vincent: "Exilio interior y refugio internacional," "Les musulmans dans l'Espagne moderne," and "L'Islam en Espagne à l'époque moderne."

2 We should also pay attention to the Spanish presidios on the North African coast: Oran, Mazalquivir, Ceuta, Melilla, Peñón de Vélez de la Gomera, Peñón de Alhucemas, and many other coastal towns and areas that fell under Spanish rule between 1497 and 1551 before being retaken by Muslims. Spanish garrisons quartered there forged relationships with residents of the towns and the nearby hinterlands. While this issue goes beyond the scope of our study, see for the general context Alonso Acero, *España y el Norte de África*, and García-Arenal and Bunes Ibarra, *Los españoles y el Norte de África*. On specific presidios: Fe Cantó, "Oran (1732–1745)"; Alonso Acero, *Orán-Mazalquivir*; Schaub, *Les juifs du roi d'Espagne. Oran*; García Figueras and Rodríguez Joulia Saint-Cyr, *Larache*.

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MAP 1 Muslim presence in Spanish cities (1492–1767)
PREPARED BY ANDREU SEGUÍ BELTRÁN

to 1767/1791. It is merely a preliminary estimate, lacking in many respects, since we do not always know how many members made up the groups that we can identify in documents: retinues of exiled rulers, ambassadors, and emissaries, and groups of people who arrived on Spanish shores in search of a better life.

The map's most notable feature is the central role of Madrid, especially after it was established as the permanent site of the royal Court. Valladolid, Medina del Campo, Segovia, and Toledo appear representing times when the Court was still itinerant. Sanlúcar de Barrameda is probably less prominent than it should be: it was the court of the Duke of Medina Sidonia, the epicenter of Spanish-Moroccan diplomacy from the mid-sixteenth to the seventeenth centuries. Córdoba and Espejo appear because certain governors of the presdidio of Oran received North African envoys there. Las Palmas de Gran Canaria played a similar, though lesser, role with respect to the nearby Saharan coast. Carmona and Utrera were two towns where exiles resided in the sixteenth century. Cádiz, Málaga (and nearby Granada), Cartagena (and the interior of Murcia), Palma de Mallorca, Alicante, Valencia, and Barcelona were all entry ports to the Spanish domains; in the first four there were Muslim colonies during the period under study. And finally, Pamplona in the

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north received a number of Muslims who, having converted, joined the Spanish army and were quartered there.

3.1 Royal Exiles in the Sixteenth Century: Recover the Throne, or Convert?

A phenomenon in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries has received little notice from historians until recently: the existence, in Spain and its Italian dominions of Naples and Sicily, of many Muslims belonging to reigning dynasties of North Africa who had been toppled from their thrones. Once on Spanish soil they sought support and material aid to recover the status lost through internal strife in their homelands. These persons, usually in family groups, were in Alonso Acero's words

> rulers in the Islamic societies to which they belonged: monarchs or members of the royal families who determined the destinies of a given kingdom. Their social rank and prior position granted them a swifter welcome and more efficient protection in the Christian world they now entered. Their counterparts, the Christian monarchs, received them and offered them shelter in the face of initial mistrust by the wider society – which, however, eventually celebrated the arrival of such high-ranking Muslims as a moral victory over Islam. These royal exiles were refugees of quality, expected to provide a political benefit in the form of ransoms or alliances; or they might reject their former life and become new Christians, able to occupy distinguished posts in the service of the regime that had welcomed them.

Most of them were monarchs, princes, and other members of the ruling dynasties, often accompanied by their families and partisans: Wattasids and Saadids from Morocco and Fez, Zayyanids from Tlemcen, and Hafsids from Tunis. Alonso Acero stresses that Spanish monarchs behaved well toward these Muslim princes and pretenders, who sought entrance to the Spanish North African presidios or the Peninsula itself: they were

> treated as royal personages, [and] welcome was extended to their families, followers, and goods; security and protection was promised by virtue of their social rank.[3]

3 "Fueron cabezas rectoras de las sociedades islámicas a las que pertenecían, como monarcas o miembros de las familias reales que dirigían los destinos de un determindado reino. Su

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As a rule these persons were received by the monarchs, who subsidized their resettlement in Spanish territory. But we must not forget that, just as elsewhere in Europe, Spain considered these exiles to be bargaining chips and hostages of the authorities in advancing their policies toward Muslim countries. Their treatment was a function of whatever relations prevailed with the rulers of Morocco, Algiers, and Tunis.

3.1.1 *Wattasids*

Beginning in the mid-fifteenth century, political life in Morocco was marked by the decadence of the Marinids or "Benimerines" and the rise of popular devotional religious movements. The latter were led by men considered saintly, the *morabitos* (Arabic *murābiṭūn*). Their ascendancy contributed to a fragmentation of power in the region, clashes between cities, and the emergence of Sharifism, the current that sought to rule based on its leaders' prestigious descent from the Prophet Mohammed. The Wattasids (see Figure 1) had been governors or regents under the Marinids, and after adopting the arguments of Sharifism were able to seize power in 1472. Until their replacement by the Saadids in 1554 they managed to rule Morocco in spite of pressure by Portugal, Spain, and the Ottoman Empire, as well as many internal revolts.[4]

In January 1549 the Saadids conquered Fez, the Wattasid capital, and massacred the dynasty's last sultan, Ahmad ibn Muhammad, along with members of his court. A survivor, Abu Hassun ("El Buazón" to Spanish chroniclers) became the head of the deposed dynasty; he had been king of Fez from 1524 to 1526, then was deposed by his nephew and relegated to the governorship of Vélez. In April 1549, with five followers, he sought refuge in the Spanish presidio of Melilla, where he was later joined by his children and other relatives as

categoría social y posición previas les permitió tener una acogida más rápida y una protección más eficaz dentro del mundo cristiano en el que entraron a vivir. Sus congéneres, los monarcas cristianos, fueron quienes los recibieron y ofrecieron un amparo, frente a la desconfianza inicial de la nueva sociedad, que también acabó por celebrar la llegada de un musulmán de tan alto rango como una gran victoria moral frente al islam. Estos exiliados regios aparecen como tránsfugas de calidad de los que puede esperarse un beneficio político traducido en rescate o alianza, o quizá acaben por renunciar a su mundo anterior y se conviertan en nuevos cristianos que desempeñen puestos destacados al servicio del poder político que los ha acogido. … [Son] tratados como personas regias, el permiso se extiende a sus familias, séquitos y bienes, respecto a los cuales se establece un compromiso de seguridad y protección en virtud de su categoría social": Alonso Acero, *Sultanes de Berbería*, 20, 102.

4 Alonso Acero, *España y el Norte de África*; García-Arenal and Bunes Ibarra, *Los españoles y el Norte de África*.

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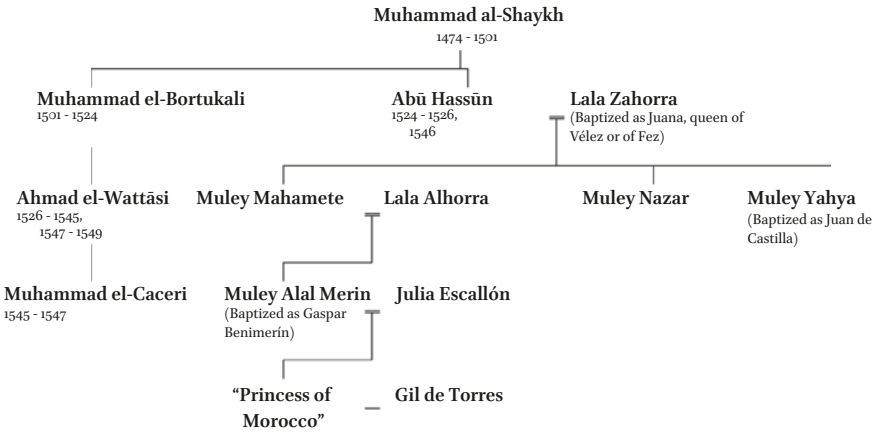

FIGURE 1 Genealogical table of the Wattasids (fifteenth-seventeenth centuries)
TABLE BY ANDREU SEGUÍ BELTRÁN. SOURCE: ALONSO ACERO, *SULTANES DE BERBERÍA*, 90

well as several gentlemen and officers from Vélez. His arrival proved awkward for Melilla: its governor feared the presence of such a large number of faithful Muslims, and the town had few resources to support them.

In spite of his entreaties ("I am alarmed that after I have been in Melilla for so long Your Majesty has not yet decided a matter that so affects your royal service"), Abu Hassun was not allowed to move to Málaga until July. The Captain General of Granada, the Count of Tendilla, considered him "a man much loved and well established who has a strong reputation in Barbary, [so that] it seems to me wasteful to keep him in Melilla." The fact is that while some thought of him as a potential hostage, useful for advancing Spanish interests in North Africa, for others his presence in the Peninsula represented a danger. Abu Hassun asked Charles V to help him regain his throne. Two of his sons, Muley Nazar (al-Nazir) and Muley Mahamete, accompanied him to Spain, the latter joining his father once he was in Germany. Other companions included Muley Abdallah, "nephew of the king of Vélez," gentlemen, and servants (including two called Abraham and Hamete). In early November Abu Hassun, with an interpreter and ten Muslims (six on horseback and four on foot), left Málaga for Valladolid to meet Maximilian of Austria, the Hapsburg regent. The Moroccan asked for soldiers to help him take Arcila, which the Portuguese wished to leave, and aid "in expelling the [Saadid] Sharif from Fez and the other kingdoms he possesses"; but he was given only a thousand ducats and clothing for his retinue. Having received so little from the regent Abu Hassun decided to go in search of Charles V, who was in central Europe at the time. His party reached Genoa by way of Barcelona on 24 January 1550, and arrived in Brussels in March. They

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did not get much satisfaction from Charles, who had discouraged their journey "because we are so occupied with current affairs." But Abu Hassun remained near the emperor for several months and even took part in fighting the Protestants. Charles assigned him an annuity of 2,400 escudos, plus six hundred for his relatives. During that period more of his family members and partisans arrived in Melilla, and some went on to Málaga and Valladolid. Francisco Verdugo, who was in charge of providing matériel to Melilla, wrote to the regents that

> in all the ships of the line that I send to Melilla with mortar and provisions and arms, groups of them will arrive, as they have been doing for some time; and I am heartily sick of them and determined not to receive them in my home, even though I know that on leaving it they will find no one to give them even a jug of water.[5]

Maximilian told Verdugo to make every effort to send the refugees back to their own country, though not at the expense of the royal treasury – suggesting that maintaining Abu Hassun's family and followers had become an economic burden. His sons Muley Nazar and Muley Mahamete had also been receiving fifty ducats a month since June 1550, while in April of that year his nephew Muley Abdallah, "prince of Fez," had been granted seventy-five thousand reales for his expenses in Spain and Portugal. Even the servants, Abraham and Hamete, received ten ducats each, and these amounts were only part of what the Moroccans cost. On 12 July 1551 Abu Hassun and his retinue landed at Barcelona in the train of Prince Philip, who was bound for Valladolid. The monarchy continued to support him, assigning him three thousand ducats a year starting in 1551. In early 1552 Abu Hassun asked the prince for more financial aid and a galleass captained by Álvaro de Bazán for his return to Morocco. Weary of waiting for military help that never came, he moved on to Portugal, where he received a warmer welcome. In January 1554, joined by leaders from Algiers, he defeated Muhammad al-Shaykh al-Mahdi and entered Fez as its conqueror, but in September he lost both the city and his head at the hands of the Saadid sultan.[6]

Some of Abu Hassun's relatives managed to cross into Spain: one was a wife who converted to Christianity and took the name Juana, "queen of Fez";

5 "[E]n todos los navíos que enviare a Melilla con cal e bastimentos e municiones, an de venir cafilas dellos, como hasta aquí lo han hecho; y estoy muy harto dellos e con determinación de no los acoger en mi casa, aunque se que, salidos della, no an de allar quien les de un jarro de agoa": Alonso Acero, *Sultanes*, 73.

6 Alonso Acero, *Sultanes*, 66–79; La Véronne, "Lettres inédites," "Politique de Abû Hasûn," and "Princes ouattasides."

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she remains in the records until 1557. Another wife, Lalla Zahorra, arrived in December 1573 to El Peñón de Vélez (in Spanish hands since 1564); she too took the name Juana on her baptism in 1575, styling herself "queen" of Vélez or Fez. She was accompanied by her youngest son, Muley Yahya, and a servant, and all three sought the Catholic monarch's protection and passage to Spain because "the Sharif wished to cut off their heads."[7] Once in Madrid the mother was determined to join Spanish society, but her son changed his mind and requested economic and military aid to recover the throne in Fez. It was offered to him only as far as Africa; the monarchy, which had funded the family in Spain, sent them on to Portugal where they might enjoy more support, but by the end of the year they were back in Madrid. The "prince of Fez," realizing that he could never reconquer his kingdom, accepted baptism in about 1575 with the name Juan de Castilla. Sent to Navarre with a monthly allowance of twenty ducats, he entered the service of the Viceroy there, and from 1578 to 1592 served in the Spanish army in Flanders, where "he was much esteemed by the Prince of Parma and all the commanders in the field and captains of the army."[8]

A more prominent descendant of Abu Hassun was his grandson (son of Muley Mahamete) Muley Allal Merin, hastily proclaimed king after his father's death. He left for Spain in the mid-1570s but took a roundabout route: landing first in the Cape Verde Islands he fell sick and had a vision of the Virgin, leading him to become a Christian with the name Gaspar de Benimerín. His travels took him on to Madeira, Terceira Island, and Lisbon, and on his arrival in Madrid with a large following he was received by Philip II. (He claimed in a later memoir to have left Morocco in 1570 and have been baptized in Spain.) From 1575 onward he served in the royal armies in several ways: on ships guarding the route to the Indies, on the islands of Santiago and Cape Verde, and in the conquest of Terceira in 1582. Shortly afterward, in Naples, he married and persuaded the Council of Italy to double his monthly allowance. Later on he entered the service of Archduke Albert in Flanders, but was back in Naples at the end of the century; at about that time he asked the king to increase his allowance

> because, since he has become a Christian and served Your Majesty, he should be the equal of Don Carlos and Don Felipe, sons of the King of Tunis, who receive one hundred escudos of maintainance a month; and

7 Alonso Acero, *Sultanes*, 81–84.

8 Alonso Acero, *Sultanes*, 79–84, 90.

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> he should be honored with a religious habit so as to serve Your Majesty better, as he wishes to do.

Between 1604 and 1606 Don Gaspar fought in the war in Hungary, "where his Imperial Majesty favored him with command of a cavalry company."[9] At around this time he was deep in debt and had his allowance suspended for a long period. When Morocco grew unstable after the death of Ahmad al-Mansur in 1603, Don Gaspar wrote to the king offering himself as the only legitimate heir to that throne: "he beseeches Your Majesty to grant him license and authority to use all means possible to recover his kingdom." He promised that he would not do so in detriment of his Christian faith, but for the greater glory of God and the Catholic monarchy. Both he and his uncle Juan de Castilla asked the monarch's leave to contact faithful followers in Morocco who would work on their behalf. In that same year Iuan Vincenzo Scaglione, a relative of Gaspar's wife, dedicated to him his "Origin and Ancestry of the Most Serene Kings the Benimerines, Lords of Africa, down to Don Gaspar Benimerín, Prince of Fez" (*Origen y descendenzia de los sereníssimos reyes benimerines señores de Africa hasta la persona del señor don Gaspar Benimerín, infante de Fez*). When the Moroccan adventure failed to materialize, in 1612 Gaspar went to defend Greece against the Ottoman menace. In 1618 he founded a new military order, the Milicia Cristiana, with the support of Carlos Gonzaga, Duke of Nevers. On his coat of arms one quadrant displayed a half-moon pointing downward, a symbol of his rejection of Islam. On his death in 1641 he was buried in the church of Santa María de la Concordia in Naples, where his tomb bears a portrait of Emperor Ferdinand III, who proposed his beatification, with a legend asserting his claim to the throne: "Sepulcrum Don Gasparis Benemerini infantis de Fez et ejus familiae de Benemerini." His daughter, known as "the princess of Morocco," married the son of the tutor of pages to Cardinal-Prince Ferdinand of Austria – in a final demonstration of how this converted exile's family was able to rise in Christian society.[10]

There is information about other members of the Wattasid dynasty in Spain, although it is not always precise and sometimes a single individual may appear as two different ones. One Gaspar, "son of the queen of Fez," was implicated in 1555 in a plot in Melilla to free Muslims imprisoned in the presidio.

9 "[P]or venir a ser cristiano y a servido a V.M. lo sea de igualarle con Don Carlos y Don Felipe, hijos del Rey de Tunez, que resciben cien escudos de entretenimiento al mes, y honrarle con un hábito para poder mejor servir a V.M. como dezea hacer": Alonso Acero, *Sultanes*, 85.

10 Varriale, "La media luna al revés"; Alonso Acero, *Sultanes*, 79–88; Viguera, "Noticias sobre el Magreb"; Castries, "Trois princes marocains"; Escallon (Scaglione), *Origen y descendencia*.

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In 1564 Margaret of Austria, regent of the Low Countries, ordered payment for the travels of two princes: two hundred *libras* to Don Alonso de Fez, "son of the king of Fez," for a trip to Spain, and the same sum to Don Felipe de Austria, "brother of the king of Morocco," to travel to Germany; the latter was already documented in 1557. Felipe de Aragón, a nephew of the king of Fez, converted to Christianity in Zaragoza around 1553. We know of another Felipe de Aragón seemingly different from the former, "of Moorish lineage, son of the king of Fez, resident in the town of Elche," who may have converted before 1550. In 1563 he approached the Inquisition in Murcia voluntarily, having been accused of being a Muslim, schismatic, and heretic, and of having made pacts with the devil and sheltered heretics. He was sentenced to wear a habit and be confined for three years in a monastery, and "having served them to be exiled from the kingdoms of Aragon, Valencia, and Granada; and having confessed to being a king's son, was sentenced as such." His behavior must have caused great anxiety at a time when tensions with the Moriscos were increasing.[11]

Muley Amar, "king of Debdou" (between Melilla and Fez), arrived in Melilla in July 1550, fleeing the Saadids who had just conquered Tlemcen; his train of relatives and partisans numbered about three hundred. Maximilian of Austria, the regent, feared such a concentration of Muslims in the Spanish town (since Muley Amar's family and followers would join those of Abu Hassun), and ordered that only the king, his family members, and three servants could remain. But Muley Amar protested that "they would prefer to be prisoners of Your Lordship than kings in the hands of the Sharif," so they remained sheltered behind the presidio's fortifications. Muley Amar, who wished to go to court to swear allegiance to Charles V, offered to leave some of his relatives as hostages in Melilla while bringing his sons to fight in the Christians' armies; he hoped to receive the same welcome as Abu Hassun. The religious establishment in Melilla saw a marvelous opportunity to evangelize the refugees. But as the months passed Amar did not receive permission to cross to the Peninsula, and his son-in-law managed to reconquer his kingdom; so when his leave to sail to Málaga was finally granted in March 1551, he had already left Melilla.[12]

3.1.2 *Saadids*

Muhammad al-Shaykh al-Mahdi's rise to power in 1544 brought a period of close alliance with Spain, since both parties wished to resist Ottoman pressure

11 Alonso Acero, *Sultanes*, 88–91.

12 Alonso Acero, *Sultanes*, 73–76.

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on North Africa.[13] (See Figure 2) His son and successor Abadallah al-Galib began a fierce persecution of other members of his family who might contest his right to the throne. In 1574 Abadallah was succeeded by his son Abu Abdallah Muhammad ibn Abdallah al-Mutawakkil, who had to confront his uncles Abd al-Malik ("El Maluco" in Spanish sources) and Ahmad, who expelled him from Fez and Marrakesh in 1576. After taking refuge in El Peñón de Vélez de la Gomera, al-Mutawakkil crossed to Spain; Philip II promised him aid but, enmeshed in the war in the Low Countries, failed to deliver it. Al-Mutawakkil had better luck in Portugal, where he received the military and economic help he would need to dethrone his uncle Abd al-Malik. The end result was the Battle of the Three Kings at Alcazarquivir in which the Portuguese King Sebastian, Abd al-Malik, and al-Mutawakkil were all killed.[14]

Al-Mutawakkil's son Muley Shaykh (Xeque) was born in 1566. After the disaster at Alcazarquivir he found shelter in Arcila and from there was sent to Lisbon in 1578, with his uncle Muley Nsar (Nazar) and the *alcaide* Ibn Tuda. They spent ten years in Portugal together with their closest relatives and a large retinue of faithful followers. When Portugal fell to Philip II in 1581 Muley Xeque and his uncle, both with a claim to the throne, became pawns in a three-way game. Philip was negotiating with the ruler of Fez, Ahmad al-Mansur, who in turn sought an alliance with the Portuguese pretender Don Antonio and the English to regain the Portuguese throne. Both uncle and nephew were held hostage to threaten al-Mansur unless he acceded to the interests of the Catholic monarch.

In 1589 both men were taken to Andalusia, where al-Mansur might feel their threat more strongly if Philip decided to support them with money and arms. Muley Xeque, with fifty-seven followers, stayed in Carmona while his uncle resided in Utrera,[15] both supported by the Portuguese treasury. They soon made contact with Moriscos in both towns, and when those from Carmona conspired with Muley Xeque to free him, he was moved to Andújar in 1593. There he decided to convert and was baptized in the monastery of El Escorial on 3 November 1593, in a ceremony led by the cardinal archbishop of Toledo and with the king and Princess Clara Isabel Eugenia as his godparents. As the newly named Felipe de África or Felipe de Austria he became prominent at

13 La Véronne, "Menaces," "Politique de l'Espagne," and "Política de España."

14 Alonso Acero, *Sultanes*, 91–92; Valensi, *Fables de la mémoire* and "Silence, dénegation"; Berthier, *La Bataille de l'Oued el Makhazen*; Nekrouf, *La Bataille des Trois Rois*; Bovill, *The Battle of Alcazar*.

15 The Andalusian towns of Carmona and Utrera were large enough to sustain the expenses of both men with their respective retinues. They had the further advantage of being far from the Spanish court and relatively close to Morocco.

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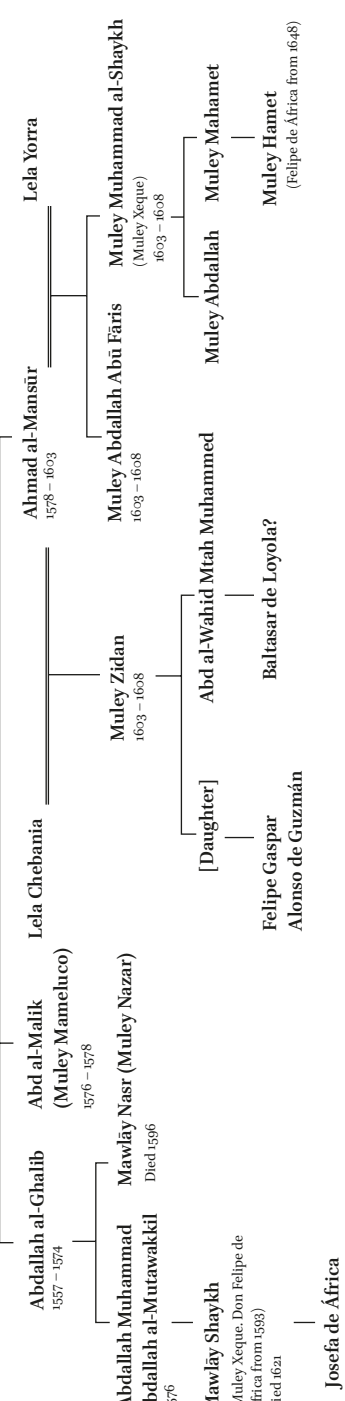

FIGURE 2 Genealogical table of the Saadids (sixteenth-seventeenth centuries)
TABLE BY ANDREU SEGUÍ BELTRÁN. SOURCE: ALONSO ACERO, *SULTANES DE BERBERÍA*, 109

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court, since he belonged to a reigning dynasty and had renounced the religion that Spaniards considered false and sectarian. With the title of Grandee of Spain he was ceded the towns of Bedmar and Albanchez in the diocese of Jaén; these paid him rents of twelve thousand ducats a year, to which a thousand more were added for his sustenance. He was made a knight of the Order of Santiago and Captain General of the cavalry of Milan, giving him an exalted military rank.

In 1596 Felipe de África wrote to the Council of the Inquisition requesting that all his descendants be admitted to schools, universities, collegiate churches, cathedrals, the Holy Office, and any other institution governed by the purity-of-blood statutes; thus they would be free of discrimination based on their Muslim origins so long as they remained in the bosom of the Church and had no dealings with "any person with a trace of Moor, Jew, or any other sect in his lineage." The response to this petition shows how much mistrust still existed while the Morisco problem was still alive: "it having been such a short time since the abovenamed received the water of baptism and learned about our Christian religion … when there are so many descendants of his sect and nation in these kingdoms of Your Majesty, it is right to be very careful of him."[16]

The prince, who rented rooms in a common residence offered himself in military service to the king to relieve his economic difficulties. The Council of State decided to send him to the war in the Low Countries "because here he is not doing well nor can he benefit anyone, while there he may do some good." Everything indicates that he neither went to Flanders nor received any financial help to do so. In 1609 he was sent to Italy, possibly to keep him away from involvement with Moriscos, whose expulsion had been decreed that year. In Milan he served as a captain of infantry in the war in Piedmont under the command of the city's governor. Retired to a village between Milan and Pavia, and in financial straits because his stipends from the royal treasury failed to arrive, he fell gravely ill and asked to end his days in Spain; but he died a Christian in 1621 before permission was granted. His daughter and heiress, Josefa de África, entered the convent of San Pablo in Zamora.[17]

Muley Nsar, who had also conspired with the Moriscos of Seville and considered himself the only legitimate pretender to the throne after his nephew's

16 Alonso Acero, *Sultanes*, 95.

17 Alonso Acero, *Sultanes*, 98–100, and "Los Austrias y el Norte de África." Letters from Muley Xeque to the Spanish monarch in García-Arenal *et al.*, *Cartas;* La Véronne, "Séjour en Andalousie"; Guastavino Gallent, "Don Felipe de África"; Oliver Asín, *Vida de don Felipe de África*.

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conversion, returned to Morocco in 1595. In that adventure, lacking any military or economic help from Spain, he lost his life in 1596.[18]

In December 1610 Mahamete ben Muley Nsar appeared before the walls of Oran, claiming to be the son of the deceased Muley Nsar and to have spent fifteen years in prison: "the son of Muley Naçar, the one who spent the last eighteen or twenty years in Spain, who they say was uncle to the prince of Morocco."[19] Mahamete was requesting the Spanish king's protection on the grounds that his life was in danger. He sent letters to Don Felipe de África (Muley Xeque) and Philip III, declaring himself the former's cousin. Though some suspected he was an impostor, he was allowed into the fortress on the strength of his desire to convert; he was instructed in the Catholic faith but asked for baptism not in Oran but in Spain. Finally he was allowed to cross to the Peninsula, even though the governor of Oran accused him of being an alchemist, ambitious, and capable of treachery. Arriving in Murcia around March 1611, he came under the protection of Luis Fajardo, commander of the Armada of the Ocean Sea, one of whose assignments was to organize the expulsion of the Moriscos begun in 1609. In December 1611 Mahamete was imprisoned and accused

> as a fraud, and that declaring himself a prince was only to give himself importance and thereby to ask His Majesty to grant him some favor, by which to remain in these kingdoms and carry out some ill intent.[20]

It was a delicate moment in the midst of the expulsion of the Moriscos. Presumed an impostor, sent to Oran and imprisoned in one of its castles, Mahamete tried to persuade several soldiers to desert; brought to trial once more in 1612, he was condemned to the galleys. We last hear of him in El Puerto de Santa María, the home base of one of the galley squadrons, where he must still have been a convict rower.[21]

Sultan Al-Mansur of Morocco, at his death in 1603, divided his kingdom among his three sons. Muley Muhammad al-Shaykh (Muley Xeque) received Fez and the Gharb region; Muley Zidan, Tadla and its province; and Abu Faris ("Buferes" in Spanish sources), Marrakesh and its province. When the three

18 Alonso Acero, *Sultanes*, 92, 94; La Véronne, "Séjour en Andalousie."

19 Alonso Acero, *Sultanes*, 98.

20 "[P]or embustero e que el aver publicado que era príncipe era solo a fin de acreditarse y por este camino pedir a su magestad le hiciese alguna merced y con ella quedarse en estos reinos y executar algún mal intento": Alonso Acero, *Sultanes*, 100.

21 Alonso Acero, *Sultanes*, 98–102.

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brothers began to fight for control of the whole country, new waves of exiles arrived in Spain. Muley Muhammad Xeque, yielding to pressure from Muley Zidan, took refuge in Larache, where he sought help from Spain and Italy. Spanish diplomats, eager to seize control of the presidio, soon allowed him to settle in any of Spain's North African fortresses or in the Peninsula, and the king wrote:

> I am pleased to grant you that license and security, so that whenever you wish you may come within any of my frontiers or where it suits you best in these my kingdoms, bringing your children, wives, servants, treasures, and jewels.

At the same time he ordered his authorities not to hinder the Moroccan's settlement in Spain:

> When the said king arrives in my kingdoms, let him reside in them for as long as he wishes, and I shall order that he be treated and attended as is proper and as his person and estate deserve.[22]

This permission was not immediately needed, however, because Muley Xeque's son made a triumphal entry into Marrakesh in 1608; but in January 1609 Muley Zidan defeated the son's troops, forcing his brother Abu Faris to flee to Larache. In March, Muley Xeque took advantage of the king's offer and arrived in Portimão in Portugal. Although he asked to go to Madrid to seek Philip III's help in recovering his throne, he was sent instead to Carmona, receiving a warm welcome as he passed through Sanlúcar de Barrameda. Finally, in early July 1609, he settled in Carmona, the same Sevillian town that had welcomed the other Muley Xeque twenty years before, with his mother Lela Horra and some of his followers; the rest were sent on to Utrera so that Carmona would not bear all the costs. Philip III offered him aid in exchange for the fortress of Larache, and Muley Xeque embarked for Morocco in February 1610:

22 "Tengo por bien de concederle la dicha licencia y seguridad, para que cuando fuere su voluntad pueda venir por cualesquier fronteras mias, o por donde más bien le estuviere, a estos dichos mis reynos con sus hijos, mujeres, criados, thesoros y joyas que traxere. … quando llegare el dicho rey a mis reynos le dexen residir en ellos todo el tiempo que fuere su voluntad, y daré ordenes que sea tratado assistido como es razón y lo mereçe su persona y estado": Alonso Acero, *Sultanes*, 103.

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> On his sendoff Our Lord King gave him many thousands of ducats, many arquebuses, rope, bullets, pikes, powder, six of the king's own horses, and twenty royal tents. And he ordered his commanders of the frontiers and fortresses to give him everything that he might request afterward.[23]

Muley Xeque, arguing that he was forced to leave some of his children in Tangier as hostages, requested a *fatwa* from the religious men of Fez declaring it licit for him to cede Larache to the Christians. In November, Spanish troops took possession of the town. On this occasion no members of Muley Xeque's family converted to Christianity, though some members of his retinue did: in 1611 three daughters of Hamete Botaybo, "a principal Moor and intimate of King Xeque," were granted 150 ducats after having been baptized.[24]

Other Saadids went into exile in Spain as well. One was a grandson of Muley Zidan (the son of one of his daughters), Felipe Gaspar Alonso de Guzmán. After his brother was captured by the governor of La Mamora (modern Mehdya), he offered himself as a hostage in exchange for his brother's freedom; he arrived in Madrid in late 1635 and was received by Gaspar de Guzmán, Duke of Medina Sidonia. A document states that "this Moor from Fez came to Madrid and they want to baptize him and have the King be his godfather." He was baptized in February in the royal chapel of the Alcázar, taking the names of his sponsors, Philip IV and the Count-Duke of Olivares, and of the patriarch Alonso Pérez de Guzmán, who performed the ceremony. He later served under the Marquis of Fuentes in Flanders.[25]

Muley Hamet, a son of Muley Muhammad Xeque and grandson of al-Mansur, was a refugee in Getafe in 1648 and asked protection from Philip IV. A captain of cavalry and infantry, a knight who wore the religious habit of Christ, asked that he be "honored with a decent residence, worthy of a son, nephew, and grandson of so many kings." On 16 October 1648 Muley Hamet was baptized and assumed the name Felipe de África, perhaps because the king had acted as his godfather. Appointed to a post in the royal treasury, he served under arms in Naples. In his correspondence with Pope Innocent X he signed himself "prince of Fez and Morocco," showing that he did not renounce his origins.[26]

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23 "Cuando le despidieron le dio el Rey Nuestro Señor muchos mil ducados, muchos arcabuzes, cuerda, balas, picas, polvora, seis caballos de su persona, y veinte tiendas Reales, y orden a sus Generales de las Fronteras para que todo lo que pidiesse después, y sus Alcaides, le diesse": Alonso Acero, *Sultanes*, 105.

24 Alonso Acero, *Sultanes*, 102–05.

25 Alonso Acero, *Sultanes*, 106.

26 Alonso Acero, *Sultanes*, 106–07.

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We have mentioned Abd al-Karim Ibn Tuda, of the family that ruled Alcazarquivir, Larache, and Arcila; he had supported his relative al-Mutawakkil, who fell in the Battle of the Three Kings. He reached Lisbon in December 1578 together with Sidi Hammu, the former governor of Meknes, and all their wives, children, and servants. Because he was in financial straits Philip II allowed him to sell some of his personal effects. He was at odds with his nephews Muley Xeque and Muley Nsar. In 1587 we find him in Andalusia but Philip III granted him a return to Morocco in 1598, a journey he made the following year.[27]

3.1.3 *Zayyanids*

In the thirteenth century Yaghmurasan ibn Zayyan, taking advantage of the Almohads' weakness, conquered Tlemcen and founded the Zayyanid dynasty. (See Figure 3) This was the origin of what the Spaniards called the "Kingdom of Tlemcen," whose borders were constantly shifting: it was under constant pressure from its powerful neighbors Tunis to the east and Morocco to the west, which were always trying to seize it. In the early sixteenth century three different actors sought to take control: Spain after it took Oran and Mazalquivir in 1505–1509, the Ottomans after Barbarossa seized Algiers in 1516–1518, and the Saadids from the mid-1500s onward. These conditions explain the fragility of the Zayyanid dynasty, which to fend off the Ottomans and Saadids often turned to Spain; the Spaniards responded by helping its members to regain the throne on several occasions.

Muley al-Nasser al-Thabti (Muley Nazar), son of the king who had ruled Tlemcen from 1521 to 1534, under threat by the Saadids had to seek help from either the Ottomans or the Spaniards. Deciding for the latter, he fled with his family and retinue to Oran and spent several years there without receiving the support he needed for taking back his throne. As we have described above in the case of Melilla, the expenses incurred in hosting these refugees were burdensome for a presidio with few resources of its own. Muley Nazar petitioned the emperor in 1554 for help "so I may recover this kingdom of Tlemcen which belongs to me and is being tyrannized by the Turks, the enemies of all." He asked specifically for five thousand infantrymen and two hundred cavalrymen, whom he pledged to provision himself. He repeated his plea the following year but the request was never granted.[28]

His brothers Muley Ahmed and Muley Hassan also sought refuge in Oran. One of the latter's sons, whose original name we do not know, grew convinced

27 Cabanelas, "El caíd marroquí 'Abd al-Karim."

28 Alonso Acero, *Sultanes*, 113–14.

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FIGURE 3 Genealogical table of the Zayyanids (fifteenth-sixteenth centuries)
TABLE BY ANDREU SEGUÍ BELTRÁN. SOURCE: ALONSO ACERO, *SULTANES DE BERBERÍA*, 136

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that his dynasty would never recover the throne and converted to Christianity, taking the name Carlos de África. He proved to be the most prominent exile in his family. He remained in Oran until 1565 and reappeared seven years later in Madrid, presenting himself as "Don Carlos de África, the legitimate son of the king of Tlemcen" and lodging in the home of Sebastián Colonna. By 1578 he was captain of an infantry company of ninety-six soldiers in Flanders, earning a monthly allowance of forty escudos. In that same year he petitioned to wear the habit of the Order of Santiago even though he did not fulfill the requirement of purity of blood.[29] The president of the Council of Orders received a report explaining "who is Don Carlos de África, how he came to receive holy baptism, and how he has served His Majesty in the war in Flanders, so that you may see why he should be favored."[30] Because the request came from a *cristiano nuevo de moro*, the Council of Orders was reluctant to grant it and Philip II had to intervene on Don Carlos's behalf:

> They tell me that this Don Carlos has conducted himself so well that I have decided to look into his request for a habit; and if it is to be done you would do well to see what facilities need to be given and how the matter should be directed.[31]

The Council remained unconvinced in spite of the royal intervention: "I believe that the habit has never been given to one who descends from the caste of Moors since the establishment [of the order's rules], which exclude them."[32] In 1579 Philip II issued a royal decree ordering an investigation into Carlos de África's genealogy, and in 1583 the Pope finally issued the dispensation that created the exception for him and gave him the habit. Don Carlos remained in Flanders "until the Spaniards left," then was posted to Oran where he arrived in 1581, dying in about 1584.[33]

Another Muley Hassan died in Oran around 1551, having arrived there with his wife and son.[34] In the mid-1500s yet another young man "of the Moorish nation, born in the ancient city of Tlemcen … of very prominent parents who

29 On this issue see Sicroff, *Los estatutos de Limpieza de Sangre*.

30 Alonso Acero, *Sultanes*, 113–14.

31 "Este don Carlos me dizen que se ha governado tan bien que por esto he querido mirar en lo que ha pedido del habito y para si se huviesse de hacer sera bien que miréis que diligencias serian menester y como se havria de encaminar": Alonso Acero, *Sultanes*, 115–16.

32 Alonso Acero, *Sultanes*, 116.

33 Tarruell, "Orán y don Carlos de África".

34 Tarruell, "Orán y don Carlos," 283.

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descended from the kings of that kingdom and city" came to Oran. He claimed to have been divinely inspired to convert, and did so: he took the name Martín Formiel after his godfather, the governor of the presidio, who received him into his house. Accompanying his patron on every excursion outside the city, he was captured in Mostaghanem in 1558 and taken to Algiers. There, after refusing to return to Islam, he died under torture.[35]

Gonzalo Hernández de Córdoba, an interpreter on the frontier, was descended from the Zayyanids through his paternal grandfather. The grandfather, who helped the Spaniards conquer Oran in 1509, married a daughter of the presidio's governor, the Marquis of Comares, and would have become its governor himself had he not died before being baptized. A son of that marriage was Francisco Hernández, who converted to Christianity in his father's lifetime and married a Christian woman from Córdoba. Their son, Gonzalo Hernández, played a crucial role in Spain's negotiations with Muhammad al-Shaykh to mount an offensive against the Ottomans. Gonzalo may have died in the Spanish defeat at Mostaghanem in 1558, an expedition he had strongly supported.[36]

The Zayyanids had their share of false princes as well. A certain Muley Mahamete, who called himself a "descendant of the kings of Tlemcen," appeared in Oran in March 1609. Soliciting Philip III's help in regaining the throne, he claimed support from "the principal men and rulers of the land" and "many other men of Barbary." He received little consideration, perhaps because it had been so long since the Zayyanids' loss of Tlemcen. Muley Mahamete then renounced his claim and offered to serve the Spanish monarch anywhere; he probably needed to earn his living, and preferred not to return to a place where his future was so bleak. A few months later a first cousin of his, "also a pretender to Tlemcen" and a petitioner for assistance, came to Oran as well, but he seems to have fared no better.[37]

The city of Ténès with its province, between Oran and Algiers, was the source of some refugees who sought refuge in Spain; it was ruled by a branch of the Zayyanid dynasty based in Tlemcen. Its early-sixteenth-century leader, Abu Abdallah ("Muley Baudila" to the Spanish), tried to play Spain against the Ottomans in order to stay in power. Dethroned by Khaireddin Barbarossa, he fled to Oran with his younger brother but obtained no help from the governor there. In 1527 we find him with his family and followers in Écija, from where he went on to Málaga to prepare for recovering his throne; although Charles V promised him troops and financial aid they do not seem to have materialized.

35 Alonso Acero, *Sultanes*, 119; Sosa, *Diálogo de los mártires*, 89–93.

36 Alonso Acero, *Sultanes*, 119–20.

37 Alonso Acero, *Sultanes*, 120–22.

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Faced with this situation, the siblings converted to Christianity: "this lord of Ténès had himself baptized with his younger brother, and both remained in Spain with a good income from the Emperor." In 1528 Baudila appears as Don Carlos de Tenez living on a royal allowance, presumably until his death in about 1534.[38]

The Zayyanids held power in Algiers for only a short time. In 1501 Selim Ben Thumi proclaimed himself its king, intending to oust the Spaniards who – by controlling El Peñón, an islet in the Bay of Algiers – were interfering with corsair activity from the port. In 1515 he requested help from Aruj Barbarossa, who expelled the defending Spaniards but then took the city for himself and exiled Selim. Cardinal Cisneros, archbishop of Toledo and regent of Spain at the time, needed to prevent Aruj from "putting down roots and growing so much, and so close to Spain"; he assembled a fleet under Diego Vera that attacked Algiers in September 1516. The expedition ended in a disastrous defeat for Spain that only solidified Barbarossa's power over the city. Meanwhile one of Selim's younger sons fled to Oran and was sent to the Peninsula in 1517 in the care of the Cardinal. He converted to Christianity and took the name Carlos de África: "he called himself Don Carlos and was married in Illescas."[39]

3.1.4 *Hafsids*

We should begin with the province of Bougie which, though it belonged to the kingdom of Tlemcen, was in Hafsid hands from the early sixteenth century. Abu Feres, ruler of Tunis, placed the province under his son Abdulaziz "with the title of king." (See Figure 4)

Shortly before the Spanish conquest of 1510 Abdulaziz's son Muley Abdallah was contesting the throne against his uncle Abderraman. Both sought an alliance with Spain, and to achieve it Abdallah gave his oldest son Hamet as a hostage; his uncle did the same with Mahamet el Blanco, his son with a Christian woman. Both hostages later converted to Christianity: Hamet, also called Muley Mahomet, was baptized in Majorca and under his new name, Hernando, was known as the "prince of Bougie." He married and had two daughters, one of whom entered the convent of La Concepción de San Francisco in Madrid in 1543. The other, María, was abbess of the Sancti Spiritu convent in Olmedo in 1592. Hernando enjoyed a high standard of living thanks to the five hundred thousand maravedís he was assigned for his lifetime from rents in Cuenca; he owned houses in Mejorada del Campo (Madrid) and had many servants,

38 Alonso Acero, *Sultanes*, 124–27.

39 Alonso Acero, *Sultanes*, 124–27.

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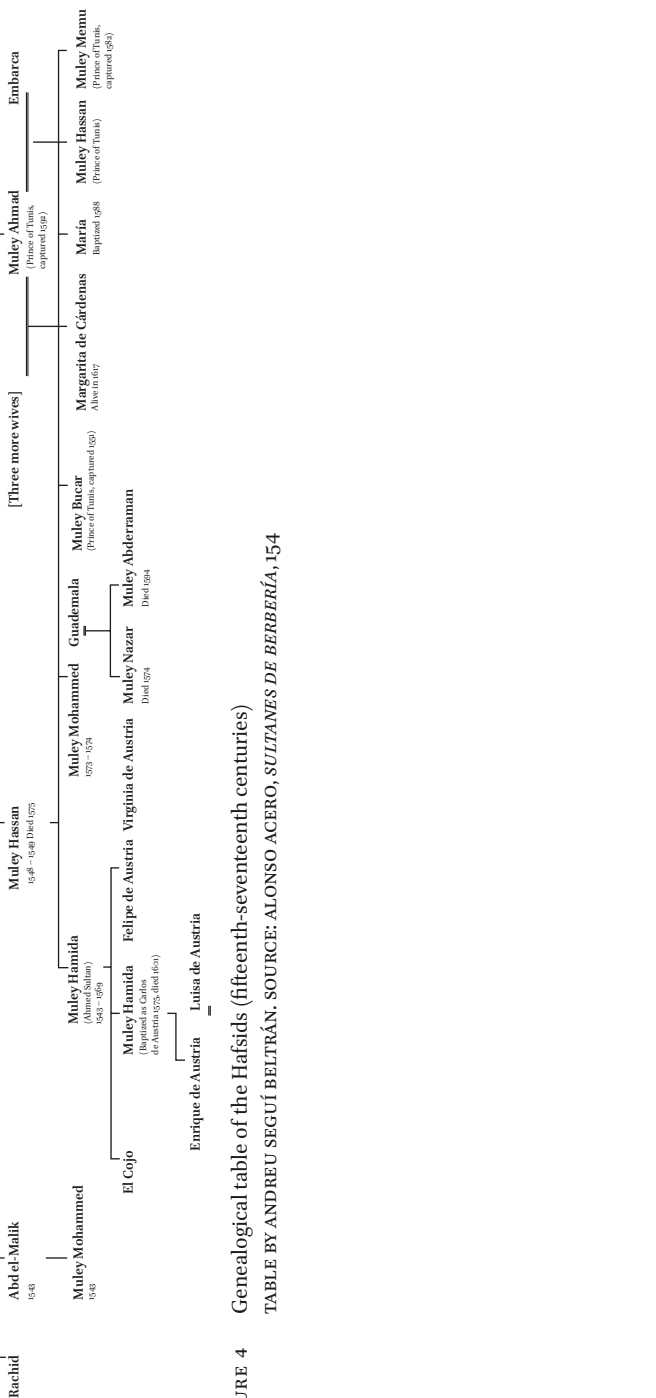

FIGURE 4 Genealogical table of the Hafsids (fifteenth-seventeenth centuries)
TABLE BY ANDREU SEGUÍ BELTRÁN. SOURCE: ALONSO ACERO, *SULTANES DE BERBERÍA*, 154

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among them several converted slaves like Leonor Gelada de Ambrosio. He died in 1556 or 1557 mourning the loss of Bougie, which had been taken by Salah Reis; he wrote that he had offered unsuccessfully to go to Bougie and form an alliance with his partisans against the Ottomans.[40]

The Hafsids, who had governed Tunis since the thirteenth century, furnished most of the exiles. After the rule of Muley Abu Abdallah (1493–1525), his sons' rivalry for the throne coincided with Spanish-Ottoman competition for control of North Africa. When Muley Hassan emerged victorious his brother Muley Rachid sought an alliance with the Ottomans, who took Tunis in 1534. Muley Hassan then turned to Charles V, whose troops reconquered the kingdom in 1535 and restored him to the throne as the emperor's vassal and dependent.[41] Always in need of money, Muley Hassan traveled through Italy to Augsburg seeking an audience with Charles, and in his absence his son Hamida proclaimed himself king of Tunis. Returning home at once, Muley Hassan was defeated by his son, who blinded him but left him alive; he managed to return to Europe and even to petition in Augsburg once more. Later he lived in Sicily and Naples, where he probably died in about 1550.

In Sicily Muley Hassan was accompanied by another of his sons, Muley Bucar, who embarked in 1551 in one of the galleys bound for Djerba in an attempt to capture the Ottoman commander Dragut. But his ship was seized and he was taken as a prisoner to Istanbul. The Spanish crown, which was supporting his wife and children, tried to ransom him to show "the barbaric nations that Your Majesty's generosity and benignity extend not only to Christians but to infidels."[42]

An interesting figure in this context was Juana Serafina, "who was daughter to the King of Tunis" – presumably Muley Hassan, who would have entrusted her education to the Spanish.[43] If that was indeed the case it would show how close relations were between the Spanish Hapsburgs and the reigning dynasties of North Africa. But there is another version of events, possibly apocryphal, about Juana Serafina's arrival in Spain: it claims that she was enslaved in the course of Charles V's conquest of Tunis. An Aragonese noble, Matías de Moncayo, won

> from the sack of that city, as happens with armies, a little girl eight or nine years old, daughter of the King of Tunis. As a king's child she had natural

40 Alonso Acero, *Sultanes*, 133–37; Sánchez Ramos, "Don Fernando, infante de Bugía."
41 Boubaker, "Le traité hispano-hafside"; Tellechea Idígoras, "El tesoro de Muley Hacen."
42 Alonso Acero, *Sultanes*, 139–42.
43 I am grateful to M.A. Bunes Ibarra for this personal communication.

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> gifts and gallant qualities, and her actions at that age told of her noble lineage. She had a lively wit and tranquil character, and though she was born of Moorish parents she did not care much for their rites: for before the age of six she already discoursed on and doubted some things about the sect of Mohammed that did not conform to her reasoning. And she would ask her father the king or an uncle of hers about them, for he had a rank there that the Moors call "Curitan," which is like a bishop here.

In this telling Moncayo gave the girl as a slave to Ana de Cardona, wife of Juan de Moncada, Count of Aytona, who made her a lady-in-waiting in her palace. The count and his wife tried to persuade her to convert: " 'Child,' the Countess would say to her, 'leave the sect of Mohammed and take the noble step of becoming a Christian.' " As the slave-girl doubted and "was praying most fervently, the Mother of God appeared to her" and pointed the way to the convent: "This is the surest path to Heaven, and the way to enter it is baptism: with this you shall be a beautiful spouse and beloved of my Son Jesus, and will be assured of my protection." At once "her baptism was celebrated with the greatest solemnity and ceremony," and at the age of ten she assumed the name Juana Serafina. It seems that the countess set Serafina free on her death and left her a good dowry. In 1575 she entered the convent of Santa Isabel in Barcelona "with the greatest and most brilliant attendance of the city, and with such an abundance of clothing, furniture, and adornments that the nuns saw many of their needs satisfied." Her life in the convent was not pleasant, however:

> There was no lack of times when one [nun] or another abused her with words, calling her "Moor, slave, dog," to which she answered humbly, "I was a Moor, it is true; it is also true that that is my nation, because my parents were Moors; but God through his mercy and goodness took me from that debased state. It is true I should be called a dog … .and may I be dragged about and scorned so long as I direct my steps toward God."[44]

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44 "[Al noble aragonés … le cupo en suerte] del saco que se hizo en aquella Ciudad, porque asi lo pedia el estilo Militar, una Niña, hija del Rey de Tunez, de unos ocho, à nueve años. Como hija del Rey, tenia unas prendas naturales, y gallardas potencias; y sus acciones en aquella edad, dezian quan Noble era su proceder. Era de vivo ingenio, y de genio muy pacifico; y sobre ser nacida de Padres Moros, no le gustavan mucho sus Ritos; porque no teniendo aun seis años, ya discurria, y dudava en algunas cosas de la Secta de Mahoma, que no se le ajustaban a su razón, y las preguntava, ò à su Padre el Rey, ò à un Tio suyo, que allà tenia una Dignidad, que llaman los Moros, Curitan, que corresponde a la de Obispo aqui. … No faltava otras vezes, que una, ù otra la trataba mal de palabras, diziendola: *Mora, Esclava, Perra*, à que respondia con humildad: *Fui Mora, es verdad; también lo*

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Despite all this she became the mother superior of her convent, dying in 1598.

The Ottomans occupied Tunis in 1569, meeting almost no resistance, and dethroned Hamida; in response Spain retook the city in 1573 and enthroned Muley Muhammad, who had lived in Sicily for several years under the protection of Philip II. Muley Muhammad claimed to have served the Spanish cause for thirty-seven years; in 1559 he had visited Madrid, been received by the king, and obtained a pension of eight hundred escudos to be paid in Sicily, with another three hundred for his son Muley Nazar. In 1574 the Ottomans managed to recapture Tunis and La Goulette, effectively ending the Hafsid dynasty; though some of its members who survived abroad tried to return to power, they were never successful. The new exiles went to nearby Naples and Sicily. In 1574 Muley Muhammad asked the king's help to return to Tunis, believing he would have support from Muslim slaves and Moriscos resident in Naples.

In the meantime Hamida and his partisans were taken to Naples as prisoners, though later they were sent to Sicily and assigned a pension of 850 escudos a year. Hamida too tried to recover the Tunisian throne but died of the plague, leaving a wife and two sons. He bequeathed one of them, called "el Cojo" (the Lame), the bulk of his fortune (eight thousand of his twelve thousand escudos) because of the son's expressed desire to return to North Africa and live as a Muslim. The Viceroy of Sicily made no objection, calling the younger man "lame and of very little substance or drive." The other son, also named Hamida, lived in Naples and wished to be baptized, angering his father and reducing his inheritance to a meager two thousand escudos (the same amount assigned to his mother). In August 1575, only days after the elder Hamida's death, his son adopted Christianity in Naples with the new name Carlos de Austria, having Don John of Austria as his godfather. He asked that his pension be increased from five hundred to 850 escudos a year, since he supported his mother and other relations, but financial troubles followed him all his life. When he enlisted in the Galleys of Naples, the Duke of Sessa commended him to Philip II "bearing in mind the royal blood from which he comes, and the zeal and good will with which he has accepted our holy Catholic faith, and his determination to persist in it." In about 1577 he was in Madrid and seems to have gained the economic support he sought: the Inquisitor General Gaspar de Quiroga was concerned that "he not lose in everything for having become a Christian." Don

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es, que lo soy de Nacion; porque mis Padres lo eran; pero sacòme Dios por su misericordia, bondad, de aquel estado de indignación: Es verdad devo ser tratada como Perra; … y viva yo arrastrada, y entre desprecios, solo que encamine a Dios los passos." There is a chapter devoted to her life ("Vida de la Venerable Sierva de Dios Sor Juana Serafina, hija que fue del rey de Túnez") in Boër, *Jardin Mystico*, 100–26.

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Carlos placed on his escutcheon a lance between two swords and above them a crescent moon facing downward, signifying that he had abandoned Islam. On his death in 1601 he bequeathed his whole estate to the monastery of Santa María la Nueva in Naples, home to the Minor Friars of the Franciscan order. It seems that he left a son, Enrique de Austria, "grandson of Amida king of Tunez," who was born after his father's conversion and therefore baptized at birth. Enrique lived in Naples on a monthly stipend of 120 escudos that, on his death, passed to his widow Luisa de Austria.[45]

We have notice of a man who claimed to be Carlos de Austria's brother, though the claim is dubious. He lived in Sicily and around 1605–1606 wrote to Philip III lamenting his financial difficulties; he said he had been baptized under Philip II's reign and had taken Felipe as his baptismal name. His annual pension of one thousand escudos proved insufficient to support himself and his wife, Virginia de Austria, and it was raised to 1,500; but by 1615, with the monarchy struggling financially, it had been reduced to one-third of that amount.[46]

Muley Muhammad, whom the Spaniards had placed on the Tunisian throne in 1573–1574, had an eldest son named Muley Nazar who had lived in Sicily and died in battle in Tunis. Another son, Muley Abderraman, was in Palermo in 1574 and wished to travel to the court in Madrid to swear fealty to Philip II in his father's name, but the monarch ordered him to remain where he was, in charge of his father's three wives, his brother's two, and a good number of servants. He therefore asked in 1575 and 1577 for an increase in his annual pension from five hundred escudos to the 1,250 assigned to his father and his elder brother. Muley Abderraman did not give up his claim to the throne: he tried to attract partisans in Tunis, taking advantage of a period of Ottoman weakness in the region. In 1594, claiming to be supported by several sheikhs and *morabitos* and to have more than sixty thousand followers, he asked the Viceroy of Sicily to provide fifty or sixty galleys for an assault on Tunis. The wary Viceroy spoke of "the little credit one can place on promises by Moors; this subject seems to me lacking in strength and ill suited to having any edifice built upon him." Muley Muhammad died later in 1594, ending the already faint hope that any branch of the Hafsids might return to power in Tunis.[47]

Another Hafsid, Muley Ahmed, was a son of Muley Abu Abdallah and a brother of Muley Hassan; he had lived in Sicily since childhood, during the rules of Muley Hassan and Muley Hamida. In 1570 he offered himself to Philip

45 Alonso Acero, *Sultanes*, 142–46; Monchicourt, "Études kairouanaises."
46 Alonso Acero, *Sultanes*, 146–47.
47 Alonso Acero, *Sultanes*, 148–49.

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II as the ideal candidate for expelling the Turks from Tunis: "because of his ancestry and because he has been called, he has a right to the throne." He asked for assistance on the grounds of his thirty years' service to the monarchy, offering his four wives and seven children in Sicily as potential hostages. He proposed founding a Muslim kingdom that would be a vassal state of the Christians – not a new idea in Spain's North African policy. It was a difficult period for Spain (there were problems with Portugal and Flanders, and a truce with the Ottomans), causing Philip II to delay the requested military aid, which never materialized. Nonetheless Muley Ahmed proceeded with his attempt at the throne in 1581. In 1579 he had already sent his eldest son Muley Memu to the Spanish court to present his respects to the monarchy and solicit help; Philip II approved the operation in principle, though without offering any material aid. The expedition sailed for Carthage in the spring of 1581, but failed. Muley Ahmed managed to remain concealed in the Tunisian hinterland until 1592, when he was captured by Ottoman troops; his son Muley Memu had already been taken, and both were conveyed to Constantinople where they ended their days in prison.[48]

In 1592 one of Muley Ahmed's descendants, Muley Hassan, wrote to Philip II requesting support for himself and his family members in Sicily. One of his sisters had been baptized in 1588 in the chapel of Palermo's royal palace, taking the name María and with the Viceroy as her godfather. In 1595 help was requested for two other Tunisian princesses exiled in Palermo. Three wives of Muley Ahmed, who had been captured in Tunis in 1582, were left in the care of Muley Hassan; one of them, named Embarca, had a son. Guademala was a wife of Muley Muhammad, the ruler deposed in 1574; she had lost a son in Tunis and had a granddaughter in her charge. And another wife of Muley Ahmed's, whose name is unknown, lived in Palermo with an unmarried daughter.[49]

Not only members of the royal families but members of their retinues, sometimes of distinguished lineage, lived in European exile. Some descendants of Sheikh Abdallah Benegerio (or Ben Ajaria) were held hostage by the Spanish in place of Muley Ahmed himself. Benegerio's son Francisco Pérez de Vargas converted and settled in La Goulette; captured in the defeat at Djerba in 1560, he was taken as a prisoner first to Istanbul and then to Tunis. He escaped and returned to La Goulette, and when that fortress was captured in 1574 moved to Sicily, where he joined Muley Ahmed's circle. His son Aníbal Vargas entered military service under the Hapsburgs, always in Sicily. Aloisa de Sarmiento, a

48 Alonso Acero, *Sultanes*, 149–51.

49 Alonso Acero, *Sultanes*, 151.

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sister of Francisco Pérez de Vargas, also lived in Sicily from 1574 and married Juan Sarmiento, an exile from Kairouan who converted to Christianity. Their son also entered the king's service.[50]

We conclude this section by noting some of the violent incidents provoked by members of these exile groups, of which the largest number were associated with Muley Xeque's retinue. On their passage through Alcalá de Guadaira one man was accused of stabbing a crucifix ("he outraged a cross that they met along the way"), and while Muley Xeque wanted to have him executed he handed him over to the local authorities instead, claiming a reluctance to spill blood within the king's domains. The king's representative who accompanied him, Joanetin Mortara, thought that Muley Xeque should "act in punishing his people as if he were in his own realms, and the Moors' situation requires no less than how their kings usually act with them." The *Asistente* (magistrate) of Seville, not knowing how to proceed, asked for instructions from the king, and in the end it was ruled that the accusation was false.[51] For the Duke of Medina Sidonia, a different problem was "the impertinent and excessive things they demand, especially the queen mother, as to being regularly entertained, as freely as if this were their right." In Carmona, one of the towns where the exiles were lodged, the royal magistrate asked the king to reimburse their expenses from the royal treasury, since they were so burdensome to the local economy. The cardinal of Toledo thought that "no one should force anyone else to lend what he does not have; and if this would be unauthorized and indecent in the case of native people it is much more so for Moors, who will observe it and take note."[52]

3.2 Exile in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: Saving One's Life above All

The flow of exiles from North Africa to Spain continued in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but it had changed a great deal since the 1500s. With a few exceptions it no longer consisted of members of dethroned dynasties who sought help in returning home and retaking power; now there were individuals who, though distinguished in their own countries, had no path to power or influence but might be fleeing persecution. The consolidation of the Ottoman Empire on the one hand, and that of the Saadid dynasty on the other, explain

50 Tarruell, "Circulations," 97.
51 García-Arenal *et al.*, *Cartas*, 96.
52 García-Arenal *el al.*, *Cartas*, 101.

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the changed composition of the exile community. But the new immigrants also included members of tribal factions, families, and individuals who were fleeing either some kind of reprisal or desperate living conditions.

The rule of the Saadids (1554–1569) and the later accession of the Alawites favored Morocco's consolidation as a unitary state; from then on it was better able to confront, with more or less success, interference by the Ottomans and the Spanish into different pretenders' struggles for the throne.[53] At the same time the Ottomans' complete dominion over Algiers, Tripoli, and Tunis from 1574 onward limited Spanish influence in the region enormously, since that influence had rested on supporting local dynasties that opposed the Sublime Porte.[54]

In this later period the bulk of the exiles were individuals or small family groups who fled North Africa in fear for their lives, or intending to make a clean break with their former world. For this reason they left fewer documentary traces, and information about them may be scattered in local archives that are difficult to locate.

Some of these individuals left the Maghreb in the sixteenth century. In 1575 the governor of Oran, Diego Fernández de Córdoba, sent to the court an *alcaide* from Mostaghanem who took the name Felipe Hernández de Córdoba on baptism. Eager to serve the monarchy, he was sent to the Viceroy of Navarre with a salary from the royal treasury.

In 1594 a Sicilian slave brought the authorities a series of letters, including two signed by Philip II in 1561 and 1565; the king acknowledged learning that Mali Mustafa, "chief artillery founder to the King of Algiers," wished to convert to Christianity. Mustafa was asking for royal help but he died without ever receiving it. After his daughter Sultana or Soldana had bought the Sicilian's freedom he gave her the letters to present to the Spanish court. The matter was discussed and eventually decided in Sultana's favor: according to a notation made in 1603, she reached Spain and became a Christian.[55]

In 1598 the Council of Italy discussed what allowance to give to Dorotea Blanquete or Bianqueta, a daughter of "Mahomet Bassa" (Muhammad Pasha). She claimed that her father had been Beylerbey of Algiers in 1567–1568 and was descended from the famous Salah Reis. Dorotea placed herself "under the shelter and shadow of Your Majesty, leaving her former error and taking the water [of baptism]." Her mother Victoria Sultana, who was making the same petition,

53 García-Arenal, *Ahmad al-Mansur*; Mouline, *Le Califat imaginaire*.

54 Merouche, *Recherches sur l'Algérie*; Guellouz *et al.*, *Histoire Générale de la Tunisie*, vol. 3; Manca, *Il modello di sviluppo economico*.

55 Alonso Acero, *Sultanes*, 128–29.

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reported that as they were traveling in a galliot the passengers rebelled with the help of a renegade, seized the ship, and managed to reach Crete. Victoria was traveling with her five children, ten ladies-in-waiting, and six female servants, all of whom were baptized in Crete. She asked the monarch for a sum of money to be dispensed to her in Milan.[56]

At about the same time a second Dorotea Bianqueta, different from the first, appeared, accompanied by her mother Ana Mena. They claimed to be the daughter and wife of Amato Pasha, Beylerbey of Algiers from 1586 to 1589, the year of his death in Tripoli. With the monarch's permission they sailed from Italy to Spain. Ana Mena died soon after landing in Barcelona in 1594, and the daughter entered the convent of Santa Catalina in Madrid.[57]

The so-called Kingdom of Kuku, in the Kabylia region, sought an alliance with Spain for several years as it tried to shake off the yoke of Ottoman Algiers, and the resulting struggles produced a number of exiles. Early in the seventeenth century a family descended from the "lords of Kabylia" converted to Christianity and moved to Spain's Italian dominions. Its most prominent member was Felipe de Cárdenas, who had clearly taken his surname from the Viceroy of Sicily between 1598 and 1601. He arrived on the island with his daughters: one, Dorotea de Austria, is documented in 1613. Another, Ana de Cárdenas, "of Moorish origin from among the principal persons of Barbary and lords of Kabylia," petitioned in 1646 for aid in securing the economic future of her daughters, born of her union with an army captain.[58]

An ambassador from the king of Kuku converted to Christianity in Oran, adopting the name Luis de Aguilar. In 1611 the Council of War awarded him an annual pension drawn on the funds of the royal armada.[59]

A prominent figure was Mahamet Chelebi or Felipe de África (1627–1686), whose life between the Muslim and Christian worlds makes him an emblematic "man of the frontier." He was the eldest son of the Bey of Tunis, Ahmad Khuja; at the age of sixteen he expressed a desire to turn Christian, and learned Italian from some of his father's slaves. When he set to sea with several Christian captives in 1646 his ship was attacked by the Knights of Malta, but they managed to reach the port of Mazara in Sicily, where the bishop welcomed him. He was catechized in Palermo and baptized in a ceremony led the the archbishop, with the Viceroy and Vicereine as his godparents, receiving the names Inocencio Felipe Pedro Ignacio. He was admired for his naval experience:

56 Alonso Acero, *Sultanes*, 129–31.
57 Alonso Acero, *Sultanes*, 131.
58 Alonso Acero, *Sultanes*, 133.
59 Alonso Acero, *Sultanes*, 132–33.

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> This Turk is a man of great good luck and talent … he is of a proud nature and very skilled in every activity of a knight, and those who come with him affirm that for three years he has led the galleys of Bizerte as their admiral.[60]

After his baptism Felipe was assigned a stipend of one hundred escudos a month, and the king was informed of the "inclination he showed toward the religion of Saint John, wishing to adhere to the great Cross." He visited Naples and was received in Rome by the Pope, then moved to Spain where he married a Christian woman and lived in Cádiz and Málaga (where his mother traveled from Tunis to visit him). But he did not wish to renounce his supposed rights as prince of Tunis (he styled himself "son of the King of Tunis"), though in fact he had none, since the office of Bey of the Regency was not hereditary but appointed from Istanbul. Disappointed in his plans, he returned to North Africa and to the Islamic faith in 1649 – though he always claimed it was only to save his life, his ship having been captured by corsairs. By 1656 he professed Christianity once more and sought to convert Tunis to that religion, recover La Goulette, and place the whole kingdom under Philip IV's protection. Ignored, he made the same proposals to Louis XIV in 1670 but met with no more success. Again he became a Muslim, engaged in political intrigue in Tunis, and was sent as ambassador from the Dey of Algiers to Istanbul, where he was appointed Pasha of Algiers; but he died of plague before he could take up that long-desired post, having lost all his good credit in the Christian world.[61]

Sheikh Ali of Tunis and his son, who must have been refugees in Palermo since the Ottoman conquest of the previous century, were baptized between 1611 and 1615 and godfathered by the Viceroy of Sicily. Ali had been assigned fifteen escudos before his conversion, causing his fourteen-year-old son Pedro Girón to ask to inherit the stipend after his father's death. At around the same time we find mention of María Girón, "of Moorish origin and a descendant of the kingdoms of Tunis," who protested that her stipend of seven escudos had been reduced by two-thirds.[62]

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60 "Este Turco es hombre de buena suerte y muy buen talento. … es de condición altivo y tiene mucha agilidad en todas las acciones de Cavallero, y los que vienen con el han afirmado que tres años continuos ha gobernado las galeras de Viserta como general de ellas": Alonso Acero, *Sultanes*, 153.

61 Alonso Acero, *Sultanes*, 152–55; Grandchamp, "La fuite de Tunis"; Grandchamp and Bacquencourt, "Documents divers concernant Don Philippe"; Bonnery, "Un homme entre deux mondes."

62 Bonnery, "Un homme entre deux mondes."

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In 1671 Prince Muley Larbe Xerife was baptized in Seville, taking the name Agustín. In Cádiz he preached to his former coreligionists, trying to persuade them to embrace Christianity.[63]

In the eighteenth century, the most prominent group of exiles consisted of Algerians from the vicinity of the Spanish presidio of Oran who joined the Spaniards as allies: they took up arms against their fellow Muslims and protected the Spanish garrisons against them. They were known as "Moors of peace," "free Moors," or *Mogataces*.[64] On Spain's loss of Oran in 1708 some of them embarked with surviving Spanish troops and were sent provisionally to Málaga. We find one of them in documents of the time: Musa Bandar, "the Sheikh of Ifre, one of the places subject to our Lord the King," was living in Málaga in 1716. In November of that year he gave a power of attorney to Lesmes García Sagredo, "Secretary to Your Majesty and to the most excellent Señor Don Carlos Cassas, Captain General of these coasts," to present and defend his petitions to the king and the Council of Castile. The document, dated 16 November, was signed by a witness because Musa did not know "our Castilian language."[65]

After Spain reconquered Oran in 1732 the "Moors of peace" returned home. But when Spain left it for good in 1792 a number of Mogataces left with them, settling in Ceuta. In time they formed the nucleus of the Moorish Sharpshooters (*Moros Tiradores*) of the Rif and of the Volunteer Militia of Ceuta, which eventually fused with units of regular troops that were made up of Muslims (and a few Spaniards) under Spanish officers.[66]

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Spain had shown its most intolerant face, as well as its fear, toward thousands of Moriscos and slaves; but at the same time it proved more open toward thousands of Muslims who sought refuge on Spanish soil. Many who fled North Africa found safety there and felt that their lives had been saved. Among them were dethroned members of the reigning dynasties who escaped from their own countries and hoped – often without success – to find political, military, and financial aid in Spain. Some of them, eventually convinced that their

63 Vincent, "Musulmans et conversions"/"Musulmanes y conversión."

64 Mesa Gutiérrez, *De los Mogataces*; Maíllo Salgado, "The Almogataces"; Arqués and Gispert, *Los mogataces*; Bodin, "Notes sur l'origine du nom de 'Mogatazes'."

65 Archivo Histórico Provincial de Málaga, Protocolos (scribe Francisco Caballero Corbalán), fol. 714.

66 Mesa Gutiérrez, *De los Mogataces*; Maíllo Salgado, "The Almogataces"; Arqués and Gispert, *Los mogataces.*

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thrones were lost for good, decided to remain in Spanish territory, and most but not all of those accepted Christianity. The ones who chose to return to Morocco, Algeria, or Tunis to recover their thrones almost invariably lost their lives in the attempt. Everything indicates that no other European country experienced a similar flood of Muslim exiles, with the natural exceptions of the Spanish dominions in Italy (Naples, Sicily, and to a lesser degree Sardinia), Portugal (especially when it was ruled by the Hapsburgs), and perhaps lands under the rule of the Austrian Hapsburg branch.

There is a paradox here: in the European lands supposedly devoted to a crusade against the infidel, Muslims who were in difficulties in North Africa found shelter more readily than in countries that had made alliances and treaties with the Ottoman Empire and Morocco. It proved easier for Muslims to find protection or a means of subsistence in Spain than in that other, more pragmatic Europe, less imbued with the epic of a crusade but much less inclined to accept tens of thousands of Muslims, converted or not.

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CHAPTER 4

Living in Freedom among the Infidels in Times of Conflict, 1492–1767

Aside from exiles who had fled North Africa for political reasons, many other Muslims were able to reach the Iberian Peninsula, or Italy and the nearby islands, without too much difficulty. These were merchants and sailors who, contrary to all expectations, appear in Spanish ports in spite of the official state of hostility between their countries and the Hispanic monarchy. Some came intending to convert to Christianity, while others were more transient travelers or adventurers.

Hundreds of Muslims remained for long periods, or permanently, on Spanish territory for a variety of reasons. It is important to stress that the permanent residents might or might not become Christian. Those who did might have converted before crossing to Spain – a choice that usually, but not always, made their entry easier – or might have done so once on Spanish soil. For some there might have been a spiritual motive, but many were fleeing hunger or punishment for crimes committed in their native lands. Many adventurers, too, decided to travel to the Peninsula either temporarily or permanently. Some Moriscos managed to return to Spain after their expulsion, either for the rest of their lives or until they were expelled again. All these groups together add up to considerable numbers. Their flow was never interrupted during the period of our study, which was characterized by an official state of conflict between the Hispanic monarchy on one side and the Sultan of Morocco, the Dey of Algiers, the Beys of Tunis and Tripoli, and the Caliph in Constantinople on the other.

4.1 Maghrebi, Ottoman, and Persian Ambassadors

We have already observed that studies on Spain's relations with Muslim countries in the Early Modern age usually emphasize the chronic hostility between the two parties throughout that period; but in fact those relations were not always adversarial. The Spanish monarchy and some North African kingdoms wove ties that ranged from alliances against a common enemy to lord-and-vassal relationships.[1] These arrangements were the most prominent feature of

1 See the interesting study by Boubaker, "Le traité hispano-hafside," and by the same author "L'Empéreur Charles Quint et le sultan hafside."

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Spanish policy in the central and eastern Maghreb until the definitive Ottoman conquest of Tunis in 1574. Even after that date there were alliances with some local kingdoms, such as that of Kuku, that resisted being swallowed up by the powerful Deys of Algiers. The policy of allying with the sultans of Morocco was clear even when it was not the subject of formal agreements. There were even truces with the Ottoman Empire, with which Spain had almost no armed clashes in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. We have solid studies on negotiations between the Spanish monarchy and North African and Levantine rulers, but most of them focus on the activities of Spanish envoys and ambassadors in North Africa.[2]

In this section we shall be concerned chiefly with the frequent arrival on Spanish soil of ambassadors and envoys from the Empire of Morocco, the Regencies of Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, the Ottoman Empire, and faraway Safavid Persia. Our research, which should be considered a first step, reveals a much larger number than has been identified until now, and future studies will undoubtedly find even more.

From the late fifteenth century to the middle of the seventeenth, many embassies arrived from Tunis and Algiers; from about 1500 to 1550 the chief ports of arrival were those of the Crown of Aragon, that is, Majorca, Valencia, and above all Barcelona. In 1493 Ferdinand the Catholic approved the expenditures for Ciricassi, the ambassador from Bougie, and his five companions during their stay in Barcelona:

> Six Barcelona *libras* and twelve *sólidos* for the rental of their house, with bedding for six beds that were rented as accomodation for Ciricassi, ambassador from the King of Bougie, and his retinue, in which they resided for one month and three days.[3]

In the same year Ferdinand gave a safe-conduct for two months to Raeç Cacym, "a Moor from Bougie," so that he could come to the Spanish court:

2 Escribano Páez, "Los actores de la diplomacia" and "Negotiating with the Infidel"; Hernández Sau, "Gifts across the Mediterranean Sea" and "De la infidelidad a la amistad"; Bunes Ibarra, "Entre la paz y la guerra."

3 "Seis libras y doce sólidos barceloneses por razón del loguero de su casa, con seis camas de ropa, que ha logado por possada para Ciricassi, embaxador del Rey de Bugía, y de sus servidores, en la qual ha stado por tiempo de hun mes y tres días": Ferdinand the Catholic, Barcelona, 3 September 1493, in Torre, *Documentos sobre las relaciones*, 4:293.

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> You may come in safety with two of your servants, by sea and by land, from our own kingdoms and territories or from any others, with the clothing, money, and effects that you may bring with you, coming to our court, staying and [then] returning to Bougie, and no one may seize, detain, disturb, or hold you in your person or your goods.[4]

In June of that year a safe-conduct was given to Abrahim Cerquan, a Moor who came from Tunis on royal business:

> Because the Moor Abrahim Cerquan, our subject and vassal, has come from the city of Tunis for matters that pertain to our service, and to negotiate certain things, he must travel and act in our kingdoms and lands, and our wish is that he be well treated and not be disturbed in any way … .We ensure the said Ibrahim Cerquam, with all his coin, gold, silver, jewels, clothing, and other effects he may bring with him.[5]

In September 1494 a safe-conduct was issued to an ambassador from the king of Tunis:

> To Don Cach, a Moor, ambassador from the illustrious king of Tunis, sent to us: that in any city or seaport of our kingdoms and territories, as he thinks best, with seven or eight Moors whose names we record expressly here, may go to Barbary with any vessel or ship owned by Christians, with all their clothing, money, goods, and merchandise.[6]

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4 "[Para que] podays venir seguro, con dos criados vuestros, por la mar y por la tierra, assi de nuestros reynos y señoríos como de otros cualesquiere, con vuestras ropas, dineros y cosas, que con vos truxierdes, viniendo a nuestra corte, stando y tornando en Bugia, sin que nadie vos pueda prender, detener, molestar, ni embargar en persona ni en bienes": Ferdinand the Catholic, Barcelona, 20 June 1493, in Torre, *Documentos*, 4:226.

5 "Por quanto Abrahim Cerquan, moro, subdito y vasallo nuestro, es venido de la ciudat de Tunis por cosas que cumplen a nuestro servicio, e por negociar algunas cosas ha de andar e de practicar en nuestros reynos y tierras, e la voluntat nuestra es que sea bien tratado, e no sea en cosa alguna molestado … asseguramos el dicho Ibrahim Cerquam, con todos sus dineros, oro, plata, joyas, ropas de vestir e otras cosas que consigo leuare": Ferdinand the Catholic, Barcelona, 30 June 1493, in Torre, *Documentos*, 4:232–33.

6 "A Don Cach, moro, embaxador del illustre rey de Tuniz, a nos embiado, que en qualquier ciudat o villa marítima de nuestros reynos y señoríos, adonde mejor visto le sea, el, con siete o ocho moros, los nombres de los quales queremos hauer aquí por expressos, puedan ir en Barberia, con qualquier fusta, o nauio de christianos, con todas sus ropas, dineros, bienes y mercadurias": Ferdinand the Catholic, Segovia, 3 September 1494, in Torre, *Documentos*, 4:531–32.

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Four years later, in 1498, the king ordered a payment of 4,870 *sueldos* in Valencian coin to a new ambassador from the "sheikh of the Gribens [or Gribus]," possibly meaning Djerba:

> Azmet Abencucuma, a Moorish ambassador sent to us from the sheikh of the Gribens, four thousand eight hundred seventy sueldos, royal coins of Valencia, which we graciously ordered given to him to help with the cost of returning to the island of the Gribus.[7]

In 1499 Ferdinand approved a grant to Gonzalo of Burgos for "ten thousand *maravedís* in coin of our kingdom of Castile, which we send him to help with the expenses of certain Moors, ambassadors from overseas."[8] A number of North African envoys must have fallen into financial straits, since the monarch also ordered the viceroy and the procurer of Majorca "to give to three Moors … for clothing themselves and for returning [to their country] what you think is right, so they may leave contented."[9]

In 1512 Sheikh Lahacen, an ambassador from the ruler of Tunis, was in Castile. He was given leave to travel through the kingdom with his baggage and foodstuffs, together with all the Muslim slaves he was able to ransom.[10]

There were surely many other embassies of which we are unaware, at least at the present time. The Capitulation signed in 1521 between the king of Tlemcen and the second Marquis of Comares (in the name of the Spanish monarchs) stipulated that if the Maghrebi sovereign

> should wish to send Their Majesties his ambassadors or messengers with or without gifts, or to complain of any wrong done in the matter of his rents or his vassals or any other thing that should be consulted with Their Majesties, no present or future captain general of this kingdom or his lieutenant, nor judicial officers, nor any other person may impede their travel or that of those who travel with them or whom they bring. Rather, they shall be offered the ship of the line needed for their journey at a

7 "Azmet Abencucuma, moro embaxador a nos embiado por parte del xeque de los Gribens, quatro mil ochocientos setenta solidos, moneda[s] reales de Valencia, los quales nos graciosamente le mandamos dar para en ayuda de costa de voluer a la isla de los Gribus": letter from Ferdinand the Catholic, Toledo, 4 May 1498: Torre, *Documentos*, 6:74.

8 Letter from Ferdinand the Catholic, Granada, 10 September 1499: Torre, *Documentos*, 6:200.

9 Ferdinand the Catholic, Granada, 5 August 1499: Torre, *Documentos*, 6:196–97.

10 Permission was granted in Burgos on 20 January 1512. That February a license was given to Alalia Bulia from Oran, who had been a slave, to travel to Tunis with the ambassador's retinue: Cortés Alonso, *La esclavitud en Valencia*, 135–36, 419, 422.

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> reasonable price, and if they bring merchandise the duties owed on it shall be paid for them.[11]

As of now we know of only one ambassador sent to the Peninsula: in 1533, when in the town of Espejo in Córdoba another Capitulation was signed between the Marquis of Comares, governor and captain general of Tlemcen and Tunis, and *Alcaide* Boavdila, the king of Tlemcen's ambassador. Boavdila declared his intention not to return home until the agreement was signed, "until I depart in the proper way, even if I were to be here my whole life and spend every penny I have."[12] Further Capitulations repeated almost the same terms: in 1545 it was added that a ship from Oran or Mazalquivir would be provided to the ambassador, and the same was stated in 1546 when the agreement was signed by the Count of Caudete and King Muley Hamete of Tlemcen.[13]

In July 1531 Selim Ben Muça Azahui, during a visit to Spain, came to the court of Castile, presided over at that time by the Queen-Empress Isabella of Portugal; he gave her a message from Mohammed Xeref, sheikh of the Arabs in the Oran region. In early 1532 he returned to court bearing letters from the military governors of that region: Hamida el-Abda, Mohamed el-Anvari, Mohamed ben Marzok, and the sheikhs of the Husayn family. On this occasion he was accompanied by an official from Oran, and the group met in Córdoba with the captain-general of the Oran presidio, who lived in the city. When the queen received them in Medina del Campo they asked her for help in capturing Algiers and defeating the Turks.[14]

From the mid-1500s to about 1629 there were negotiations and exchanges of ambassadors and envoys between the Spanish monarchy and the reigning dynasty in Kuku (Kabylia). In 1542 the brother of the king of Kuku, with several companions, touched at Majorca and Tarragona aboard a Spanish vessel as they went in search of the Spanish king: "the brother of the king of Kuku who

11 "Quisiere embiar a sus Magestades sus embaxadores o mensajeros con presentes o sin él, o se quexar de algún agravio que se les aya fecho en lo que toca a sus rentas o a sus vasallos o en otra qualquier cosa que le cumple consultar con Sus Magestades, que el capitán general que es o fuere en este Reyno o su lugarteniente, ni la justicia, ni otra persona alguna no le pueda ympidir el viaje a ellos ni a los que con ellos fueren ni a los que llevaren, antes les mandará dar navío, tasándoles el preçio justo, que por su viaje oviere de aver, e pagando, si llevaren mercaderías, los derechos que dellas devieren": Mariño, *Tratados internacionales*, 7–26, quotation at 19.

12 Mariño, *Tratados internacionales*, 28–37, quotation at 30.

13 Mariño, *Tratados internacionales*, 122–29 and 160–69, references at 127, 167.

14 They also hoped to free themselves from the rulers of Tlemcen, Abud Allah and his son Mohammad, who were rivals for the throne: La Véronne, "Memorial de Diego del Castillo."

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disembarked in the island with a galleass coming from Bougie, on his way to his Majesty as ambassador."[15] In the early seventeenth century Sidi Amar ben Amar, the sovereign of Kuku and an ally of Philip III against the Regency of Algiers, sent several ambassadors or commissioners to the Spanish court. Some of them were Spaniards, including one priest, and almost all of them put in at Majorca and Valencia.

In early 1602 Aboul Malik arrived with letters requesting an alliance against Algiers and a proposal for increased trade between the parties. In July 1602 Sidi Mahomet Benamar and his son Ali came and converted to Christianity with the names Ramón and Felipe de África, respectively. In the following year two prominent men of Kuku, Sidi Amar the Elder and Sidi Abdelmalek, came to Majorca and passed through Valencia on their way to see Philip III, who received them in May. In July they returned to the island and remained there for some time – it was hard to find transport back to their home country, and they showed no interest in leaving. Amar the Elder was criticized for devoting himself to "loose women and dissolute living," and more seriously, for conveying false information to his sovereign. In the end both men converted to Christianity, making it possible that they never returned home. The previous four visitors were still on Majorca in 1604, but one of them must have left for North Africa in February of that year: there is a record of the departure of "the ambassador from Kuku and a Moor who goes with him." The ruler of Kuku must have been pleased with his four envoys' actions, since he sent another, Musa Ben Amat, late in 1603.[16] This may have been "the Moor Muza," who returned to Kuku in 1605 with gifts and sixty-two thousand *reales de vellón* from the viceroy of Majorca for the North African king, having performed his mission well:

> And the Moor Muza accomplished well what he was ordered, for within a very short time he gave your letters to that king. And he now returns by order of his master to give the said letters and a report on the state of those affairs.[17]

Muza came back to the island with letters from his sovereign, and he may be the same person who brought a letter from the viceroy of Majorca to the king

15 They arrived in early July 1542: *Dietari del antich consell*, 4:103–04 (1534–1562). For more see Seguí Beltrán, "¿Unas islas asediadas?", 72.

16 Seguí Beltrán, "¿Unas islas?", 73–80; Rodríguez Joulia Saint-Cyr, *Felipe III*, 43–68.

17 "E el moro Muza cumplió bien lo que se le ordenó, pues en menos horas de las que ofreció dio las cartas de V.M. a aquel rey y vuelve agora por orden de su amo a dar las dichas cartas y cuenta del estado de aquellas cosas": Deyá Bauzá, "La política mediterránea," 81.

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of Spain in Madrid. We know that a new representative of the king of Kuku, Mohamed, arrived in Majorca in 1606.[18] There is more information for 1608, when in April two Majorcan vessels set out for the coast of Kabylia, one of them bearing Muza. As they approached their landing site they grew uneasy about the party that had come to receive them, and sailed away suddenly after only four North Africans had boarded: Amardan, Amet Betxalin, Amet Gran, and Ali. One of the Spanish captains reported that they had not thrown the Moors back into the sea because they could not swim, and in fact a servant of the ambassador's who had jumped overboard was drowned. When the ship returned to Palma, on Majorca, the king ordered that the Moors be well treated because they might be exchanged for five Christians being held in Kuku; but the exchange was delayed and the fortifications of Palma were strengthened. In June 1609 one of the four Moors, Ali, left Majorca for North Africa. We know that in 1610 the king of Kabylia sent a new embassy to Majorca, but the Spanish court does not seem to have held it in much regard. The mission was intended only to recover the remaining three men from the earlier incident, who were turned over to Muza Ben Amat in 1615.[19]

Finally we can mention the presence on Majorca of "the Moorish king," a son of the deposed ruler of Bougie, who led the confederation of the Banu Abbas. At the end of 1562 he sailed from the island for North Africa.[20]

The embassies we have described were connected to Spanish expansion in the central and eastern Maghreb, marked by the struggle between the Ottoman and Spanish empires for control of the region. After Spain was defeated in Tunis in 1574 and finally abandoned its hopes of conquering Algiers in the early 1600s, there were no new delegations for a long time. The truth was that as the monarchy's strength waned, neither its support of the Hafsids nor its considerable shipments of arms and equipment to the king of Kuku were able to do much good.[21]

In the mid-1500s Spanish policy focused particularly on Morocco, resulting in a series of diplomatic exchanges between the two countries.[22] Some embassies came from Morocco's Atlantic coast and brought representatives

18 Rodríguez Joulia Saint-Cyr, *Felipe III*, 72–73.

19 Seguí Beltrán, "¿Unas islas?", 73–80; Rodríguez Joulia Saint-Cyr, *Felipe III*, 43–68; Deyá Bauzá, "La política mediterránea."

20 Seguí Beltrán, "¿Unas islas?", 72–73.

21 Deyá Bauzá, "La política mediterránea"; Seguí Beltrán, "¿Unas islas?", 80–82; Boyer, "Espagne et Kouko"; Rodríguez Joulia Saint-Cyr, *Felipe III y el rey de Cuco*.

22 They must have been more numerous than has been thought, but for now we have documented only those of 1586, 1614, 1690, 1766, 1779, and 1792 (two): Valensi, *Ces étrangers*, 287.

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of nomadic tribes from the western Sahara. In February 1499 the governor of Gran Canaria received "Mohamad de Maymon, lord of Tagaos [Tagaoust]," and "Hamet, captain of the city of Yfran [Ifrane] and its territory," who represented the residents of the fortress of Yfni and the lords of Tamanart and its region. All declared themselves vassals of the Catholic Monarchs.[23]

From the Mediterranean coast of Morocco, two envoys came to Prince Philip in 1551 from Mulay Amar, "king of Debdou," who ruled a region of eastern Morocco relatively close to Tlemcen and Melilla. He had lost his throne to the Saadids, although he managed to recover it. In exchange for swearing fealty to the monarchy he asked for assistance – of which he received very little, at least in military equipment.[24]

Most ambassadors, however, were dispatched by sultans of the Moroccan Empire. In 1582 Amete Votarbo arrived at the Spanish court, probably by way of Lisbon, charged with ransoming Muslim slaves; he managed to return home with thirty-four of them.[25] We assume that he was the same envoy who came back in 1586 and whom C. Tarruell identifies under several similar names (Botarbo, Voytade, Botaybo, and Botayo); he was an *alfaqueque* or ransoming agent of Morisco origin from Tetouan.[26]

When a new civil war broke out in Morocco in the early seventeenth century, different rulers or sultans of the empire sent envoys and emissaries to Spain. In 1614 Muley Abdala, son of Muley Xeque who had died the year before, wrote expressing his wish to maintain good relations with Philip III: "We desire to live in the same peace and amity that our father shared with you and your king, which I will always preserve and guard during my time, and never shall there be anything but love and friendship between us." In July he told the Duke of Medina Sidonia that he was sending two of his governors, Almanzor Benaaya and Audarraman el Majauregui, to discuss their mutual "fondness and friendship," which they would speak of "with their tongues" because "these are not matters to be written by the hand of a scribe." In September of that year he expressed himself satisfied that the Duke had received them "with great love, and had treated them generously and given them everything necessary,"

23 Caro Baroja, *Estudios mogrebinos*, 59–80, esp. the sections "Los viejos señores del Nun y el Drá" and "Las actas de 1499 y las tierras del Nun y el Drá." Also Rumeu de Armas, *España en el África Atlántica*, 275–304, and *España en el África Atlántica. Documentos*, 73–78.

24 Alonso Acero, *Sultanes*, 77–79.

25 There is information about him in AGS, GA, leg. 210, doc. 112–13, Madrid, 17 February 1587. The passport that allowed the thirty-four slaves he freed to leave the Peninsula is dated 27 October 1582 in Lisbon: AGS, GA, leg. 38, fols. 47r-48r: see these in Tarruell, "Circulations," 267–68.

26 Valensi, *Ces étrangers*, 287.

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adding that he awaited their return eagerly in the knowledge that the Spanish monarch would have welcomed them. More letters were exchanged between October 1614 and January 1615, one of which informed Philip III that on their return to Tangier the two men had told of "the honor and favor that the Duke of Medina Sidonia showed them by order of Your Majesty," leaving them "contented and grateful."[27]

Muley Zidan, who was contending with Muley Abdala for the throne, wrote to the Duke of Medina Sidonia in November 1614 claiming the possessions of his deceased brother Muley Xeque. His letter explained that in his country, as laid down in the Quran, all a man's children should inherit from him (though females had only a half share). As proof he attached a statement signed by twenty-three Moroccan jurists, judges, and notaries.[28]

The Spanish monarchy and Safavid Persia exchanged embassies to try to forge an alliance as common enemies of the Ottoman Empire; here we will mention only those that the shah sent to the Spanish court.[29] In 1599 Persia sent a delegation to Europe led by the Englishman Anthony Sherley (who had reached the Safavid court in 1598 to form a common front with Shah Abbas against the Ottomans) and the Persian Hussein Ali Beg.[30] Their retinue included four gentlemen: Uruch Beg as secretary, the ambassador's nephew Ali Quli Beg, Hasan Ali Beg, and Bunyad Beg. There were also fifteen servants, five interpreters, two Portuguese friars, and thirty-two camels. This impressive group entered Barcelona by way of Perpignan on 15 July 1601, when a municipal document described the scene:

> Sunday 15th. On this day the Persian ambassador Lucheinolibeg enters Barcelona; he was coming from Rome and goes to Valladolid to negotiate the alliance with our lord King. Nine Persians of the company entered accompanied by twelve light horses from Perpignan; they had come from

27 The early letters requested the return of the deceased Muley Xeque's effects, which were in the Spaniards' possession; a letter of July 1614 reported that they had been sent. Other letters are dated 17 October 1614 and 11 January 1615 (two): García-Arenal *et al.*, *Cartas marruecas*, 348–66, 377–79.

28 Muley Zidan to the Duke of Medina Sidonia, 11 November 1614: García-Arenal *el al.*, *Cartas marruecas*, 367–76.

29 Martínez Shaw, "Cuatrocientos años de la embajada"; Rubies, "Political Rationality"; García Hernán *et al.*, *The Spanish Monarchy and Safavid Persia*; García Hernán, "Persia en la acción del Papado"; Gil Fernández, *El imperio luso-español y la Persia safávida*, vols. 1 & 2, and "Tras la huellas de Don Juan de Persia"; Cutillas, "Las Relaciones de Don Juan de Persia"; Mehrad, "Relaciones diplomáticas."

30 Davies, *Elizabethans Errant*; Penrose, *The Sherleian Odyssey*; Ross, *Sir Anthony Sherley*.

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> France. The governor with eight or ten gentlemen came out to receive them, and they spoke through an interpreter. And the ambassador rode on a horse sent him by the viceroy, and wore a tunic of crimson velvet with a lining of sable, and bore in his hand a scepter that must have been a palm and a half long. And all those of his company wore turbans on their heads made of fine fabric of different colors.[31]

The visitors were received by the viceroy of Catalonia and feted for ten days. After three days in Zaragoza with an equally warm welcome, they arrived on 13 August in Valladolid, where the Persian ambassador was accorded the same honors as the French one. Two days later Philip III received him at court.[32] Having discharged their mission, Hussein Ali Beg and his companions left Valladolid on 11 October 1601 on their way to Portugal, the first leg of their return journey to Persia; but they lost the chief envoy's nephew, Ali Quli Beg, who appealed to the Jesuits to receive him as a convert.

The whole retinue, growing ever smaller in number, sparked enormous curiosity as it passed through Segovia, Balsaín, El Escorial, the palaces at La Zarzuela and La Casa de Campo, Madrid, Aranjuez, Toledo, Trujillo, Mérida, and Badajoz. In Mérida, as a crowd of the curious jostled to enter the Persians' rooms and see them better, the *faqih* Amir was stabbed to death as he tried to block the door, and the assassin escaped under cover of darkness. The exhausted embassy reached Lisbon in November 1601. There they caused problems for the local viceroy, since some were accused of lust, greed, and excessive wine-drinking; they tried to take away the hangings and silver plate that decorated their rooms, and also to buy lances, swords, and arquebuses. The viceroy refused those purchases, which were forbidden on religious grounds.[33]

In late 1606 a new embassy arrived, led by Pakize Iman Quli Beg. The chancellor of the Persian court reached Lisbon in September of the next year, bearing a letter from Shah Abbas to Philip III, and departed for home in September 1608. A delegation led by Ali Quli Beg (whom the shah called "one of my

31 "Diumenge XV. Dit dia lo ambaxador de Persia Lucheinolibeg entra en Barcelona, venia de Roma y va a Valladolid per tractar la lliga amb lo Rey nostre senyor: entraren nou perças de companya acompanyats de dotze cavalls lleugers de Perpinya, eren vinguts per França, isquels a rebre lo governador ab vuyt o, deu Cavallers y parlaren per interprete E lo dit ambaxador anava a la gineta ab un cavall que li envía lo virey, aportava una cota de vellut carmesí ab forros de martas y en la ma un septre que devia tenir palm y mig de llarch y ell tots los de sa companya aportaven turbants al cap fets de telilla de diferentes colors": *Dietari del Antich Consell Barceloní*, 364.

32 Cutillas Ferrer, "El siglo XVI y el comienzo de las relaciones."

33 Gil Fernández, *El Imperio luso-español*, 1:79–136, 276–87.

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confidants, whom I usually send with such embassies") and Francisco de Acosta reached Rome in September 1609; it carried letters for both Philip III and the Pope.[34]

Robert Sherley, brother of Anthony, and the Persian Denguis Beg left Persia in the spring of 1609 as co-leaders of a new embassy to Spain. They received permission to pass through Rome, and arrived at the Spanish court in early 1611. One member of the group was a commercial envoy, Coja Regeb, and there were also many servants. Leaving Spain in March 1612, the group went on to Lisbon where the ambassador complained to the inspector of the treasury: he had not received the respect he deserved, and claimed that the ministers in Portugal "are happier to see Moors from Barbary than they are to see me." It appears that Juan de Persia, who had been a member of the delegation of 1601, interpreted for Denguis Beg's group on this occasion; he had converted to Christianity in the interval. On returning to Persia in 1613 Denguis Beg was executed by order of Shah Abbas, and we wonder if his "crime" had been to allow members of his embassy, including the secretary, to remain behind in Europe as Christians.[35]

All these embassies that sought to create a European-Persian alliance against the Ottomans came to naught. At most they may have made Constantinople feel a certain uncomfortable pressure at the prospect.

Ahwaz (Oeza in Spanish sources) was a kingdom located between the Ottoman and Persian Empires. In July 1617 an embassy from its king or sheikh, Seyyed Mobarak (Asic Mobarac or Mombareca), arrived in Naples. Its two leaders were a Portuguese and "Sheikh Ferhan, a Christian, who is one of its most prominent figures and our ambassador." They too hoped for a military pact against the Turks, to dislodge them from Basra and Bahrein; they went on to Madrid on 3 October but seem to have had no success.[36]

The Spanish-Persian approach surely favored Spanish-Ottoman approximation. An Ottoman ambassador arrived in Barcelona in June 1625.[37] The Porte sent another ambassador to the Spanish Court in 1625; he landed first in Barcelona and then went on to Madrid: "The embassy of the Grand Turk was accomplished and arrived this month at the court of the king our lord. The Turk requested his friendship and gave him a fine present, with a letter issued in Constantinople, on the first of March."[38] In the mid-1600s the Ottoman caliph

34 Gil Fernández, *El imperio*, 1:171–74.

35 Gil Fernández, *El imperio*, 2:182–219.

36 Gil Fernández, *El imperio*, 2:417–21.

37 Pujades, *Dietari*, 3:218.

38 "Embaxada del gran Turc fou feta y arribada en aquest mes a la cort del rey nostre señor, demanant-li lo Turch sa amistat y fent-li un grant present ab carta despedida en Constantinoble lo primer de marts": Pujades, *Dietari*, 3:218.

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dispatched Hamete Aga Mustafarac, Pasha of Cairo, to the court in Madrid; he arrived in Valencia in August 1649 and in Madrid in September. The street where he lived near the Calle de Alcalá was called "Turk Street" (*la calle del Turco*) for two centuries afterward. Philip IV received him on September 15. As often happened, his presence in the city aroused both expectation and conflict: he decided to visit a convent of nuns of Calatrava, near his lodgings. They received him kindly, but criticism of the visit reached the Council of State; on 17 October its secretary, Pedro Coloma, wrote to the Marquis of Mirabel:

> It having become known in the Council of State that the Turkish ambassador has gone to the convent of the nuns of Calatrava, where he was admitted and greeted with music, I am ordered to tell Your Excellency that the Council feels it is not right to allow him any occasion at all to go to holy places. And may Your Excellency be so good as to advise those religious women to correct this entry, for we understand that he intends to return there.[39]

The nuns were forced to apologize for having sung "two serious songs" for the ambassador, even though all of them had been wearing "hoods, their faces covered with masks." This incident led to censure of the Turks' customs, as they were suspected of seeking contact with prostitutes in Madrid. Philip IV therefore ordered:

> Through several decrees of mine, and especially through one dated 15 January of this year, I have instructed you to order the watchmen to take great care to patrol the street and house of the Turkish ambassador, because of the news I have heard of the excesses and sins that were being committed there, proceeding from the liberty and license of commerce between the Moors and certain Christian women who entered there. And that the first [woman] you lay hands on, of those who were causing the scandal, should be made a strong example of, naming her publicly …

39 "Habiendose entendido en el Consejo de Estado que el embajador turco ha ido al convento de las monjas de Calatrava, donde ha sido admitido y festejado de música, he tenido orden de decirlo a V.E. y que el Consejo siente que no es bien permitirle por ningún caso que vaya a lugares sagrados y que V.E. podría servirse de hacer advertir a aquellas religiosas que se remedie esta introducción, porque también se ha entendido que stá en propósito de volver allá": Espadas Burgos, "Andanzas madrileñas," 83–87. For a comparative study of the Persian and Ottoman embassies see Hernández Sau, "Perspectives on Iberian-Safavid Relations"; Conde Pozas, "La embajada turca en Madrid"; Díaz Esteban, "Embajada turca a Felipe IV."

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> and so I instruct you to call the watchmen and order them to keep their watches strictly, or in any form that seems fair and promotes continuous patrols by that Turk's house. And let any woman who enters it be arrested and held up as the stern example that such great wickedness calls for. And two days from now you must not fail to give me a very exact account of the measures you have taken and what may result from them.

The decree ordered that a house in the Calle de Alcalá, where such deeds were supposed to be taking place, be closed:

> … and in a house that they call "the little taverns of Parla," where every night fifteen or sixteen women, with others who live a debased life, meet many men from the household of this Turkish ambassador as well as some English ones, and grave excesses, scandals, and offenses against God are committed.[40]

It does not seem that this embassy achieved an improvement in Hispano-Ottoman relations. It might not have been as representative as it claimed, at least in the opinion of the Moroccan ambassador Muhammad b. Abd al-Wahhab al-Gassani, who visited Madrid years later:

> The Turkish embassy that came to Spain forty years ago claimed to come from Constantinople, but it had actually been sent by one of those madmen who wanted to create difficulties for the sultan of Constantinople.[41]

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40 "Por los diferentes decretos míos y especialmente por uno de quince enero deste año os he mandado que ordenáseis a los Alcaldes que estuviesen con sumo cuidado de rondar la calle y casa del Embajador turco por la noticia con que me hallaba de los excesos y pecados que en ella se cometían procedidos de la libertad y desenvoltura del comercio con los moros de algunas mujeres cristianas que en ella tenían entrada y con la primera que se viniese a las manos, de las que causaban el escandalo se hiciese severa demonstración anotándose públicamente … y asi os mando que luego llaméis a los Alcaldes y les encomendéis que precisamente atiendan por sus turnos o en la forma que sea justa y pareciere mejor a la ronda contina de aquella casa del turco y que cualquier mujer que entrase en ella se prenda y haga la demostración rigurosa que pide tan enorme maldad y que dende en dos días indispensablemente me deis cuenta muy particular de las diligencias que se hicieren o de los que dellas resultaren. … [Y] en una casa que llaman las tabernillas de Parla, adonde todas las noches se juntan quince o dieciséis mujeres y gran cantidad de hombres de las casas de este embajador turco, de los de Inglaterra y otras de malvivir y se cometen graves excesos y escándalos y ofensas a Dios": Espadas Burgos, "Andanzas," 83–87.

41 "La embajada de los turcos que vino a España hace cuarenta años, han pretendido que llegaba de Constantinopla, pero la verdad es que había sido enviada por uno de esos locos

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Embassies from Muslim countries resumed toward the end of the seventeenth century. In 1690 the Moroccan Sultan Muley Ismail sent his vizier, Muhammad b. Abd al-Wahhab al-Gassani, to the Spanish court.[42] It has been debated whether his only objectives were to recover some Arabic manuscripts and ransom several hundred Muslim captives,[43] or if he also hoped to negotiate a peace treaty. While there is no relevant documentation, we must consider the state of Hispano-Moroccan relations at the time. The Spanish Empire, governed by Charles II and the various factions of his court, was in steep decline, while Emperor Muley Ismail was one of Morocco's most remarkable rulers of the Early Modern period. He modernized the army and carried out a vast plan of fortifying his principal cities, including those along the coast. He demonstrated his power by conquering three fortified ports belonging to Spain or England: La Mamora (i.e., Mehdya, 1681), Tangier (1684), and Larache (1689). His self-confidence – and perhaps inflated reliance on his treaty with the French – was such that he requested the hand of one of Louis XIV's daughters. We wonder, therefore, whether his envoy al-Gassani had a more important mission than taking several hundred captives and a few texts back to Morocco. Did he seek to have a treaty signed, and if so, what was he prepared to offer in return? We must recall that Morocco's seige of Spanish Ceuta, launched in 1694, lasted until Bourbon troops finally lifted it in 1727.[44]

Al-Gassani and his train embarked in three ships at Ceuta in December 1690, and from Gibraltar a settee conveyed them to Cádiz. According to custom they were received with great pomp first in that city[45] and then in the others through which they passed, including of course on their arrival in Madrid.[46]

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que querían crear dificultades al sultán de Constantinopla": García Mercadal, *Viajes de extranjeros*, 4:303. In al-Bustani's translation, the embassy "came from some unscrupulous men who wished to damage the reputation of the kings of Constantinople": al-Gassani, *El viaje del Visir*, 42.

42 Beck, "The Travelogue of a Moroccan Ambassador"; Ben Hadda, *A Moroccan Ambassador*; García Mercadal, *Viajes de extranjeros*; Arribas Palau, "De nuevo sobre la embajada"; Vernet, "Embajada de al-Gassani"; al-Gassani, *El viaje del Visir*; Sauvaire, *Voyage en Espagne d'un ambassadeur*; Stanley, "Account of an Embassy from Morocco."

43 These are the only two purposes the ambassador mentions in his memoir. I use the translation of "Un embajador marroquí" included in García Mercadal, *Viajes de extranjeros*, but have also consulted al-Gassani, *El viaje*, and Paradela Alonso, *El otro laberinto*.

44 Abitbol, *Histoire du Maroc*, 234–53.

45 In Cádiz the ambassador was well treated by the governor and given a tour of the city by carriage. There was also a warm welcome in El Puerto de Santa María: al-Gassani, *El viaje*, 5–11.

46 In Madrid "we found that a multitude of people had come out to receive us, some in carriages, others on foot and still others on horseback." On the day of the royal reception "we

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Arabs who visited Spain viewed it with admiration and nostalgia; this was especially true of al-Gassani, who was of Andalusi descent. It was an "archaeological" nostalgia for a lost al-Andalus that had once belonged to his ancestors.[47] With emotion and fascination he visited the principal Islamic monuments like those of Córdoba and Toledo,[48] and recognized that Spaniards valued them as well.[49] He often expressed the impossible dream that the monuments might return to Islamic control.[50] That was a wholly conventional political discourse at the time, but again, it occurred against the backdrop of the Moroccans' seige of Ceuta (1694–1727).

Al-Gassani spoke of other traces of Islam in Spain, including visits by Moroccan exiles to the Peninsula such as that of Muley Xeque in the early 1600s.[51] Surprisingly, he showed little interest in the Morisco uprising.[52]

Throughout his journey al-Gassani found people who assured him (at any rate he believed them) that they descended from Spanish Muslims; he met them in Jerez, Lebrija, Utrera, Marchena, Linares, and Andújar. In Jerez, "the greater part of the population traces its origin to the Andalusis and its principal figures who turned Christian"; in Lebrija, "some residents persuaded us that they descended from Andalusis, through a certain word they cannot pronounce except by disguising their language. It is certain that most of its inhabitants trace their origin to the Muslims of Spain. But with the passage of time they have been educated under the shadows of impiety"; in Utrera, "Most of its residents descend from the Andalusis … A daughter of the city's governor and a daughter of the judge … are two young women descended from the Andalusis and related to the last king of Granada"; in Marchena, "Its inhabitants are pleasant people; they include some who trace their origin to the Muslims of

found the residents of the city all gathered together, so much so that it was very hard to reach the palace": al-Gassani, *El viaje*, 41, 44.

47 Paradela Alonso, *El otro laberinto*, 76–77.

48 In Córdoba he spoke particularly of the mosque, "so celebrated and well known"; in Toledo, of the many traces of Islam, especially its mosque. He said of Illescas that the town still held signs of its Muslim past: al-Gassani, *El viaje*, 20–26, 94–96.

49 "Spaniards do not deny the importance of Muslim mosques such as those of Toledo, Córdoba, and Seville, which are very famous": al-Gassani, *El viaje*, 90.

50 Among other instances, in Seville, "May God return it to the community of Islam!", and in the mosque of Toledo, "May God return it to Islam!": al-Gassani, *El viaje*, 45, 94–96.

51 In El Puerto de Santa María he knew of "a large house where Sultan el-Sheikh had stayed, son of Sultan Ahmed el-Dahabi, known as al-Dakhil because he entered Spain": al-Gassani, *El viaje*, 13.

52 Al-Gassani, *El viaje*, 52 ff. Paradela Alonso notes that three Moroccan ambassadors who visited Spain in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries – al-Gassani, al-Gazzal, and Ibn Otoman – all tiptoed around the topic of the Morisco tragedy: *El otro laberinto*, 91.

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Spain"; in Andújar, "It is highly probable that the population of Andújar comes from the Muslims of Spain [al-Andalus], and most descend from the Ulâd-es-Sarrâdj [Abencerrajes], who embraced Christianity during the reign of Sultan Hasan, the last king of Granada"; in Linares, "Most of its inhabitants descend from al-Andalus."[53] He believed that there were many descendants of Muslims in the regions he visited, and when he came to Andújar:

> These people are very numerous in these districts; their number is incalculable. Among them some claim that genealogy while others do not. There are even some who are horrified to have it spoken of. Those who repudiate that ancestry and refuse to acknowledge it claim to come from the mountains of Navarre, very far from Castile, where the remaining Christians took refuge after al-Andalus was conquered by the Muslims.[54]

N. Paradela observes that, while al-Gassani may have met an occasional crypto-Muslim, what he took as proofs of Islamism were probably no more than courteous and cordial gestures extended to a distinguished traveler.[55]

Al-Gassani pointed out that many of these supposed descendants of Muslims belonged to the minor nobility:

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53 Jerez: "la mayor parte de su población trae su origen de los andalus y de sus notables que se hicieron cristianos." Lebrija: "algunos habitantes nos confirmaron en la idea de que descendían de los andalus, por cierta señal que no pueden enunciar más que con la ayuda de un lenguaje embozado. Lo más seguro es que la mayor parte de sus habitantes traen su origen de los musulmanes de España. De todos modos, el tiempo ha transcurrido y han sido educados en las tinieblas de la impiedad." Utrera: "La mayor parte de sus habitantes son descendientes de los andalus. … Una hija del gobernador de la ciudad y otra del juez … son dos muchachas salidas de los andalus y de la familia del último rey de Granada." Marchena: "Sus habitantes son gentes afables; hay entre ellos quienes traen su origen de los musulmanes de España." Andújar: "Según toda probabilidad la población de Andújar procede de los musulmanes de España (andalus), y el mayor número procede de los Ulâd-es-Sarrâdj (abencerrajes), que abrazaron el cristianismo bajo el reinado del sultán Hasán, último rey de Granada." Linares: "La mayor parte de sus habitantes se compone de descendientes del Andalus": García Mercadal, *Viajeros extranjeros*, 289–96; al-Gassani, *El viaje*, 15–17, 28, 30.

54 "Estas gentes son muy numerosas en estos distritos; su número es incalculable. Entre ellos, los unos reivindican esa genealogía y otros no. Hay incluso algunos a quien les horroriza oir hablar de ella. Los que repudian esa descendencia y rechazan el reconocerla se pretenden descendientes de las montañas de Navarra, montañas alejadas de Castilla, y en donde se refugiaron los restos de los cristianos cuando la conquista del Andalus por los musulmanes": García Mercadal, *Viajes extranjeros*, 295; al-Gassani, *El viaje*, 29.

55 Paradela Alonso, *El otro laberinto*, 88–89.

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> Most of the descendants of the Christianized [Muslims] in Andújar are among the city's nobles; but their nobility is not valued as much as the kind transmitted by inheritance, like the titles of duke, count, and so forth. For these Abencerraje converts, all the nobility they enjoy today consists of inheriting the privilege of wearing a cross on the shoulder of their garment. The positions open to the remaining members of the family are in the secretariat, city government, the police, and others that carry no great importance or authority.[56]

These observations of al-Gassani's are not surprising. J. Amelang has shown in a brief but excellent summary how the purity-of-blood statutes were applied unevenly in the various institutions that adopted them, so that descendants of Moriscos and Jews could evade them fairly easily.[57]

One of the individuals spoken of was a resident of Orcera who approached the ambassador to tell him that "he was joined in great friendship to Don Alonso, grandson of the King of Granada," who had asked him to accompany the visitor through the Sierra Morena, always a dangerous route because of bandits. The man assured al-Gassani that he had been a highwayman himself, but had retired to await the king's mercy; and that, "if you were well disposed toward the journey, I would go with you to the home of Muley Ismail and request a letter for the king of Spain so that he can grant me my pardon."[58] In the Early Modern age it was more common than we might imagine to approach the sultan of Morocco for a pardon or other favor from the Spanish monarch.

Al-Gassani had the impression that the status of minor nobility – which he associated with "purity of blood" – was granted only to "pure Christians," those who could prove seven generations in the faith. It was given also to

> those who, being descended from al-Andalus and belonging to the great families of their nation, have later become Christians for their

56 "La mayor parte de los descendientes de estos cristianizados que están en Andújar cuentan entre los nobles de la ciudad; de todos modos, su nobleza no es considerada igual a la que se transmite por herencia, como los títulos de duque, de conde y otros semejantes. Toda la nobleza de que gozan hoy consiste para los abencerrajes convertidos en cristianos en transmitirse por herencia el privilegio de llevar sobre el hombro una cruz dibujada sobre el vestido con que se envuelven. Las funciones de que están investidos los restos de esa familia son el secretariado, el gobierno de las ciudades, la policía y otras que no tienen ni una grande importancia ni una grande autoridad": García Mercadal, *Viajeros*, 295; al-Gassani, *El viaje*, 28.

57 Amelang, *Vidas paralelas*, 114–18.

58 In fact he accompanied al-Gassani for a day: al-Gassani, *El viaje*, 35–36.

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> self-interest; then they are given this sign that shows that they originate in Islam; it is a sign of their nobility in the false religion.[59]

The Moroccan seems unaware that he is contradicting himself: he had just affirmed that Christians had to prove that their families bore no "spot or even a suspicion of Judaism or any religion other than the Christian."[60]

In Madrid al-Gassani met persons of a certain standing who enjoyed relatively good relations at court. One was Don Alonso, whom he describes as "a grandson of Musa, the brother of Sultan Hasan who was defeated in Granada"; Don Alonso "showed a liking for the Muslims he met, mentioned his lineage, and enjoyed hearing stories about Islam and its peoples."[61] Another man, whose name he had forgotten, was a government secretary and claimed descent from the Abencerrajes:

> One day in Madrid I met someone whose name I cannot recall just now … .He paused and, after having repeated words of greeting, he and the ladies who were with him offered us great affability and attention. We replied to his courtesy in the proper way. Before departing he introduced himself, saying: "We are of the Muslim race, descendants of the Ulad-es-Sarraj." Later I inquired about him and they told me that he was attached to the Ministry of State as a secretary; he was responsible for reading applications, petitions, and other documents of that kind. A certain number of natives of Granada who had official posts there kept their residence in Madrid. They would come to see us in the company of Don Alonso, a descendant of the king of Granada, and they traced their origin to the race that lived in Granada.[62]

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59 "Los que, descendiendo del Andalus y perteneciendo a los grandes de su nación, se han hecho después cristianos por sus intereses; entonces les han dado esa señal que indica que pertenecen en el origen al islamismo; esa señal es la de su nobleza en la mala religión": García Mercadal, *Viajeros*, 306; al-Gassani, *El viaje*, 47–48.

60 García Mercadal, *Viajeros*, 306.

61 Al-Gassani, *El viaje*, 16.

62 "Encontré un día en Madrid un personaje cuyo nombre no recuerdo en este momento. … Se detuvo y, después de habernos saludado repetidas veces, nos testimonió, así como las damas que con él iban mucha afabilidad y atenciones. Respondimos como debíamos a su cortesía. Cuando quiso marcharse se dio a conocer diciendo: 'Somos de la raza de los musulmanes, descendiente de los Ulad-es-Sarraj.' A continuación me informé sobre él, y me contestaron que, agregado al Ministerio de Estado, con la calidad de secretario, era quien estaba encargado de leer las instancias, las peticiones y otros documentos del mismo género. Del mismo modo cierto número de habitantes de Granada, investidos en esa ciudad de cargos y de funciones, tenían su residencia en Madrid. Iban a vernos en compañía de don Alonso, uno de los descendientes del rey de Granada; hacían remontar

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The ambassador goes on to say that many Spaniards also took an interest in Islam:

> There are many people among them who, if you speak with them and they hear about the true religion and straight path of the Muslims, show themselves well disposed toward Islam; they praise it, approve of it, and do not refuse to listen to its teachings, as we have witnessed more than once. It is their clerics and friars, those rebellious spirits, who are moved by the greatest hatred and whose hearts are the hardest; those despicable ones are the most stubborn in their impiety.[63]

Of the two official aims of the embassy – to recover Arabic manuscripts and ransom Muslim captives – we shall say little about the former; these were texts that "used to be in the libraries of Moors from Seville, Córdoba, Granada, and other places," and N. Paradela has already studied the issue issue at length.[64]

Al-Gassani paid closest attention to the Muslim slaves he met throughout his journey, and confessed that they were its principal object. In Cádiz he was met by

> all the [Muslim] captives held by the city of Cádiz: men, women, and children also came to meet us. In transports of joy they recited the Muslim profession of faith aloud and asked God's blessings on the Prophet (may God bless and preserve him!), calling for our sovereign's victory, blessing the Prophet (may God bless and preserve him!), shouting with joy for our ruler, *el-Mansûr billah* [he who is saved by God]. We counseled them and promised them that our sovereign (may God assist him!) would not abandon them as long as he enjoyed divine favor. That day was a holiday for

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su origen a la raza que estaba en Granada": García Mercadal, *Viajeros*, 295. In al-Bustani's translation the ambassador interjects, "May God help them to return to the right path and the true religion!": al-Gassani, *El viaje*, 25–26, 29–30. See also Paradela, *El otro laberinto*, 85.

63 "[H]ay entre ellos muchas gentes que, si se habla con ellos y oyen hablar de la verdadera religión y del recto camino en el que se encuentran los musulmanes, se muestran bien dispuestos para el islamismo, hacen su elogio, lo aprueban y no rechazan el prestar oído a sus enseñanzas, así como nosotros hemos sido testigo mas de una vez. Son sus clérigos y frailes, estos espíritus rebeldes, los que están animados del odio más vivo y tienen el corazón más endurecido; esos miserables son los más obstinados en su impiedad": García Mercadal, *Viajeros*, 295.

64 Most of the books being sought had actually belonged to Muley Zidan's library and had been seized at sea by the Spanish in 1612: Paradela Alonso, *El otro laberinto*, 65–71; Justel Calabozo, *La Real Biblioteca de El Escorial*; Derembourg, *Les manuscrits arabes de l'Escurial*.

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> them because they received the good news of their liberation, which God would grant them by the hand of el-Mansûr billah – the more so because it was now true that our ruler (may God assist him!), in gathering all his Christian prisoners, had no other object or goal than to free the Muslims from the hands of the infidel enemy.[65]

The reception in Córdoba was similar:

> As we drew near the city the residents came out to meet us, together with the captives held there, who spoke aloud the profession of the Muslim faith and called for the victory of our sovereign, el-Mansûr billah. The children of the Christians repeated the same cries as the Muslims.[66]

And likewise in Madrid:

> There we met joyful, contented, and happy [Muslim] captives, proclaiming the profession of the Muslim faith aloud and reciting the *shahada* (act of faith) and blessings on the Prophet, may God bless and preserve him! and calling for victory for our sovereign el-Mansûr billah. The Christian children echoed their cries.[67]

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65 "[T]odos los presos que guardaba la ciudad de Cádiz, hombres, mujeres y niños vinieron también a nuestro encuentro; transportados de alegría, proclamaban en alta voz la profesión de fe musulmana y reclamaban las bendiciones de Dios sobre el Profeta (¡al que Dios bendiga y le salve!), haciendo votos por la victoria de nuestro señor, bendiciendo al Profeta (¡que Dios le bendiga y le salve!), dando gritos de júbilo para nuestro señor, El Mansûr billah (el socorrido de Dios). Les dimos consejos y les prometimos que nuestro señor ¡al que Dios asista!, no los abandonaría en tanto gozase de favor divino. Ese día fue para ellos una fiesta a causa de la buena noticia que recibieron de su liberación, que Dios iba a concederles por la intervención del señor El Mansûr billah, tanto más que cuanto que había llegado a ser cierto para ellos que nuestro señor ¡al que Dios asista!, no tenía otro objeto y otra atención al reunir a todos los cristianos que estaban presos, que librar a los musulmanes de las manos del enemigo infiel": García Mercadal, *Viajeros*, 286–87; al-Gassani, *El viaje*, 11.

66 "Cuando estuvimos cerca de la ciudad salieron los habitantes a nuestro encuentro, así como los prisioneros que encerraba y que proclamaban en alta voz la profesión de fe musulmana y hacían votos de victoria por nuestro señor El Mansûr billah. Los hijos de los cristianos repetían los mismos gritos que los musulmanes": García Mercadal, *Viajeros*, 292–93; al-Gassani, *El viaje*, 42.

67 "Encontramos allí prisioneros alegres y contentos y alegres, proclamando en alta voz la profesión de fe musulmana y profesaban la xehada (acto de fé) y las bendiciones del Profeta, ¡que Dios le bendiga y salve!, y haciendo votos de victoria por nuestro soberano El Mansûr billah. Los niños cristianos repetían sus gritos": García Mercadal, *Viajeros*, 303; al-Gassani, *El viaje*, 42.

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Clearly those slaves enjoyed, at least for the occasion, considerable freedom of movement, and could also profess their religious faith in public. It is also striking that in all three cities there were men, women, and children in the crowd. Charles II received al-Gassani on 21 December 1690 and heard his proposal to exchange one hundred Spanish soldiers captured when Morocco retook Larache in 1689 for five hundred Muslims (although the initial request had been for one thousand). To prepare for an exchange the Spanish monarch ordered an inquiry into the number of Muslim slaves present in the kingdom at the time, but when al-Gassani left Spain in May 1691 he could not take any with him in spite of his efforts. Spanish authorities continued to add to the list of captives for several months after the ambassador's departure.[68] We saw above that a census of Mulsim slaves was drawn up in Puerto Real in 1690, connected to the visit of the Moroccan ambassador to Spain.[69] Everything indicates that there were not many slaves in Spain at the time, concentrated in just a few cities, though the matter calls for more thorough investigation.

Al-Gassani praised the Spanish systems of inns, posts, and hospitals. He was also impressed by the ferries at river crossings, Madrid's wide streets, and the gazette published in the capital.[70] He admired El Escorial, where he was able to view the books that the sultan was seeking.[71] Nuns also interested him and he visited several convents – at least one in Linares and that of the Discalced order in Carmona, the latter at the nuns' request. As he was leaving, one sister asked him the meaning of a phrase he had used, "May God lead us in this way on the path of health!". He noted in his account that he replied, "To Hell – what a dreadful destination!".[72]

During his journey to Madrid and his stay there the Spanish tried to avoid any unpleasant incidents. Local authorities were ordered not to let his retinue stop over in one place for any reason, in the belief that fewer problems would arise and the visitors would enjoy better treatment. The memory of a Turkish ambassador's visit in 1649 was still alive:

68 Al-Gassani states that he gave the king a letter containing the sultan's request for five thousand books and five hundred captives, and that Charles, unsure of what to do, consulted his advisers. It was finally decided to send a thousand captives but no books: al-Gassani, *El viaje*, 57.

69 Izco Reina, "El censo de moros de 1690."

70 In Sanlúcar a member of his retinue fell ill and refused to be taken to a hospital that was run by friars; nonetheless they visited him every day until he was cured. Al-Gassani, *El viaje*, 64.

71 Al-Gassani, *El viaje*, 89.

72 García Mercadal, *Viajeros*, 297; al-Gassani, *El viaje*, 30, 32.

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> When the ambassador came from the [Grand] Turk a guard was placed over him on the pretext of forming an escort, which was to prevent and impede any offenses against God by members of the court. And now likewise, though not in the form of a guard (since this man is an envoy, while the other was an ambassador), persons should be positioned to avoid the same problem – and with even more skill and cleverness, for it is said that the one provided in the past to thwart him was not sufficient.

In Madrid strict orders were given to allow no one, Muslim or Christian, into al-Gassani's chambers who was not a member of his retinue, and that "no women may enter his lodgings."[73]

Although al-Gassani complained that "the people mistreated him," he actually enjoyed freedom of movement and was not prevented from speaking with Muslims (free and enslaved) whom he met in Madrid and elsewhere. It is hard to see what "mistreatment" he could be referring to. Was it the taunts of Christian boys in Cádiz and Madrid, or the curiosity of people who pushed close to see him better? The ambassador felt a certain uneasiness toward Christian society, though many of his statements were stereotypical. On mentioning Spanish kings who had carried out the Reconquest, and those of the Hapsburg dynasty, he exclaims, "May God purge them from the earth!", "May God cause them to perish!", and "detestable race." Charles V was "one of the most terrible of the infidel kings" and his son Philip II "a scoundrel." His curses ("May God annihilate them!") extended to the Portuguese and French monarchs and to the Pope.[74] But perhaps his outbursts were not purely rhetorical. As his retinue passed through Sanlúcar de Barrameda one of its members fell ill, and the friars who ran the local hospital proposed taking him there for treatment. After Al-Gassani refused twice, the friars visited the sick man in his lodgings every day until he was cured.[75] The ambassador makes

73 "[Q]uando vino el embaxador del turco, se le pusso guardia, con pretexto de cortejo, y que fue para embarazar e impedir algunas ofensas de Dios en la gente de la corte, y que ahora respectiuamente, aunque no en forma de guardia (por ser este embiado y el otro embaxador), se le deuerán poner personas que eviten el mismo embarazo, y aun con más cuidado y maña, porque se dize que aun no fue bastante el que se puso por lo passado para estorvarle": Espadas Burgos, "Andanzas," 83–87.

74 García Mercadal, *Viajeros*, 307–08, 310, 323, 326. Al-Bustani chose not to translate those interjections and the severest criticisms of the monarchy and the Church, though he acknowledged the omissions: al-Gassani, *El viaje*, 48–49.

75 García Mercadal, *Viajeros*, 316.

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several other critical remarks about the Church[76] and Spanish society as a whole.[77]

The Moroccan provides details of his first meeting with Charles II. He was asked about "our manner of greeting," since the king "had never received persons of our religion," and replied that for people of other faiths the proper form was, "Peace to those who follow the true path!". He reports with a certain pride that the king seemed surprised but "had no choice but to accept it, because he knew we had decided to add nothing more."[78] But these recollections contrast with how Charles II actually received him in Aranjuez. After greeting the ambassador Charles took the letter from Muley Ismail, kissed it, and doffed his hat out of respect on speaking the name of the Moroccan sovereign.[79] He handed al-Gassani a return letter to Muley Ismail, "kissing it and giving it to us after inquiring after our health," then said:

> Convey to His Sharifian Majesty the proper greetings from us. We beg him to treat kindly our captives whom he holds in his lands. All that His Majesty desires of us we shall do speedily, out of respect for his rank.

When the king asked al-Gassani if he could grant him a wish, the Moroccan replied, "We made clear to him that we had no other wish than those proper to the exalted state of Islam."[80] Of course al-Gassani had to consider potential readers of his account, possibly the Alawite monarch and Moroccan notables, and make his words more severe on that account. We need further research to clarify whether the ambassador's opinions, and the nature of his reception

76 In one instance he reacted to a sermon saying, "What impieties the priest told – may God free us from them!". On the belief in miracles: "the devil makes them see these imaginary things": al-Gassani, *El viaje*, 62, 81–82, 86. His criticisms of the Inquisition were milder: García Mercadal, *Viajeros*, 309–10, 327, 330–31. Al-Bustani, who made the first Spanish translation of al-Gassani's account, did not include the strongest passages against the Spaniards, evading them with phrases such as, "he writes notions that are severe toward them and toward the knowledge of the Christians." That translation was published during Spain's Protectorate in Morocco (1912–1956), when Francoist colonial authorities wanted to silence or soften criticism as much as possible.

77 He observed shrewdly that Spaniards did not like to trade or travel for business, or work in "base" occupations, preferring to be bureaucrats or soldiers in hopes of joining the noble class: al-Gassani, *El viaje*, 46–47. He also thought that Spanish men should be more jealous of their wives: García Mercadal, *Viajeros*, 331.

78 Al-Gassani, *El viaje*, 43.

79 García Mercadal, *Viajeros*, 304.

80 García Mercadal, *Viajeros*, 337. (In Bustani's version, "Present our greetings to the Sultan, and we hope for good treatment for the prisoners you hold"): al-Gassani, *El viaje*, 93.

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by Charles II, reflect unresolved tensions between the two monarchies and different ways of dealing with them on the two shores of the Mediterranean.

The next Muslim ambassador did not arrive in Spain until February 1701, when an envoy from the Dey of Algiers landed in Alicante to meet the newly crowned Philip IV.[81] The envoy was Mamete, "our captain of the sea and warfare," accompanied by Adahaman.[82] By the Dey's express wish, a priest named Francisco de Ortega went with them from Algiers, "leading these Moors who come to kiss Your Majesty's hand, and as ambassadors to discuss certain affairs that may please and serve Your Majesty."[83]

The Spanish monarch, on hearing of the arrival of an ambassador from "the one honored and praised among the Turks and Moors, Achi Amet Dey, king of Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli," granted him a passport and ordered him supplied with everything he needed.[84] The word went out to all the captains general, viceroys, governors, and other authorities who were coming

> to conduct business with him, it being only just that to those who come from a prince of such fame and valor, all good welcome and honor should be done in our kingdoms and dominions. We have ordered and we command all our viceroys, lieutenants, captains general of the sea and the land, governors, and any other official persons, subjects, and vassals to grant free passage and transit to those who are sent by the king of Algiers and all their party and companions, so that nowhere shall they feel the slightest disturbance or vexation, but rather assistance and favor, under penalty of our displeasure, assuring those envoys that they shall be brought freely to our court. And after they have fulfilled their mission there they may return to their country without being detained

81 On this embassy see Windler, "La diplomacia," 224; La Véronne, "Un intento de alianza." I am grateful to Luis Fe Cantó for bringing documentation of it to my attention.

82 "Consultas originales y otros papeles sobre la venida del Embiado del Rey de Argel á esta Corte en el año de 1701": AHN, Estado, leg. 2866. The text mentions sometimes one ambassador or envoy and sometimes two; I have chosen to speak of one envoy with a companion.

83 Carlos Francisco del Castillo to Joseph Pérez de la Puente, Madrid, 5 April 1701: AHN, Estado, 2866.

84 "Passport signed by His Majesty for the two ambassadors who come from Algiers to this Court and are now in Alicante. To be forwarded to the Viceroy of Valencia with a dispatch of the same." It is also noted, "I do not know if this Deu [*sic*] of Algiers is the same one who came the other time": Buen Retiro, 7 March 1701. The notice goes to the Viceroy of Valencia to ensure "the safety of the voyage to this court of the Ambassadors from Algiers who have landed at Alicante": Buen Retiro, 16 March 1701, AHN, Estado, 2866.

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> or mistreated anywhere in our kingdoms and dominions. For which we order the dispatch of this letter, signed by our royal hand, sealed with our private seal, and approved by our Council of State, named below.[85]

The governor of Alicante was instructed to provide a proper escort and keep the court informed of the arrival of

> two ambassadors from the Regency of Algiers, whose legal documents have been determined: a passport they carry from the king my uncle … and certification of having passed the quarantine in Majorca, with the provisional information you gave to that governor. We order that if these Moors have fulfilled their quarantine you permit them to come to this Court, and we advise that if you deem it necessary to send with them some soldier or minister to guide and defend them against the insults of the ignorant populace, you should do so. And to make their journey more secure I have ordered them sent the attached passport, which is conveyed to you to give to them.[86]

85 "… [P]ara tratar algunos negocios de su parte, y siendo justo que a los que vinieren de la de un Principe de tanta fama y valor se le haga en nuestros Reynos y Dominios toda buena acogida y agasajo; hemos ordenado y mandamos á todos nuestros Virreyes, Lugarthenientes, Capitanes Generales de Mar y Tierra Governadores y qualesquiera otras personas oficiales, súbditos y vasallos, concedan libre pasage y transito á los que vinieren embiados de parte de dicho Rey de Argel, y á toda su comitiva y acompañamiento, sin que en ninguna parte experimenten la menor molestia ni vexacion, antes bien toda ayuda y favor, so pena de incurrir en nuestra desgracia, asegurando á las dichas personas que vinieren embiadas que serán conducidas á esta nra. Corte, con toda libertad; y que después de haver cumplido en ella la comisión que trahen, podrán bolberse á su Patria, sin que en ninguna parte de nuestros Reynos y Dominios se les haga detención ni mala obra; para cuyo efecto hemos mandado despachar la presente firmada de nuestra real mano sellada con nuestro sello secreto y refrendada de nuestro infraescrito Consejo de estado": Draft dated at Buen Retiro, 15 May 1701, AHN, Estado, 2866.

86 "… [D]os embaxadores de la Regencia de Argel de lo que havia investigado acerca de su legacía: pasaporte que trahen del Rey mi tio … y certificación de haver hecho la quarentena en Mallorca; como de lo que provisionalmente previnisteis á aquel Governador; ha parecido ordenamos que si estos Moros huvieren cumplido ya con su quarentena los dexeis venir a esta Corte; y advirtiendoos que si juzgaseis necesario embiar con ellos algun cabo ó Ministro que los dirija y defienda de los insultos de la plebe ignorante, lo executeis assi; y para mayor seguridad de su viage he mandado despacharles el pasaporte adjunto que se os envía para que se le entreguéis": Inquiry to Marquis of Villagarcía (who had sent two earlier letters, 15 and 23 February), dated 7 March 1701. Letter from Marquis of Villagarcía to Josep Pérez de la Puente, Valencia, 22 March 1701. Letter from the Council of State, Madrid, 7 April 1701: AHN, Estado, 2866.

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The head of the Algerians' escort, Carlos Francisco de Castillo, asked for instructions about their treatment and was told to proceed "just as was done with the envoy of the king of Meknes who came to this Court in 1690, as to the audience he obtained and the manner of attending and lodging him, even though that case did not conform to the present one." But there was uncertainty about the true nature of the delegation, because

> the one they call the King of Algiers is not a sovereign, while the one from Meknes is, and wields great power; so for any determination that is proposed to you we need to know what status these Moors bring, for according to it we should moderate the demonstrations of welcome that are made to them.

In spite of these doubts the Council of State was in favor of receiving the envoy, since he was clearly an ally against the ruler of Morocco:

> As for the king or viceroy of Algiers, enemy of the king of Meknes – whose strength we need to counteract by every means possible – you may order that wherever they go these men may be given a balcony for viewing the bullfight, and a coach from the stables in which the coachman gives the best seat to the principal [envoy], treating them with all urbanity and benevolence and protecting them from any insult from the people, so that they may be grateful for their welcome.[87]

In April the Council of State was much concerned to decide if the envoys "must be given a balcony at the next bullfight." But the larger question was whether the Algerians actually deserved the status of ambassadors. Francisco de Castillo confessed that he could not determine what rank the men held:

87 "… [E]l que llaman Rey de Argel no es Soberano y el de Mequinez si y con gran poder, con que para qualquiera resolución que se hubiese de proponer á V.M. hacia mucha falta saberse que carácter trahian estos Moros pues según el se deberían medir las demonstraciones de agasajo que se hiciese con ellos. … Al Rey o virrey de Argel enemigo del de Mequinez, cuyas fuerzas necesitamos contrapesar por todos los medios posibles, puede V.M. servirse mandar que por donde toca se dé balcón para fiesta de Toros a estos hombres, y coche de la Cavalleriza en que el conductor dé el mejor lugar al principal, usando con ellos de toda urbanidad y benevolencia resguardándolos de todo insulto del Pueblo, de suerte que queden obligados al agasajo": Consejo de Estado, Madrid, 2 April 1701, Estado, 2866.

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> Having been with them he found no proof of the status they bring, since they claim not to have a copy of the accrediting letter and that they cannot open the original until they place it in Your Majesty's royal hands.[88]

Once the group reached Madrid the Algerians were housed in the monastery of the Santísima Trinidad. No one knew how to address them, since their rank was still unknown:

> Since the Secretariat finds no example regarding this Divan or Viceroy of Algiers, whether any envoy has ever come in his name, it reports that when an envoy from the king of Meknes came to this Court at the end of 1690 he was lodged at the visitors' lodgings, just as was done in '73 for another envoy from Muscovy. And his host was ordered to treat him like any royal envoy, and attend him with all correctness: the host should go out to meet him and give him the best seat in the carriage and address him as "Señor," with all the other practices that are usual with other envoys and a little more distinction. If the envoy eats in our manner at a high table [the host] should attend him, taking the next place … .The Council later discovered … the notice of how the Turkish ambassador who came to this court was received in the year 629 [*sic*], and comparing the circumstances of the two cases it was resolved to order the host to act in that encounter as was recorded in the report (of which he was sent a copy signed by the Secretary of the Bureau). Its import is that His Majesty having decided to receive him as he receives other envoys from kings and emperors out of the esteem in which he holds his master, and because he is very pleased with his purpose of negotiating freedom for the captives, coaches will be sent from His Majesty's stables for him and his family.[89]

88 "Hauiendo estado con ellos no encontró razón del carácter que trahen, diciendo se allauan sin copia de la carta de creencia, y que la original no podían abrirla hasta ponerla en las Reales manos de V. Magd": Consejo de Estado, Madrid, 2 April 1701, AHN, Estado, 2866.

89 "La Secretaria no hallando exemplar en termino deste Diuan o Virrey de Argel, en cuyo nombre aya venido algun embiado suyo, hizo presente que haviendo venido a esta Corte un embiado del Rey de Mequinez por fines del año 1690 se le mando hospedar en la casa de los hospedajes, en la misma forma que el año de 73 a otro embiado de Moscovia, y al conductor se ordeno le tratase como a qualquier embiado de Corona, y que en la forma de asistirle se executase toda puntualidad; que el conductor le saliese a reziuir y en el coche le diese el mejor lugar, y el tratamiento de señoria, con todas las demas circunstancias que solia practicar con los demas embiados y con alguna especialidad mas; que si el embiado comiese a nuestro usso, y en messa alta le asistiese tomando el Lugar después del. … Que después se reconozio en el consejo … la etiqueta de la forma en que fue rezibido el año de 629 el embaxador del Turco que vino a esta corte; y cotejadas las circunstancias de

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It was decided to offer "resources appropriate to his maintenance, and a place for them to attend the festivities." But the Council insisted that the degree of ceremony offered to the Moroccan ambassador was not the right model, because unlike the monarch of Morocco the Dey of Algiers was not a sovereign. It added that the Algerians had not described the exact nature of their embassy. Francisco de Castillo replied that the North Africans persisted in calling themselves ambassadors but would not show the credential that proved it.[90] Besides, they were asking for the earliest possible audience; they had been given only three months to carry out their mission and would be punished if they took any longer.[91]

All these doubts about what was due to the ambassador show that little was known about how the Regency of Algiers was governed. One of the Council's requests for clarification stated:

> Don Andrés de San Juan will tell me the significance, meaning, or reason of the word "Day" among the Moors. As for the notion that he who governs Algiers as Day is King of Algiers, this is not a king but one who is elected. This word "Day" is the surname of all those chosen by the army to govern Algiers – they call the Day King of Algiers but in reality he cannot be called a king; the army may depose him and kill him and put another in his place, of which there are many examples. And in a letter we find from a predecessor he begins by calling himself "Hazan Day," meaning Hazan (his name) and Day (the common surname of these elected figures). And in another a different predecessor styles himself Governor of Algiers. We do not know how the letter written now from Algiers will be, but the ones His Majesty has already answered say "Day, King of Algiers."[92]

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uno, y otro casso, se resolvió ordenar al conductor que en aquella Audiencia executase lo que se prevenia en memoria (que se le remitió copia original baxo firmada del Secretario del Despacho) cuya sustancia en que S.M. havia determinado rezibirlo, como rezibe a otros embiados de Reyes, y emperadores, por la estima que hazia de su Amo, y por serle muy grato el negocio que venia a tratar de la livertad de los cautivos; que se le embiarian coches de la Cavalleriza de S.M. para el y su familia": the Council to Francisco del Castillo, 9 April 1701, AHN, Estado, 2866.

90 Carlos Francisco de Castillo to Joseph Pérez de la Puente, Madrid, 5 April 1701. Two drafts of notes from the Council of State declared the same thing: Madrid, 7 April 1701. The Council to Francisco de Castillo, 9 April 1701, AHN, Estado, 2866.

91 Francisco de Castillo tells of being prostrate in bed after two bloodlettings: Carlos Francisco del Castillo to Joseph Pérez de la Puente, Madrid, 11 April 1701. Consultation of the Council, 11 April 1701, AHN, Estado, 2866.

92 "Don Andres de San Juan me pondrá aquí la significación sentido o razon tiene la palabra Day entre los Moros; respecto a que sepase el que Govierna a Argel Day Rey de Arxel, esto no es Rey sino elexido-- esta palabra Day es apellido de todos los que elixe la Milicia para

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A report from Francisco de Castillo, who acted as host to the ambassador, was also debated:

> He is carrying out the order he was given to inquire about the status of these Moors who have arrived from Algiers, and they answered that they have the rank of ambassadors, as is declared in their original letter of accreditation, which they will place in Your Majesty's hands. In the official passport they bring they are sometimes called "ambassadors" and sometimes "envoys"; and the priest who comes with them assures me that when the King of Algiers gave him his orders he asked him to come with the "ambassadors" he was sending to the King of Spain; and these Moors ask most urgently to be granted an audience as soon as possible … . The Council assures Your Majesty that the motives for welcoming this Moor and treating him well are those set down for Your Majesty in the attached consultations of the 7th of this month, and that the relevant points are: first, the audience they seek from Your Majesty; and the Council thinks that there is no time for it among the events of this week, but that after these pending affairs are concluded Your Majesty may console them by receiving this Moor as an envoy extraordinary.[93]

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el Goberno de Arjel-- al qual llaman day Rey de Arjel pero realmte. No se puede llamar rey respecto de que le quita y le mata la miliscia poniendo otro en su lugar de que hay muchos exemplares-- y en una carta que se halla de otro antecesor empieza nombrándose hazan Day que quiere decir hazan su nombre y Day es el apellido común de estos elexidos-- y en otra se pone otro antesesor Gobernador de arjel, pero no se sabe como vendrá la Carta que se escribe a ora de Arjel, pero en las que se han respondido por su Magd se le han puesto Day Rey de Arjel": "Vease en el consejo. Del Conductor de embaxadores recibo el papel incluso y pongo en las reales manos de V.M.": 11 April 1701, AHN, Estado, 2866.

93 "[Q]ue satisfaze a la orden que se le dio para que inquiriese el carácter con que venían despachados los Moros, que han llegado de Argel; diciendo le han respondido que su carácter es de embaxadores, y que se halla declarado en la carta de crehencia original, que han de poner en las manos de V.Mgd.; que en la refrendada de Pasaporte que traen, en unas partes se les nombra embaxadores y en otras embiados; que el Religioso que viene con ellos asegura que el Rey de Argel, quando le encargo su asistencia, fue pidiéndole que viniese con los embaxadores que enviaua al Rey de España; que estos Moros solicitan con vivas ansias que quanto antes se les conzeda audiencia. … El Consexo representa á V.Magd. que los motivos que ay para agasaxar y tratar bien á este Moro, son los que se apuntaron a V.Mgd. en las consultas adjuntas de 7 y del corriente que los puntos que ahora penden son, el primero la Audiencia que desean de V.Mgd. y esto pareze al Consexo que en las ocurrencias de esta semana no tendrá cavimiento, pero que pasadas las ocupaciones pendientes, podrá V.Mgd. seruirse de consolarlos reciuiendo á este Moro como embiado extraordinario." On the cover of the folder is written "Como parece y assi lo he mandado." José Pérez de la Puente to the Admiral of Castille, Count of Frigiliana, Count

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In the end the court decided to grant this envoy the same status accorded to the ambassador from Morocco in 1691:

> The Secretariat reported that since it could find no example of this Duan or Viceroy of Algiers in whose name some envoy had come, it finds only that when an envoy from the king of Meknes arrived at this Court at the end of the year 690 he was ordered to be lodged in the visitors' lodgings in the same manner as an envoy from Meknes in the year 673.

It was further proposed to respect "the form in which the ambassador from the Turk was received at Court in the year 649 [*sic*]" and that accorded to other ambassadors and envoys, because such a course suited the Spanish monarch's North African policy.[94] Finally, the decision was made to grant the delegate an audience in a week's time and to address him as an envoy extraordinary.[95]

The envoy extraordinary, Mamete, had brought a letter in Arabic that, once received and translated, proved to contain two proposals. The first asked that Spanish troops in Oran remain neutral in the attack that Algiers was preparing against the Sultan of Morocco:

> Our discourse leads to informing Your Majesty that with God's help, when spring comes, we shall ride out with all our army and ourself in person against Muley Ysmael, King of Meknes; asking that Your Majesty give a royal order to the Governor of Oran that he may know that we are in a state of friendship. And as to all the provisions that pass by sea or by land to Tlemcen, no harm be done to those who conduct them, much less to the couriers who travel for this purpose. Begging Your Majesty to give freedom to the three Moors who were seized last year in Oran as they

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of Monterrey, Marquis of El Fresno, Count of Santistevan, and Count of Montijo, Madrid, 12 April 1701, AHN, Estado, 2866.

94 "Hizo al mismo tiempo presente la secretaria que no hallando exemplar en términos deste Duan, ó Virrey de Argel en cuyo nombre hubiese venido algun embiado suyo, solo se encontraba que haviendo llegado á esta Corte un embiado del Rey de Mequinez por fines del año de 690 se le mandó hospedar en la Casa de los hospedages en la misma conformidad que el año de 673 á otro embiado de Mequinez." The allusion to 1673 appears mistaken. Response to the communication from Francisco de Castillo to José Pérez de la Puente, 19 April 1701. Council of State, Madrid, 23 April 1701. AHN, Estado, 2866.

95 Council of State to Francisco de Castillo, Madrid, 23 April 1701. The Council to the Viceroy of Valencia informing him of the Algerians' arrival at court, 27 April 1701. A summary of all that had been done, prepared for the members of the Council, dated 12 April 1701. A recommendation to Antonio de Ubilla to provide the Algerians with a coach and reimburse the Trinitarian monastery, Madrid, 28 April 1701. AHN, Estado, 2866.

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> carried letters, for couriers are always free when they travel in service to the two dominions and to the proper guarding of Oran. It is very important to force the submission of this common enemy who disrupts and disturbs us, this being as much Your Majesty's duty as our own.

The crucial point was that the governor of Oran not hinder the movement of military supplies from Tunis to Tlemcen; the operation was directed against Muley Ismail, whose troops kept up a siege of Ceuta from 1694 to 1727.[96] And the Dey of Algiers made a matter of mutual concern "the vigilance that should exist in Oran with this chance to make a vassal of the King of Meknes."[97]

The Algerians' second proposal was to reactivate the process of freeing Christian captives ("the ransoms can surely convert their alms into the rescue of captives"), which the Dey would guarantee:

> The alms that were withheld in the time of our predecessors can, in our time, arrive with all assurances, since we offer our word and our faith that we will use them in all legality, as we promise in our safe-conduct; not desiring that the Fathers in charge of alms pay out any amount for the ransom of the Marquis of Barinas, because these alms should go to the most destitute slaves, and we know that everywhere in the world where alms are collected they are meant for the poor. This Marquis is a Spaniard, and if Your Majesty or one of his relatives wishes to ransom him by charity he

96 Guastavino Gallent, "Los comienzos del sitio"; Galindo y de Vera, *Historia, vicisitudes*.

97 "Encaminándose nuestro discurso a dar noticia a V.M. que con la aiuda de Dios quando llegue la primavera saldremos con todo nuestro exercito, y nos en persona, contra Muley Ysmael Rey de Mequines, solicitando que V.M. de su Real orden al Governador de Oran, para qe sepa que estamos amigos, y todas aquellas prevenciones, que pasasen asi por mar como por tierra, a Tremesen, no se les haga daño a las jentes que las condujesen ni menos a los Correos que pasazen para este fin – Suplicando a V.M. mande dar libertad a los tres Moros que el año pasado cogieron en Oran que pasaban con cartas, pues los correos siempre son libres quando van en servicio de ambos dominios, y la buena vigilancia en Oran. Ymporta mucho para avasallar á este enemigo común que nos descompone y molesta, siendo esto tanto de la obligación de V.M. como de la nuestra": letter in the original Arabic with its Spanish translation, dated in the month of "Racheo" [Rajab], July-August 1700. The letter began: "Mostafa Day King of Algiers in our name, in that of our Pasha. Our Aga, Caya, Ascar and all the Great Mesulagas of our Kingdom salute the Magnificent and greatest of Kings, Lord King of all the Spains … with a letter from the Governor of Algiers presented by his envoy Mamete, Captain" ("Mostafa Day Rey de Argel en nuestro nombre, en el de nuestro Bajá. Nuestro Aga, Caya, Ascar y todos los Mesulagas Grandes de nuestro Reyno; saludamos al Magnifico y mayor de los Reyes, el Señor Rey de las Españas. … Con carta del Governador de Argel que ha presentado su embiado Mamete, Arraez"): Council of State, Madrid, 21 May 1701. AHN, Estado, 2866.

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> may do so as he wishes; but as to any of the alms going to his freedom, we again give our word that we shall not permit it.

The letter also speaks of gifts being sent to the Spanish monarch:

> In the battle I waged last month against the kings of Tunis and Tripoli – in which, with God's help, I defeated them utterly – I seized various spoils, and from the best of them I chose those I present to Your Majesty as a token of good understanding, promising that whatever Your Majesty and your government may require of us, a single word will be obeyed.[98]

The Minister of War, in the name of the Council, wrote to the Dey thanking him for his gesture; he also confirmed that the governor of Oran already followed a policy of not impeding the passage of Algerian troops and equipment toward Morocco. He added that the governor even had orders from the king to send him gunpowder:

> He has no notice at all of the three Moorish couriers that are supposed to have been detained in Oran, since the Marquis of Casasola has given no information about this. And as to maintaining good intelligence with the Algerians, the fact is that since they asked the Marquis for his friendship, and security and good treatment for their troops and people who passed near Oran, and that they be helped with some quantity of powder, offering reciprocal attention and assistance whenever he wished to avail himself of it, Casasola has cultivated this good understanding with the governor of Algiers, without hindering the passage of his troops nor preventing the loyal Arabs of Oran from going to his aid, as has been

98 "Las limosnas que an estado detenidas en tiempo de nuestros antecessores, pueden en el nuestro venir con toda seguridad, ofreciendo nuestra palabra y fe, que obraremos con ellas con toda legalidad como lo aseguramos en nuestro salvoconducto no queriendo que los Padres de la limosna desembolsen caudal alguno, por el rescate del Marques de Barinas, porque la limosna debe dedicarse a los mas desvalidos esclavos, y sabemos que en todas las tierras del mundo quando se recoje limosna es para los pobres. Este Marquez es español, si V.M. ó algun pariente de el quisiere rescatarlo por caridad, puede executarlo como quisiere; mas que la limosna haya de dar por su libertad cosa alguna, damos segunda vez nuestra palabra de no permitirlo. … [E]n la vatalla que e tenido el mes pasado con los Reyes de Tunez y de Tripoli, en la que con la ayuda del Gran Dios enteramente los derrote, tomé diferentes despojos, y de los mas escojidos junte los que presento a V.M. en señal de buena correspondencia, asegurando que aquello que V.M. y su govierno ubiere menester de nos con una palabra sola será obedecido": see letter in previous note, Council of State, Madrid, 21 May 1701, AHN, Estado, 2866.

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> requested. There has been good passage and treatment for the Algerians, and he has promised that, having an order from Your Majesty, he would send him as much powder as he could; and on this point the Minister of War concludes that he is ordered to give whatever amount of powder they request, as long as it is not needed in that presidio, with the condition that on giving it he agree with them that he will receive the same favor if anything is needed in Oran.[99]

In the end the ambassador's presentation proved constrained,[100] as we learn from the Council's report. By the king's desire

> it is limited to celebrating Your Majesty's fortunate possession of your realms, assuring Your Majesty of [the Dey's] deep affection and happy mutual understanding, and presenting to Your Majesty as a token of it several spoils among the best that he obtained in the battles with the kings of Tunis and Tripoli. And as he prepares to campaign this spring against the king of Meknes, Your Majesty may assure the governor of Oran of his friendship so that he may do no harm to the people who convey his matériel of war.

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99 "No tiene noticia alguna de los tres Moros Correos, que se supone haverse detenido en Oran, por no haber avisado el Marques de Casasola cosa particular en razón de esto. Y que en quanto á mantener buena inteligencia con los Argelinos, lo que ocurre es haberla solicitado estos con el Marques, pidiéndoles su amistad, y la seguridad y buen trato de sus Tropas, y gentes que pasasen por la cercanía de Orán, y que le socorriese con alguna cantidad de polvora ofreciendo hallaría la misma reciproca atención y asistencia con el, siempre que quisiese valerse de ella; que el de Casasola ha cultivado esta buena correspondencia con el Governador de Argel, sin embarazar el paso de sus Tropas ni impedir que le vayan a asistir los Alarbes de la devoción de Orán, que le ha pedido, habiendo todo buen pasage y tratamiento a los Argelinos, y prometido que teniendo orden de V.Mgad le embiaria la polvora qe pudiese; sobre cuyo punto concluye el Ministro de guerra le está ordenado entregue la cantidad de polvora que le pidieren como no haga falta en aquella Plaza, y con la advertencia de que al dar la dexe dispuesto con ellos el qe hallara igual correspondencia si se necesitase alguna cosa en Orán." Further, "The Council agrees with what the [Minister] of War proposes, adding that the governor of Oran should be asked for a report on the three Moorish couriers; and that a response be sent to this letter from the governor of Algiers presented by his envoy, expressing all gratitude and saying that we have asked for a report on the question of the Moors": Council of State, Madrid, 2 June 1701. AHN, Estado, 2866.

100 "Notice that should be given to the envoy from Algiers, by way of the ambassadors' host, of what practices should be observed in the audience": an undated document, but a note in the folder suggests that the audience would be held early in May. Note to the ambassadors' host, 23 April 1701, AHN, Estado, 2866.

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The Council repeated that it knew nothing of the three Algerian couriers that the Dey accused Oran of having detained, nor anything about contacts between the governor of Oran and Algiers. It did look favorably on offering Oran's help in "reducing the king of Meknes to vassalage" and on renewing the process of ransoming captives.[101] There was discussion of whether the envoy should visit the various ministers of the Council of State,[102] another sign of doubt about whether he held the rank of ambassador or not; only in the first case could he view the bullfight from a balcony, as he was eventually invited to do.[103]

The time came for the envoy to return home; he had landed in Alicante on 22 February and lodged in the Trinitarian monastery on 4 April. Francisco de Castillo considered it urgent to send the delegation home bearing the reply to the letter it had brought. Another important consideration was the gift that the envoy should be offered; Castillo thought he would depart feeling "very much scorned" if he were not given the same gift that the ambassador from Meknes had received:

> He understands that the Moor sent from Algiers is waiting to be dismissed so that he may leave this Court, since his mission consists of no more that what is expressed in his letter of accreditation … and that, if he is to be given a jewel such as Meknes's [ambassador] received, it may be planned in time to inform his host.[104]

The Secretariat of the Council of State reported that the envoy from Meknes in 1690 had received a magnificent jewel valued at four thousand ducats, "the same having been done with the [delegate] from the Grand Turk in the year

101 Council of State, Madrid, 21 May 1701, AHN, Estado, 2866.

102 Francisco de Castillo to Antonio Ubilla y Medina, Madrid, 18 May 1701; Antonio de Ubilla to José Pérez de la Puente, 19 May 1701. Consultation of the Council of State, Madrid, 21 and 26 May 1701, AHN, Estado, 2866.

103 A balcony for the bullfight and a coach from the royal stables: Council of State, Madrid, 9 April 1701. Order by Antonio de Ubilla on the same subject, 9 April 1701. Carlos Francisco de Castillo to Antonio de Ubilla on the same subject. Council of State to Francisco de Castillo, Madrid, 12 April 1701, AHN, Estado, 2866.

104 "[T]iene entendido que el Moro embiado de Argel aguarda á que se le despache para partir desta Corte, respecto de que su negociado no consta mas que de lo mismo que expresa la Carta de creencia … y porque en caso que se le haya de dar joya como al de Mequinez se pueda prevenir con tiempo lo participe al Conductor." This makes clear that the envoy knew about the earlier embassy, an important point in the context of Spanish-North African relations. Carlos Francisco de Castillo to Antonio de Ubilla y Medina, Madrid, 28 May 1701, AHN, Estado, 2866.

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650." But it pointed out that the Algerian case "seemed to be different," proposing that he be given a jewel "but not of the same value and price of that one [to the envoy from Meknes], rather it should be of the quantity that you desire, in view of the state of the royal treasury."[105] In the end the Algerian envoy left the court on 20 June for Alicante, where he would embark.[106]

As had happened on other occasions, the Algerians' stay in Madrid caused enormous interest among its residents – which could even result in tragedy, as Francisco de Castillo stated in his report on the expenses and inconveniences that the Trinitarians had suffered while hosting the visitors ("in hopes of gaining some relief for our captives in Algiers"). To avoid unpleasant incidents, the public was barred from entering the monastery:

> [The host] must not allow any sort of persons, Moors or Christians, to enter the Moor's lodgings, except those designated to attend him – even in the role of interpreter or on any other pretext. Nor may he permit persons calling themselves servants of Your Majesty to attend his meals, to avoid any inconvenience. And he must take special care that no women enter the lodging, even if they claim a whim of pregnancy; for that purpose the host may allow the envoy to show himself on a balcony of the lodging where they can see him from the street.[107]

An additional danger was the animals that came with the Algerians as gifts for the king: there were two horses that had been seized from the Tunisians, two lions, and a serval, a kind of wild cat.[108] The "Minister and Friar of the Most Holy Trinity [monastery]" warned of the danger the animals represented:

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105 Carlos Francisco de Castillo to José Pérez de la Puente, 27 May 1701. Council of State, Madrid, 28 May 1701 and 2 and 7 June 1701, AHN, Estado, 2866.

106 He was escorted as far as the Puente de Toledo at the edge of Madrid, as had been done for the ambassador from Meknes before him: Carlos Francisco de Castillo to José Pérez de la Puente, 21 June 1701. AHN, Estado, 2866.

107 "Que no consintiese que entrasen en la posada del Moro, ningun genero de personas, ya Moros, o ya christianos, excepto los destinados para asistirle, aunque fuese a titulo de Ynterprete ó con otro qualquier pretexto, ni permitiese que a la comida se introduxesen ningunos sujetos a titulo de criados de V.Mgd. por evitar inconvenientes. Y que cuidase mucho que ningunas Mugeres entrasen en la posada aunque fuese con antojo de preñadas, para lo qual dispondrá el conductor que el embiado se dexase ver en algun Balcon de la posada, a donde le pudiesen ver desde la calle": Council of State, Madrid, 7 April 1701, AHN, Estado, 2866.

108 There were also embroidered bags, three flasks (one meant for powder), and "a closed box that they say contains items from their country"): Consultation, 11 April 1701. The host, Carlos Francisco de Castillo, to Joseph Pérez de la Puente, Madrid, 11 April 1701, AHN, Estado, 2866.

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> He considers the disturbance that comes from lodging them, both for the multitude of people who come to see them out of curiosity, and for the unfortunate incidents they fear from the lions they have brought, for although they are tame the noise of the people makes them fierce. Nonetheless the Minister offers to keep [the visitors] (as long as the animals are moved elsewhere) and be compensated for the cost of their food, which will be much less than in any other lodging, and nowhere else will they be better off … .And the second point the Council must ponder is to help the friars and give them food while [the visitors] are in that monastery, and also to console those pious men by removing the wild animals that make so much noise.[109]

He also condemned the curious people who came to see the envoys:

> So thoughtless are the people that infinite numbers, curious to see them, come in such disorderly crowds that a while ago they pushed down the door of the cell where they are living. And aside from this inconvenience they fear they cannot avoid many other misfortunes, because although the lions are tame the noise of the people who come makes them fierce; and there are no cages to keep them in, only an open room with the sole precaution of a chain fastened to a very fragile wooden pillar, so with just a little strength they can pull free.[110]

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109 "[P]ondera la molestia que se les sigue de su hospedaje, assi por la multitud de pueblo que llevada de la curiosidad acuden a verlos, como por las desgracias que rezelan de los leones que traen, pues aunque vienen domesticados, los embravece el ruido de la gente; que no obstante ofrece el Ministro mantenerlos (como se les muden las fieras a otra parte) y se les recompense el gasto de su alimento, que será mucho menos que en otro qualquiera hospedaxe, asegurando que en ninguno estarán ellos mas vien hallados. […] Y el segundo punto considera el Consexo, es socorrer á los frailes, para que los den de comer, mientras los tuvieren en aquella clausura, y consolar también á aquellos Religiosos sacando de allí las fieras que tanto ruido les dan." On the reverse of the document is a note, "As it seems and so I have ordered": Joseph Pérez de la Puente to the Council of State, Madrid, 12 April 1701, AHN, Estado, 2866.

110 "[E]s tal la ligereza del Pueblo que acude infinita Jente a la curiosidad de verlos en tan desordenado tropel que poco ha derrivaron la puerta de la celda que havitan i no solo se sigue este inconveniente sino el de muchas desgracias que rezelan no podrán evitar porque aunque los leones vienen domesticados el Ruido de la Jente que concurre los embraveze i no teniendo jaulas en que enzerrarlos sino solo un aposento abierto sin mas resguardo que el de una cadena assida a un pilar de madera mui débil con poca fuerza se pueden arrancar": Carlos Francisco de Castillo to José Pérez de la Puente, Madrid, 11 April 1701. Consultation with the Council, Madrid, 11 April 1701, AHN, Estado, 2866.

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The king agreed to help the Trinitarians, have the animals moved to a safer place,[111] and reimburse the monastery.[112]

A less-known visit was that of the Bey of Tlemcen, who landed at Palma de Mallorca in 1761. It is not known whether he completed a diplomatic mission or not:

> Yesterday the Spanish ship of the line *El Firme*, of seventy guns, arrived. On board were Monsieur Bignon, Provost and Master of Ceremonies of the Order of the Holy Spirit, who was returning from Madrid after having invested the Prince of Asturias and was going on to Naples to bestow the same honors on the King of the Two Sicilies. Also traveling were the Papal Nuncio and the Bey of Tlemcen. The latter showed himself unimpressed by the notable aspects of the town; they dined in the palace, where the Bey prayed in the garden for three-quarters of an hour (he did not want to pray in any of the rooms because there were holy images in all the ones offered to him).[113]

All these events confirm the importance of the ambassadors and envoys from Muslim lands who arrived in Spain throughout the Early Modern period. They were especially numerous in the first half of the sixteenth century, but they left their imprint on the imperial court at other times as well. The narratives we quote in these pages are incomplete, and new research will reveal many more instances than these. They are one more example of how badly we need to revise the history that insists on a dominant spirit of crusade and the concept of the "forgotten frontier."

111 Council of State to Francisco de Castillo, Madrid, 23 and 28 April 1701, and Madrid, 28 April 1701, AHN, Estado, 2866.

112 José Pérez de la Puente to the Council of State, Madrid, 12 April 1701, AHN, Estado, 2866.

113 "Ayer llegó el navío español El Firme, de 70 cañones. Iban a su bordo Mr. Bignon, Preboste y Maestro de Ceremonias de la Órden del Espiritu Santo, que regresaba de Madrid después de haber investido al Principe de Asturias, y pasaba á Nápoles para entregar iguales insignias al Rey de las Dos Sicilias. Viajaban tambien un Nuncio Pontificio y el Bey de Tremezen; éste último se manifestó muy poco impresionado por las cosas notables de la población: comieron en Palacio, donde el Bey oró durante tres cuartos de hora en el jardín, para no hacerlo en ninguna habitación, por haber imágenes en todas las que se ofrecieron." The ship arrived and departed on the same day, 19 August 1761: Campaner Fuertes, *Cronicón Mayoricense*, 549.

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4.2 Free Muslims

In the Early Modern age, what we might call Spain's "internal colony" of Muslims had three basic components, in addition to slaves: non-baptized freedmen, Muslims who arrived freely from North Africa and the East, and Moriscos who returned to their Islamic faith. It is not always easy to distinguish among them because contemporary documents do not classify them precisely, making it very hard to discern their status or condition – in particular, whether we are dealing with slaves, free persons, or baptized or non-baptized freedmen, while the Moriscos present their own special problems. Though they were all subject to severe control by the state they were certainly able to act with some spirit of community. There is a parallel with the medieval *aljamas*, neighborhoods reserved for Muslims or Jews, since this population was never fully integrated into the society of the Spanish Empire.

It is clear, in any event, that Muslims were always able to reside in Spain as free persons – for longer or shorter periods, temporarily or permanently – from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. It is important to note that free Muslims occupied a space of relative liberty that slaves could share to some extent: there was a category of *cortados*, slaves whom their owners hired out for other work and who were almost always saving to buy their freedom. Therefore everything we say in this section about free Muslims may be applied to slaves as well, so we will speak without distinction of one group and the other.

After the Christians conquered the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon, resident Muslims were allowed to remain there as free persons.[114] Later, after the Nasrid kingdom of Granada fell in 1492, its Muslims who wished to remain were able to do so. Because the capitulations the Catholic Monarchs offered to the last Nasrid ruler, Boabdil, recognized religious freedom, Muslims kept their mosques (though some of the larger ones were confiscated) and their cemeteries.[115] But little by little and with growing intensity, pressure grew on the Muslims to convert to Christianity, after which they were called Moriscos. The first reaction was the revolt of the Albaicín neighborhood of Granada, which expanded to a large swath of the former Nasrid kingdom. It was easily put down, after which the most fervent Christians persuaded the monarchs to pass the Royal Ordinance of 1502: it decreed the Muslims' forced baptism, on pain of expulsion – a deliberate repudiation of the Capitulations of 1492. In the

114 Echevarría Arsuaga, *La minoría islámica*.

115 On the Mudejar cemetery in Valladolid in 1491 see Gómez Renau, *Comunidades marginales en Valladolid*, 58. On Muslim cemeteries in general see Casal García, *Los cementerios musulmanes de "Qurtuba."* Torres Balbás, *Ciudades hispano-musulmanas*, 1:239–66.

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same year all the Muslims of Castile were made to convert, and similar orders followed for those of Navarre in 1515–1516 and those of Aragon in 1526.[116] The period in which Spanish Muslims could continue their religious practices in their places of worship extended, then, from 1492 to 1526, but in a territory that grew ever smaller.

We know much less, however, about North Africans who traveled to or lived in Spain in the sixteenth century. We do know that some of them exercised their professions freely during that time. Doubtless they arrived in flight from famines in the Maghreb in the early 1500s and from the struggles for power among North African rulers, as we saw in Chapter 2. A Moroccan physician, Ahmed Jerife, exiled to Spain after the Battle of the Three Kings, practiced medicine in Castile and Andalusia between 1580 and 1590 and never converted. In 1593 an Algerian named Andrés Manuel de Olivares, who must have been a convert, requested a license to practice surgery in Madrid.[117]

We must add to these few examples the Muslims who came to Spain in the retinues of ambassadors, envoys, and exiles and then decided to stay, converting or not, as we saw in Chapters 2 and 3. The bulk of free Muslims were traders, and in view of their importance we will deal with them in a separate section of this chapter. A considerable number of Muslims, in short, passed through Spain – with or without a safe-conduct – or decided to remain there permanently.

Finally, there were Muslims slaves who gained their freedom through manumission, their former masters' wills, or self-purchase.[118] Historians have thought of them as a small group, whether in absolute terms or as a proportion of all enslaved Muslims.[119] Though indeed their numbers are low they are almost certainly larger than has generally been admitted,[120] and some of those freed persons, whether converted or not, elected to remain in Spain.

In eighteenth-century Cádiz ninety-one free Muslims have been identified, sixty-five Turks and twenty-six Moors. Among them were an Algerian named

116 Domínguez Ortiz and Vincent, *Historia de los moriscos*, 17–28; Vincent, "Convivencia difícil."

117 Tarruell, "Circulations," 185–86.

118 Cortés Alonso, "La liberación del esclavo."

119 Martín Casares, in his study of slavery in sixteenth-century Granada, titles his chapter on manumission "El porcentaje de liberaciones era mínimo" ("The percentage of manumissions was minimal"): *La esclavitud en el Reino de Granada*. Sánchez-Montes González believes the same about the seventeenth century: *La población granadina*, 130.

120 Very few studies try to count the number of manumissions, and normally the origin of those freed is not known. In most cases it is impossible to know how many of them were Muslim.

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Hassan (1730) and a Moor named Ali (1743), who must have been unbaptized because they kept their Islamic names. Another, Murat, presumably was not baptized either but his daughter was; born in Sardin (in Turkey), she was named Teresa Gaenta.[121] Such opposite choices must have been common in families of slaves. In Málaga one hundred eight individuals were freed by manumission and eighty-four through their owners' wills between 1487 and 1538. We do not know how many continued as Muslims, but the names Mahomad Ali, Hamete, and Fatima suggest that these were not converts.[122] We have documentation for some other cities and towns in Andalusia: Córdoba,[123] Jaén,[124] Huelva, Palos and Moguer,[125] and Ayamonte.[126]

In Murcia in 1690 twenty-one out of a total of forty-four Muslims were freed, though we do not know how many professed Islam.[127] Information from Cartagena is sparse.[128] In Madrid we know of only a few who obtained

121 Parrilla Ortiz, *La esclavitud en Cádiz*, 58–59, 130, 137.

122 The 108 manumission letters and 84 wills are recorded, but we do not know how many Muslims were the beneficiaries. The names we know are Mahomad Ali, Hamete, Fatima, the North Africans Francisco de Melilla, Francisco de Córdoba, and Fernando de Trípoli, the white man Diego, and the Moors Juan, Beatriz, Pedro Moreno, Inés de Castro, Elvira, and Catalina: González Arévalo, *La esclavitud en Málaga*, 386–87, 392, 397–400.

123 In 1574 Hernán and Lucía Rodríguez arranged to buy their own daughter's freedom. The Morisco Luis de Argote was manumitted in 1580: Aranda Doncel, "La esclavitud en Córdoba," 169.

124 A Morisca was set free in 1578: Aranda Doncel, "Los esclavos en Jaén," 251. Francisco de la Cruz, a North African, received a manumission letter from his mistress in 1685: "He came as a Moor, un-Christianized, and while in her service and that of her husband and children he accepted our holy Catholic faith": López Molina, *Una década*, 112–13.

125 Of the freed slaves in these three cities four percent were Muslim. Juan, a North African captured in 1562, was set free when he voluntarily accepted baptism. Agustín, a North African, bought his freedom in 1581. Julián Prieto was freed in 1637 because "he was born and brought up in my house" and was about to be married. The Moorish woman María Oliva and her sons Juan and Alonso Galindo were manumitted in 1658. The North African Agustín Thomás bought his liberty in 1685. Catalina de Mesa, "of the Turkish nation," gained her freedom in 1695: Izquierdo Labrado, *La esclavitud en la Baja Andalucía*, 2:87, 89, 92, 128, 143, 177.

126 Zalem Bensai, aged seventy, bought his freedom from his master for seven hundred reales in 1642. Pedro, a North African, was freed by his master in 1662 on condition that he continue as a slave in one of the city's monasteries for two years: González Díaz, *La esclavitud en Ayamonte*, 149, 151.

127 A survey in 1690 identified forty-four Muslims: twenty-three slaves and twenty-one freed persons, most of them (thirty-four) Algerians and Moroccans. Another eight were born in Murcia: Vincent, "Musulmanes y conversión," 79–80.

128 In June 1752 the governing body of the charity hospital in Cartagena granted a request by Amet, a slave at the institution, to gain his freedom by paying his ransom: Martínez Rizo, *Fechas y fechos*, 1:260.

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their freedom.[129] In several places in Extremadura at least thirty-eight Morisco slaves were freed between 1574 and 1606; of these twenty-three paid their own purchase price.[130] There are documented manumissions of Moriscos, North Africans, and Turks in several towns in the region: Badajoz,[131] Cáceres,[132] Zafra,[133] and Llerena.[134] We also have records from Valladolid[135] and Majorca.[136]

Not every slave who requested manumission achieved it, nor could every one afford to buy it.[137] Some were accused of having forged their letters of manumission.[138] Since some of these freed slaves returned to their countries

129 They included Ana de Saint-Raymond and María de San Antonio, both of Turkish origin, in 1689. In the eighteenth century Ana, also Turkish, was declared free; in 1702 a young Turkish man was freed; in 1741 María Juana Catalina de la Cruz, formerly Yamina Ochafament, was manumitted: Larquié, "Captifs chrétiens…Une lecture comparative," 392, 394, 401–02, and "Captifs chrétiens…Un tentative."

130 Periáñez Gómez, *Negros, mulatos*, 487.

131 Manumission of Úrsula de Villarreal, a Morisca slave born in Granada, in Badajoz on 9 August 1595: Cortés Cortés, *Esclavos en la Extremadura*, 52, 102.

132 Alonso de la Fuente, a Morisco, was freed by his owner in 1582 though he had to pay sixty ducats. Manuel, "of the Turkish nation," achieved freedom by converting but had to pay his owner 1,500 reales in 1587: Periáñez Gómez, *Negros, mulatos*, 479, 484, 490.

133 The Morisca María de Córdoba was manumitted in 1579; Águeda de Cárdenas and Isabel de Guzmán in 1587; María Gracia in 1681, "because being Moorish she turned Christian." Several Moriscos from Zafra collected money to free Pedro, a slave who was "branded on his face": Periáñez Gómez, *Negros*, 479, 492.

134 The Turkish slave Mahoma gained his freedom in 1598 "to be able to go to Constantinople and other places that he wishes." Inés, a Morisca slave from Llerena, received permission to travel to other towns to borrow from her relatives in order to ransom herself: Periáñez Gómez, *Negros*, 479, 482, 492, and "La liberación de los esclavos de Llerena."

135 In 1550 the Turkish slave Casarrami gained his freedom through ransom and because "he wishes to turn to our holy Catholic faith." María de la Concepción, a Tunisian, was manumitted in 1554. Pedro Moreno, "an Arab from Bougie, a *bozal* [recently enslaved]," was freed in 1556 on condition that he serve his manumitter's son for eight more years. Francisca Mexía, a Morisca from Granada, bought her own freedom and her small daughter's in 1570. Alonso Hernández from Otura (Granada) bought his own liberty for one hundred ducats in 1587. In 1597 Francisco de Rojas, a Turk, obtained his freedom from his owner "because he became a Christian, he is sincere, and now Leonor de Jesús has asked him to be her husband": Fernández Martín, *Comediantes, esclavos*, 146–49.

136 Freed Muslims who fell afoul of the Inquisition included Margarita in 1607, Isabel Pastor and Jerónimo Pastor, both North Africans, in 1629, Juan Bautista from Oran in 1686, and Juan José Cayetano from North Africa in 1788: Vaquer Bennassar, *Captius i renegats*, 127–30.

137 In 1575 Brianda, a Morisca slave in Villanueva de la Serena, sued her master to obtain her liberty: Periáñez Gómez, *Negros*, 433.

138 When some North Africans crossed from Castile into Portugal, the Portuguese Council of War had serious doubts about their manumission documents. In 1645 it wrote: "having understood that these Moors with their letters of liberation passed from Castile to this

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of origin, the number of free Muslims who had arrived as such in Spanish cities and ports and were not enslaved, together with those who had been freed, was small.

How, then, should we interpret the feeling, widespread among Christians in the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, that there were enough free and enslaved Muslims to constitute a threat? To answer this question we must add to free Muslims those slaves called *cortados* who, while lent out to work by their owners, enjoyed a good deal of autonomy and freedom of movement. There were also the Moriscos and their descendants who either had not abandoned Islam in their heart of hearts or actually tried to return to it, influenced and supported by free Muslim North Africans and Turks. While this group grew smaller with the passage of time, Old Christians long continued to think of them as a menace.

From the moment Granada was reconquered, Moriscos and Muslim slaves were seen as inevitable accomplices or collaborators of the North African corsairs who harried the Spanish coasts. In 1502 it was decreed that ransomed North African slaves could not live within fifteen leagues of the coastline, on penalty of one hundred lashes and consignment to the galleys if they disobeyed. The decree was renewed in 1530: "Let no freed North African slave be found within fifteen leagues of the seacoast." In 1566 Philip II expanded the order to the entire kingdom of Granada.[139] The chronic corsair threat shadowed the popular image of the Moriscos, who were thought of as a fifth column that encouraged attacks by the powerful Ottoman corsair fleets,[140] and as a consequence Muslims in general, and slaves in particular, were forbidden throughout the sixteenth century to live along the coast or in coastal cities. The pressure was so strong that the coasts experienced a relative decline in population – "relative" only because while isolated dwellings and fishing villages were abandoned, the population moved to fortified ports or places located at a prudent distance from the shore, preferably on an elevated and easily defended site. As a result, after the Alpujarras Rebellion (1568–1571) was crushed most of the defeated Moriscos were deported to the country's interior before being finally expelled in 1609–1614.

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kingdom … [we propose] determining if the letters of liberation are genuine" and represented actual freedom and permission to travel to their own countries. In 1646 doubts arose about "the permission that Aly Amet and Amuda, Berbers, request to go to their own lands by virtue of the letters of liberation that their masters had given them": Archivo Nacional Torre do Tombo, cited in Cortés Cortés, *Esclavos*, 92.

139 Martínez Almira, "El intercambio de moros," 241.

140 Hess, "The Moriscos: An Ottoman Fifth Column."

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The forced exodus of almost all the Moriscos did not put an end to this problem. At about the same time several groups of Maghrebis sought refuge in Spain: more than forty landed in Almuñécar in 1605 and more than 210 arrived in Madrid in 1609–1610. Not all of them converted; we will describe this situation in more detail in section 4.4. In the meantime Muslim slaves continued to be concentrated in the larger cities of the south and in Madrid, home to the court, adding to the impression of a Muslim menace. Nothing changed after the Moriscos' expulsion: between 1573 and 1712 about thirty royal and local decrees forbade Muslim slaves, and almost always free Muslims as well, from living less than twelve leagues from the coast. A decree of 1637 demanded levies of slaves to provide rowers for the galleys, but when their owners protested that they needed the income from hiring out their slaves, it was decided that Christian slaves – which essentially meant blacks – would not be included. Still, the bakers who made bread for the galleys in El Puerto de Santa María, most of whom were Muslim slaves, were also exempted. Two years later it was decided that every owner would pay a fee for each slave possessed. Between 1662 and 1667 it was ordered that Muslim slaves be sent to the galleys, particularly those in Málaga, but it seems that the measure was not carried out.[141]

In Cádiz in 1610 the city council proposed to the *corregidor* (crown magistrate) that because of the Muslim menace "free Muslims and slaves should be taken inland," but that does not seem to have taken place; in 1614 the licenciate Francisco Acevedo told the council about

> the inconveniences that occur every day because there are so many of them and we have seen how they take boats and flee to Barbary, and since they are many we may fear some incident. Therefore you must take measures, as has been done in other places, for if enemies came to the city we would have to fear them [our Muslims] more than those from outside … .They have been forbidden from walking in the street between the evening prayer and dawn, on pain of imprisonment.[142]

141 Domínguez Ortiz, "La esclavitud," 401–02.

142 "…[L]os inconvenientes que cada día se iban sucediendo por haber cantidad de ellos y como se ha visto toman barcos y huyen a Berbería, y por ser muchos, se podía temer algún suceso. Por ello, tienen que tomar medidas como en otros lugares, pues en el caso de que vinieran enemigos a la ciudad había que temerlos más que a los de fuera… se les había prohibído que anduvieran por las calles desde la oración hasta el amanecer, so pena de cárcel": Parrilla Ortiz, *La esclavitud*, 146.

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Acevedo repeated the same alarmist proposals before the governor of the Andalusian coast, the Duke of Medina Sidonia, in 1617: "He has warned the city about the great inconveniences that have resulted or could result from having and allowing in it so many Moors and Turks, both captive and ransomed, who have come from outside to work and earn money."[143] In 1646 the governor of Cádiz published a decree that gave six days' notice for "all Moors aged sixteen and older to leave the city, those who disobey being condemned to the galleys for life." The order does not appear to have been effective after the first attempt at compliance, because only a little later the town councillor Francisco Marrufo de Negrón claimed that "in this city there are many Moors, numbering more than 1,500, and many residents own them to hire them out by the day rather than use them themselves, while others buy them from slave-catchers to resell them."[144] In 1655 Count Molina placed the number of Muslims at three thousand, a figure he considered dangerous at a time when there was also a threat from the English. He suggested a maximum number of slaves per owner – some owners had eight or ten.[145] But all these orders came up against the reality that Muslim slaves were essential for certain types of economic activities. One example was the exemption from the galleys for the bakers of El Puerto de Santa María, as we saw above. In 1669 Muslim slaves around the Bay of Cádiz were requisitioned from their owners for a year and employed in building the naval hospital.[146] Early in the eighteenth century the Cádiz city council set its fear aside and asked the governor to stop sending Muslims away, because they played an important role in supporting many families:

> Moors hand over their wages from day labor to their owners and thus are the sustenance of many widows and poor people who, because of their situation and age, could not maintain themselves decently in any other way.[147]

A similar situation obtained in Málaga, where residents also feared the growing number of Muslim slaves and freedmen in the city. Voices were raised in favor of expelling them, while others were vehemently opposed to a step that

143 Parrilla Ortiz, *La esclavitud*, 146–47.
144 Parrilla Ortiz, *La esclavitud*, 147.
145 Vincent, "Musulmanes y conversión," 79.
146 Domíguez Ortiz, "La esclavitud," 403.
147 "[L]os jornales que sacaban los moros los entregaban a sus dueños y así se sustentaban muchas viudas y personas pobres que, por su calidad y su ancianidad, no podían tener aplicación para mantenerse decentemente": Parrilla Ortiz, *La esclavitud*, 148.

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would harm their financial interests. In 1573 in Antequera and 1578 in Málaga, slaves were counted in preparation for expelling them to the interior. When another census was taken in Málaga in 1581 for the same purpose it provoked a report from the captain and town councillor Fortunio de Arteaga, who opposed the measure even while recognizing that Muslims caused problems and often escaped.[148] We mentioned above that royal decrees in 1662 and 1667 ordered Muslim slaves sent to the galleys, noting especially "such a great number of slaves of this type, especially in the city of Málaga."[149] When in 1670 the city's administrator of *millones* (a royal monopoly on goods) tried to apply the order by force, protests were so great that the queen decided to suspend it. Only two years later, however, in 1672, there was a new condemnation of the large number of slaves and especially their bad conduct, so the Council of War authorized their total expulsion. The Council of Castile applied the measure only to Muslims.[150]

In Granada likewise, in about 1621 North African slaves were forbidden from living near the coast; they were ordered expelled from those areas to prevent them from escaping and collaborating with enemy corsairs. In 1627 the authorities were once again concerned about the large number of Muslims, who were accused of practicing polygamy and dissuading North Africans from converting to Christianity. The expulsion order was renewed in 1637 at a time when several slaves were executed for crimes committed by some of their number.

In 1657 the parish priest of San Matías complained that in "the so-called Moors' neighborhood" there were frequent disturbances, especially during weddings when "the cursed ceremonies of the Quran and dancing the *zambra*" took place. At around that time the Jesuits made greater efforts to convert Moriscos and other Muslims.[151]

In Madrid a considerable colony of free Muslims and slaves was forming, resulting in a prohibition in 1601:

> No one in this city may own a slave who is not a baptized Christian, and those who are not [baptized] may not go out after dusk except with their owners or someone from the household with the owner's consent.

148 Vincent, "La esclavitud," 267; Bravo Caro, "Esclavos en Málaga."

149 Domínguez Ortiz, "La esclavitud," 401–02.

150 Domínguez Ortiz, *La esclavitud*, 36–37.

151 Vincent, "Musulmanes y conversión," 76–77; Sánchez-Montes, *La población*, 129–33; Lera García, "Survie de l'Islam."

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It was claimed that the measure was needed in view of "the crimes that have been committed in this city," especially by Muslim slaves. The order continued,

> And the Moorish or Turkish slaves (or from any other nation) who are not baptized within fifteen days after the publication [of this order] must leave the city on pain of losses to be applied by His Majesty's Chamber.

Just as in Cádiz, Málaga, and Granada, this severe measure was not carried out. There was a renewed request in 1619 to forbid the presence of slaves in Madrid:

> [After it was decreed] that no one in this city could have Moorish slaves, and having waited for many days because those who most violated [the order] were great personages against whom we could not proceed, we stopped trying to proceed against the rest because laws must be equally applied and observed. Now we find greater inconveniences in disservice to our Lord God and with crimes that cause great scandal against the laws of nature. Therefore it seems proper to renew the proclamation and apply it to everyone, as is necessary.

The Moors were specifically accused of causing more violence in the streets:

> There are many Moors in this city who serve some important people and others who dress like Christians so they cannot be recognized by night or by day. And recently some of them have been found at night bearing weapons and clubs and causing wounds, even to death, as happened to a poor man three days ago on the outskirts, [a crime] committed apparently by Moors.[152]

152 "[N]inguna persona tenga en esta Corte esclavo que no sea cristiano bautizado, y los que lo fueren no puedan andar en anocheciendo si no fuere con su amo o con persona de su casa con consentimiento de su amo … y los esclavos moros o turcos o de otra qualesquiera nación que no sean bautiçados dentro de quince días después de la publicacion salgan de la Corte so pena de perdidos aplicados a la Cámara de S.M. … [Que] no se pudiesse tener esclavos moros en esta Corte, y aviéndose guardado muchos días, considerando que los más que contravenían eran grandes contra quien no se podía proceder, se dexó de proceder contra los demás por la igualdad que an de tener las leyes y su observancia. Agora se an vuelto a hallar mayores inconvenientes en deservicio de Dios nuestro Sr. y grande escándalo que causan sus delitos contra las leyes de de la naturaleza. Y asi parece conveniente renovar el pregón y executarlo con la generalidad que es necesario. …[E]n esta Corte ay muchos moros de que se sirven algunos grandes y otras personas los quales andan en ábito de cristianos de manera que de noche ni de dia pueden ser conocidos y estos días se han hallado algunos de noche con armas y porras y dado algunas heridas y

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Much the same was happening in Córdoba. In 1689 seven North Africans from the region of Oran, both slaves and freedmen, protested on behalf of all the city's Muslims against an order to expel them and confiscate their goods. They argued that they had lived there for a long time without causing any trouble, and eventually their petition was accepted. Some had converted, like Escaraman, who had been born in the province and whose father Guzmán and grandfather Velgas were Christians; but others, like Hamete and Mahamat, remained Muslim.[153]

In Murcia orders were also issued to expel or transfer Muslims. The city government of Cartagena decreed in February 1589, with the king's approval, that free Muslims who did not move inland within three days would be reduced to slavery – the men sent to the galleys and the women sold at public auction. The order must not have taken effect, because two years later in 1591 the royal magistrate commanded all Muslims, slave and free, to move outside the city limits within four days. The punishment was the same as before except that men would also receive two hundred lashes. In 1596 a new city decree ordered the expulsion of all Muslims who still lived there in spite of all the prior proclamations. A royal command this time, in 1615, ordered the city's mayor to expel both free Muslims and slaves who were hired out, excepting only those who lived in their masters' homes; they had to move at least twenty leagues away from the coast.[154] In Mula, about thirty kilometers south of Murcia, an altercation among Muslims in 1665 resulted in grave injuries to a woman named Busta. The aggressor was a freed slave, Hamete, and Muslims named Almanzor and Mazucan also took part. All of them lived in the same neighborhood and some were not baptized.[155] In Loja, near Granada, free Muslims had become so numerous by 1626 that the *procurador* (town representative) Francisco Maldonado asked the Cortes to order them to leave.[156]

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aun la muerte que sucedió en el campo tres días a un pobre hombre pareze cometida por moros": Domínguez Ortiz, "La esclavitud,"421.

153 Domínguez Ortiz and Vincent, *Historia de los moriscos*, 287–88.

154 Martínez Rizo, *Fechas y fechos*, 1:29, 56, 114, 199; 2:23. Aside from what all these orders and decrees tell us we know that there were many free Muslims from two examples. In 1735 the governors of Cartagena's charity hospital announced that they would not care for "sick slaves" unless it was proved that they were free (they must have meant *cortados*, those who were hired out); it seems that owners were refusing to pay for the cost of their care. In 1752 the same governing council settled with Amet, one of the hospital's slaves, on the price of obtaining his freedom.

155 Vincent, "Musulmanes y conversión,"79.

156 Vincent, "Musulmanes y conversión,"79.

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Little changed when the Bourbon dynasty ascended the throne in the early eighteenth century. The rigidly ideological state apparatus, under pressure from the Cortes, intervened once more to continue the status quo: an act of 1712 decreed that all free Muslims, including *cortados*, be expelled from Spanish territory. The justification was "the grave inconveniences that ensue in both political and spiritual matters," and "precautions [must be taken] to avoid having any more of them in my kingdoms." Out of an awareness of how deeply rooted the Muslims were, a period of time – though brief – was allowed them to travel to North Africa with their goods and their families. The measure did not include slaves, for whom it was decreed

> that if they wish to be hired out no unfair contract be permitted, for I am informed that those are signed every day in this type of ransom, and to avoid any scandal or communication with these Moors who are hired out to work, and so that their number will not be too great.

For the freed Muslims, however, the order aroused more opposition than acquiescence. A group of former slaves in the shipyard at Cartagena declared that they would rather live in Spain than starve in Algiers.[157] It was decided that the Muslims should be watched closely so that if their number rose again they could be expelled.[158] We can see that fear of the enemy of the other faith was still intense in large swaths of Spanish society, and we wonder to what extent the War of Spanish Succession, which was still going on at the time, might have influenced the publication of this decree.

One anecdote that shows how flexible the frontier could be concerns a Moroccan named Guinaui Soliman (or Elguinaui Mauritano, or Elquina Ben Mauritano), about thirty-five years old, who left Salé for Lisbon in late 1704 or early 1705; he hoped to find his brother Muley Abderraman, "who had turned Christian" and lived in the Portuguese capital. On arrival, however, he learned that his brother had died. He obtained a passport signed by Catherine of Braganza, the former queen consort of Charles II of England and sister of Peter II of Portugal, since Peter was indisposed at the time. The document, dated 9 January 1705, ordered that he not be hindered in his journey on to Agadir or Algiers.[159]

157 "[Q]ue en caso de que quieran cortarse no se permita en el ajuste ningún contrato injusto, como estoi informado se executan cada dia con este género de rescates, y que para evitar todo escándalo y comunicación de estos moros que cortaren y que no sea excesivo su número": Domínguez Ortiz, "La esclavitud," 422–23.

158 Domínguez Ortiz, "La esclavitud," 404–05, and *Sociedad y Estado*, 388. Anes, *El Antiguo Régimen*, 153.

159 The original is in AHN, Estado, leg. 277.

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It is not clear why Guinaui decided to travel to Castile, concealing his Portuguese passport. He passed through Barcarrota, Salvatierra de los Barros, and Badajoz, from where he was sent to Madrid and imprisoned for fifteen days: he was taken for a spy because of his passport from an "enemy" nation (meaning both Portugal and England at the time). Guinaui claimed ignorance of that enemy status. This was the period of both the War of the Spanish Succession and the Moroccans' long siege of Ceuta.

It seems, nonetheless, that the Moroccan was treated with deference, since he was allowed a new passport from the Spanish monarch that ordered him not to be "offended or vexed."[160] He was taken under guard to Cartagena to take ship for Algiers; there he was judged "very suspect in all we have learned about him so far," but was allowed to depart for Oran with a passport dated 20 June. He arrived there two days later bearing a letter of recommendation from the chief magistrate of Cartagena, "dressed as a Christian and giving me to understand that he was related to the king of Meknes." In fact he seems actually to have been of Sultan Muley Ismail's family, as the authorities in Oran acknowledged: "He was a relative of the King of Meknes, as has been verified through the proof of two gentlemen of the Kingdom [of Morocco] who arrived today and kissed his head and his feet."

Once back on North African soil, Guinaui aroused much more suspicion than he had in the Peninsula. In view of his passport it was thought better not to "subject him to some pressure in order to discover the truth," but he was shut up in the fortress of San Andrés, "the strongest castle in this presidio." After a brief but intense interrogation (it had to be completed in an hour, since there was a ship about to sail for Algiers) he was revealed as an individual "of great variety and contradiction; in my opinion he is a very intelligent man who has explored Castile very thoroughly." The Portuguese passport was eventually discovered concealed in his turban – he claimed to have put it there only because it did not fit in his traveling wallet. He was also carrying three letters in Arabic from the Moroccan Kacem Ben Mansor of the Ould El Yub tribe, who was a slave in Cartagena. One of them, dated August 1702, begged for a ransom costing thirty reales, and he was supposed to convey all of them to the sultan of Meknes.[161] Guinaui claimed to know neither the slave nor his master, even though if he did not reveal the master's name he was threatened with "suffering severe imprisonment and being punished as a spy and an enemy of the King's armies."

160 Passport dated 22 May 1705: AHN, Estado, leg. 277.

161 The record consists of five documents in Arabic including three letters from Kacem Ben Mansor: AHN, Estado, leg. 277. See Khalifa, "1705: Un notable marroquí."

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There were other contradictions as well: he claimed "to have spent a few days in prison as the king's slave, after which they released him," an episode that seems improbable. He also said he had arrived in Madrid from Ceuta, but under questioning could not describe the route from one to the other ("he does not know the ports"). The authorities in Oran concluded that he was "a rascal … undoubtedly a spy, and very clever." He was forbidden the freedom of the presidio,[162] but once he left it appears that the matter was closed.[163]

Clearly these reiterated expulsion orders were either not obeyed or obeyed only occasionally and in part; it was too difficult to follow them without damaging established interests. For instance, in 1708 the "Moors of peace" who had allied with the Spanish in Oran and Mazalquivir arrived in Málaga with the surviving troops after Algiers occupied both presidios.[164] They do not appear to have been subject to Philip V's decree of 1712 to expel all Muslims, both slave and free, from his kingdoms. The same appears true of the slaves who worked in the shipyard at Cartagena, as we shall see below in section 4.5.

In fact the measure most commonly adopted was to deport Muslims to the center and north of the Peninsula. The monarchy sent many free and freed persons, converted or not, to Navarre, Palencia, Fuenterrabía, and La Coruña, and even to Naples, Milan, and Flanders.[165] The chief reasons for ignoring the expulsion orders were the types of work performed by Muslims and the demographic problems of the seventeenth century. A good proportion of freedmen and *cortados* (those working to earn their liberty) decided to remain in Spain once they were free, whether or not they became Christian. They performed all kinds of hard labor that did not attract the rest of the population, because of its harshness and low pay and because such "slaves' work" was dishonorable. Among these were the professions of hauler, water carrier, stevedore, and unskilled laborer in hospitals and fortifications, though many other slaves

162 Carlos Carrafa, Admiral of Oran, to Michel-Jean Amelot, Marquis of Gournay, the French ambassador and close ally of Philip V, Oran, 23 June 1705; Carlos Carrafa to José Carrillo, Secretary of War, Oran, 23 June 1705; report on Guinaui's testimony in Juan Bautista Ballesteros, chief magistrate of Oran, 23 June 1705: AHN, Estado, leg. 277.

163 As we learn from the letter that José Carrillo sent to Marquis of Mejorada, secretary of the universal office, Madrid, 7 July 1705: AHN, Estado, leg. 277.

164 On 10 November 1716 Musa Bendar, "Sheikh of Ifre … one of the places that was subject to our lord king" near Oran (conquered by the Algerians in 1708) gave a power of attorney in Málaga to Lesmes García Sagredo, secretary to the Admiral of the Granadan coast. It empowered García Sagredo to represent him and petition the king and the Council of State in his name: Archivo Histórico Provincial de Málaga, Protocolos, leg. 2365, scribe Francisco Caballero Corbalán, fol. 714.

165 Tarruell, *Orán y don Carlos*, 269–70.

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worked as domestic servants or engaged in petty commerce. And it was the authorities themselves, particularly in port cities, who objected most strongly to their expulsion. A severe labor shortage, especially in the seventeenth century, made it impossible to replace Muslim slave or free workers, at least in eastern and southern Spain. Resistance to their expulsion or deportation also came from many slave owners who depended wholly or in part on income from their slaves who were lent out to work. Everything indicates that the relative depopulation of coastal areas, and the resulting labor shortage, was countered at least somewhat by a continual flow of North Africans, especially Algerians and Moroccans, into Spain. Maghrebis abandoned their home region for several reasons: constant civil wars and struggles for power, tribute-seeking raids by armed bands from Algiers and Marrakesh/Meknes, and frequent plagues and famines. Further, Spain's occupation of Oran and other presidios divided the population of their hinterlands into allies and enemies of the Spaniards. All these factors made Algerians and Moroccans feel defenseless and encouraged them to emigrate. Not every resident felt the same kind of pressure, which bore particularly on certain clans, lineages, and family groups that found no alternative to their predicament.

Free and enslaved Muslims were not expelled from Spain, not even from southern cities, in spite of the many expulsion decrees issued between 1502 and 1712, but continued to be present throughout the Spanish domains. Two examples will illustrate this reality. In the sixteenth century a man named Ali was arrested by the bailiff in Valencia and sold into slavery. An Algerian corsair who had been attacking the coast, "he was a corsair who came off his ship to rob, and remained on land by chance." For a year he lived "always at liberty, until he was arrested," and was able to travel between Madrid and Valencia.[166] Two centuries later, in 1760, twelve Algerian corsairs who were taking a captured ship to their home port were shipwrecked on the coast of Galicia. They pretended to be "Moors of peace" but were eventually unmasked and imprisoned in Pontevedra, presumably as slaves. Their "Moors-of-peace" stratagem shows that the condition of being both a Muslim and free was well known and accepted in Spain at the time. It also reveals that North Africans, at least those who went to sea, knew something about the workings of Spanish society.[167]

In light of all the above I prefer to speak of Spanish pragmatism – or convenience to be respected within certain limits – in dealing with free or enslaved Muslims in the royal dominions, in hopes of ensuring similar treatment for

166 Pomara Saverino, "Esclavos, identificación."

167 Barrio Gozalo, *Esclavos cautivos*, 137.

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Spaniards, both free and enslaved, in Muslim lands. Such pragmatism presupposes a level of tolerance that has traditionally not been admitted in the relations of the Catholic monarchy with Muslim rulers.

As an example, I present an issue that some historians have taken as proof that the Spanish monarchy had no wish to negotiate: the enslavement of Muslims traveling on board European ships when those vessels were intercepted at sea or detained in Spanish ports.[168]

There is no question that such enslavements were common. In 1727 two Maghrebis, probably Moroccans, were seized aboard an English ship captured by Catalan corsairs off Lloret.[169] In 1733 three Moroccan merchants were bound from Gibraltar to Livorno in an English ship under Captain Joseph Robinson, carrying a thousand pesos, when they were captured by two Catalan corsair vessels and reduced to slavery.[170]

In many other cases, however, authorities in port cities were not hostile toward Muslim passengers who arrived on foreign vessels for whatever reason;[171] they were either not disturbed or were allowed to disembark. In 1626 a boat arrived in Barcelona that "came from the region of Bougie with four Christian sailors and a pregnant Moorish woman."[172] In 1629 six Turks, four men and two women, were aboard a French boat that stopped at Sant Feliu

168 Windler, "La diplomacia y el 'Otro'."

169 On 18 October 1727 a North African corsair vessel sent its launch into the bay of Lloret and captured two boats, one a fishing boat and one transporting wheat, though their crews jumped overboard and reached land. From the nearby town of Tossa four boats were armed and pursued the corsairs, "who were forced to flee leaving the two boats, recovering the main launch that they had placed in one of them – which they had not been able to do with two that they had placed in the other, because to save themselves in that launch they had jumped overboard, and despite all the fire aimed at them from the vessel with cannon and from the launch with rifles they caught them and had them in custody" ("los que se vieron precisados a huir, y dejar los dos laudes, recogiendo la lancha principal, que havian puesto en el uno, lo que no habiendo podido executar con dos que havian puesto en el otro, pues para salvarse ellos â la dha lancha se havian echado al mar, y que no obstante el gran fuego que les hizieron desde el navio con los cañones, y de la lancha con escopetas los havian cogido, y tenían en custodia"). Both the capturers and the captured were placed in quarantine: IMHB, FS, serie V, leg. 7, fols. 101–02, 2 November 1727.

170 They were two Catalan vessels armed as corsairs, captained by Pablo Comas and Juan Caminada. Robinson's ship was coming from Brittany with sugar and other goods for Livorno, and stopped at Gibraltar to take on additional cargo; there three Moors came aboard. Though the ship was released the Moors were detained with their thousand pesos and other effects, and were placed in strict quarantine in the lazzaretto: IMHB, FS, serie V, leg. 8, fols. 127–30, 13 and 27 January 1733. IMHB, FS, IV, 4, fols. 31–32, 26 January 1733.

171 Paradela Alonso, *El otro laberinto*; Pérès, *L'Espagne vue par les voyageurs musulmans*.

172 IMHB, RD, 135, fols. 130–33, 26 June 1626.

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de Guixols: "3956 *lliures* in Barcelona coin was commandeered in weights of eight, four, and two, plus the four Turkish men and two Turkish or Moorish women, clothing, merchandise, and other things."[173] A ship from Tunis under the French Captain Jean Banadich reached Barcelona in 1739 with more than twenty North Africans on board: "and he brings twenty-two or more Moors, and some of them appear very sick." The military governor (*Capitán General*) of Catalonia ordered the ship admitted into quarantine, contrary to the normal rules about vessels from North Africa.[174]

No harm seems to have come to the five Moors aboard a French ship that stopped in Alicante in June 1742,[175] nor to the nine who came to Barcelona from Mahón in 1753 in an English brigantine under Captain Raphael Tinther, though we know nothing more about what befell them.[176] A Moroccan traveler named al-Zayyani, while sailing from Alexandria to Tetouan in 1758, took a ship from Livorno that stopped at Mahón, which was in French hands at the time. The next stage of his journey brought him to Barcelona for seven days that seem to have passed without incident.[177] Eleven Algerians aboard an English brigantine that put in at Cádiz in September 1785 met with no obstacles either.[178] It was clearly not always the case that such passengers were forced to disembark, much less enslaved; they were almost always allowed to continue their voyage.

We need a detailed study of this question, including cases of Spaniards who while aboard English, French, or Dutch ships were seized by Muslim corsairs or authorities in North African ports where they docked. We already saw an example in Carlos Vidal from Valencia, who arrived in Algiers "in the security of an English ship" and in charge of its cargo but was put in chains by order of the Dey.[179] Any study of how Spaniards dealt with Muslims captured in ships

173 *Relacion en derecho*.

174 IMHB, FS, VI, 8, fols. 19–25, 42–43; serie RA, 22 (1739), 163–64.

175 It was the *Jesus, Maria y Santa Ana* under Captain Joseph Lacruas, which had left Algiers on 9 June bound for France. It arrived in Alicante on the 15th and continued its journey without incident, according to the Admiral of Valencia: IMHB, FS, Serie I, leg. 6, fol. 70; Marquis of La Mina to Barcelona's board of health, 22 June 1742.

176 There were also two Greek passengers on board: IMHB, FS, I, 7, fol. 296, 28 September 1753.

177 Pérès, *L'Espagne*, 19–20.

178 The ship was the brigantine *La Ana* under Captain Thomas Phillips, which had come from Algiers and made a stop at Gibraltar. Though it carried raw cotton and a load of different fabrics it was piloted into the port, though with a strict quarantine and fumigation: IMHB, FS, Serie I, leg. 16, fols. 46, Barón de Serrahí to JSA, 7 September 1785. According to Cádiz's board of health it docked on 14 September.

179 Vernet Ginés, *El rescate*, 42.

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of third countries must be extended to the corresponding ways in which Muslims treated Spaniards whom they encountered under the same conditions.

4.3 More Merchants Than Expected

At the outset of this section we should review the history of commerce with Muslims in the Peninsula from the eighth century to the Christian conquest of Granada in 1492.[180] From that date onward the Mudejars (Muslims remaining in the Christian kingdoms) and the defeated Granadans (soon called Moriscos) enjoyed a degree of freedom, even in religion; we should therefore include them in this study of negotiations between Christians and Muslims. I will limit myself, however, to negotiations with Muslims of the Maghreb and the Ottoman Levant. I remind the reader here that in 1502 in Granada and Castile, in 1515–1516 in Navarre, and in 1526 in Aragon the Muslims were forced into baptism and became officially Christian; therefore after 1492 for a period of ten to thirty-five years (depending on the region) economic, social, and cultural dealings continued between the Christian majority and the Muslim minority. Commercial activity between the Spanish monarchy on the one hand, and the North African countries and Near East on the other, continued throughout the Early Modern age. That situation was possible in the sixteenth century thanks to the monarchy's North African policy, as we described in our Introduction. It took the form of established alliances, often involving vassalage, with different North African kingdoms. Commercial ties with Egypt and coastal Syria existed until the Ottomans conquered the Mamluk empire in 1516 but actually continued until 1528, because until then the Ottomans still recognized the Catalan consulate in Alexandria.[181]

Commerce with the eastern Maghreb was possible thanks to many treaties signed with different local rulers: as we noted in the Introduction there were thirteen with the kings of Tunis, two with the king of Kairouan (1549, 1552), and two with the sheikh of Djerba (1520, 1541). In the central Maghreb there were ten similar treaties with the rulers of Tlemcen.[182] Trade was also possible with all the cities that Spain occupied, at least until they were retaken by North Africans or Ottomans: Algiers, Bougie, Tunis, Bône, Honaine, and others.

180 Miller, *Guardians of Islam*; Constable, *Trade and Traders in Muslim Spain*.

181 Departures of Catalan ships to Alexandria are registered at least until 1523: Martín Corrales, *Comercio de Cataluña*, 186–93, 602–03. López de Meneses, "Un siglo de consulado."

182 Mariño, *Tratados internacionales*.

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For instance, the Capitulation signed by Charles V and King Muley Hasan of Tunis in 1535 stipulated that

> the vassals and subjects of both parties may arrive, live, and negotiate on equal terms in the kingdoms, lands, and domains of both parties, freely, openly, and in entire good faith.[183]

And along the same lines, in negotiations between the Spanish and the sheikh of Djerba in 1541 the sheikh asked that his subjects have complete freedom to conduct business in Spain: "That [they] be able to deal in the lands of His Majesty just as his own vassals do."[184]

On the Moroccan coast the monarchy's policy was based not so much on treaties (though some were attempted) as on trying to maintain tactical alliances, not always successfully, against the common enemy, the Ottomans. There was trade between the *plazas* or fortified ports that Spain occupied intermittently and their respective hinterlands: Cazaza, Santa Cruz de Mar Pequeña, Larache, and the Portuguese ones that fell into the Spanish orbit when the two kingdoms were unified in the late sixteenth century. Then there were the more permanent presidios that Spain held throughout the Early Modern period: Oran, Mazalquivir, Melilla, El Peñón de Vélez de la Gomera, El Peñón de Alhucemas, and Ceuta.[185] But it is also true that there were frequent armed clashes between the two sides.

There are many historical studies of Hispanic-North African commerce between the early sixteenth century and the second half of the eighteenth, that is, up to the time when the Spanish monarchy signed peace treaties with the rulers of North Africa and the Ottoman Empire. Some are general views that cover this entire period.[186] Others are more focused on specific ports and coastal regions of Spain: Cádiz, El Puerto de Santa María and other ports on the Bay of Cádiz,[187] Málaga and its coastal

183 "[Q]ue los vassallos y subjectos de una parte y de otra podrán venir, estar y negociar recíprocamente en los Reynos, tierras y señoríos de una parte y de otra, libre y francamente y todo con buena fee": Mariño, *Tratados*, 42–52, quotation at 50.

184 Mariño, *Tratados*, 116–18, quotation at 117.

185 For full information on all the presidios conquered by Spain in the sixteenth century see Mariño, *Tratados*. For Oran in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries see Fe Cantó, *Orán (1732–1745)*; Alonso Acero, *Orán-Mazalquivir, 1589–1639*.

186 Martín Corrales, "Orán, entre fortaleza y mercado," "El comercio de España con los países musulmanes," "De cómo el comercio se impuso," and "Comercio en la frontera"; Bunes Ibarra, "Relaciones económicas."

187 Martín Corrales, "Le commerce de la bahie de Cadiz" and "El comercio de la bahía de Cádiz"; Margado García, "Las relaciones entre Cádiz y el Norte de África"; Rumeu de

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environs,[188] Valencia,[189] Majorca,[190] Catalonia,[191] Murcia,[192] and the Canary Islands.[193] There is research on trade between Spain and certain countries: Morocco (especially Tetouan and the coastal Rif),[194] Algiers, Tunis, and the Ottoman Empire.[195] We have monographic studies on specific goods such as cereals, which virtually monopolized shipments from North Africa;[196] silver, especially in exports to the Muslim world;[197] and wool,[198] silk,[199] and other products.[200] There is information on people who took part in commerce – such as Jews acting as middlemen[201] – and on clandestine trade and smuggling.[202]

Armas, *Cádiz, metrópoli del comercio*; Sancho de Sopranis, "Las relaciones mercantiles entre Cádiz y Marruecos" and "El comercio entre el Puerto de Santa María"; Anon., "Relaciones entre España y Marruecos," 132.

188 López de Coca Castañer, "Granada, el Maghreb," "Vélez de la Gomera," "Esclavos, alfaqueques," and "Relaciones mercantiles entre Granada y Berbería"; López Beltrán, "Fiscalidad regia" and "Notas sobre la expansión castellana"; Cabrillana Ciézar, "Notas sobre las relaciones de Málaga" and "Málaga y el comercio norteafricano"; Bejarano Robles, "Reanudación del comercio de Málaga con África."

189 Blanes Andrés, "El Mediterrani," "Mercaderes, productos," "Las embarcaciones, los mercaderes," and *Valencia y el Magreb*; Salvador, "El Reino de Valencia y el continente africano" and "Datos sobre el comercio con el Norte de África."

190 Seguí Beltrán, "El comercio del reino de Mallorca"; Juan Vidal, "El comercio del trigo" and "Le commerce du blé."

191 Martín Corrales, *Comercio de Cataluña con el Mediterráneo musulmán* and "El comerç de Catalunya amb el Nord d'Africa."

192 Montojo Montojo, "Las redes mercantiles" and "Relaciones y agentes comerciales."

193 Santana Pérez and Santana Pérez, *La puerta afortunada*; Lobo Cabrera, "Canarias y Berbería" and "Los vecinos de Las Palmas"; Rumeu de Armas, *España en el África Atlántica*; Ricard, "Recherches sur les relations" (two articles) and "Sur les relations des Canaries et de la Berbérie"; Alcalá Galiano, *Santa Cruz de Mar Pequeña*.

194 Martín Corrales, "Intercambios mercantiles hispano-marroquíes" and "El comercio español con Tetuán"; Lourido Díaz, "Los intercambios comerciales hispano-marroquíes."

195 Martín Corrales, "Les relations commerciales entre Tunis et la Catalogne," "El comercio de España," "De cómo el comercio," and *Comercio de Cataluña*; Bunes Ibarra, "Relaciones económicas."

196 Lourido Díaz, "El comercio del trigo."

197 Martín Corrales, "La *Saca* de plata americana." A large proportion of the enormous amount of exported coin was shipped on behalf of third countries: Cherif, "Introduction de la piastre espagnole"; Rebuffat, "Les piastres."

198 Martínez Torres, "Plata y lana para el 'infiel'."

199 Martín Corrales, "The Silk Trade," "El comercio de la seda," and "Exportación del vino catalán."

200 Martín Corrales, "Exportación del vino catalán"; Ricard, "L'Espagne et la fabrication des bonnets"; Koehler, "Ce que l'économie privée importait."

201 García-Arenal and Wiegers, *A Man of Three Worlds*; López Belinchón, "Aventureros, negociantes"; Martín Corrales, "Comercio en la frontera."

202 Gozalbes Cravioto, "Andalucía y el contrabando."

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Nonetheless, Muslim rulers almost always placed their commercial exchanges with Christian Europe in the hands of Christian negotiators, so that we have few references to Muslim tradesmen in European and Spanish ports.

We saw above how Maghrebi ambassadors and envoys who traveled to Spain in the first half of the sixteenth century were often granted safe-conducts by the monarch, the viceroy, or local authorities; these documents, which were also issued to North African merchants, guaranteed their safety and activities while on Spanish soil. This situation, of which there are many examples, obtained until Spain surrendered Tunis in 1574. A royal decree of 1493 ordered that any Maghrebis who came to Málaga to trade should receive a safe-conduct from the mayor or the royal magistrate, who would be responsible for protecting them during their business in the city:

> Because some Moors and others who come to that city with merchandise, or to negotiate other things that they need, usually demand a safe-conduct for their arrival, stay, and return, we order you that the guarantees given to such persons and Moors should be given to both groups alike, in the usual form and as justice requires.[203]

We know that such safe-conducts were meant for Muslims from across the Strait of Gibraltar because we have a model letter attached to the royal decree that instructs the magistrate and the mayor:

> We make it known to every captain of their Highnesses who goes by sea, and to any other persons who are subjects or residents, and to other non-subjects, that they should and are obliged to keep the peace with the kingdoms and possessions of the king and queen our sovereigns: that [name], … … … a Moor from abroad, resident of [city], … … … … has asked us for a safe-conduct to go and travel abroad and do [business], … … … … of which we have been fully informed and for which we give him our letter of guarantee.[204]

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203 "Porque algunos moros e otras personas que vienen a la dibcha cibdad con mercadurías o a negociar otras cosas que les cumplen, acostumbran a demandar seguros para su venida, estada e tornada, nos vos mandamos que los seguros que se devieren dar a las tales personas a las tales personas e moros los dedes ambos a dos juntamente, en la forma que se acostumbran dar e de justicia se deva hazer": López de Coca Castañer, "Los genoveses en Málaga," 44.

204 "Hazemos saber a todos los capitanes de sus altezas que andan por la mar e a otras qualesquier personas que sean súbditos e naturales, e a los otros no súbditos, que deven e son obligados a guardar la paz con los reynos e señoríos del rey e de la reyna nuestros señores,

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One tradesman who obtained a safe-conduct in 1494 was Hamet "from Salé, a merchant, living in the province of Barbary," making it easier for him to conduct business:

> Wishing to permit and favor the negotiation of merchandise, through which the public affairs of our kingdoms and our royal prerogatives receive great utility and increase: therefore, recognizing that you our devoted subject Hamet from Salé, merchant, living in the province of Barbary, wish and intend to deal, trade, and negotiate in mercantile fashion in and for our kingdoms and lands, and travel with your goods through their seas and ports, and send and receive your representatives and factors; said goods, in our kingdoms and territories in our name, may be dealt in, sold, bought, and carried from place to place.[205]

It is interesting to note that the letter prohibited trade in "forbidden goods" such as "silver in bulk," military equipment, arms, and artillery, and that if a safe-conduct were revoked its factors would be informed "aloud by a town crier in the usual places in the city of [Palma de] Mallorca or another nearer city or town in the land of Barbary."[206]

In October 1494 the king granted a safe-conduct to the Jew Salomon Milaquin for a journey to North Africa, "with two Moors in his company," so that they could load a ship with oil, raisins, and other products – as long as they were not forbidden ones.[207]

The Moor Brahin, an *alfaqueque* or ransoming agent from Fez, gained a safe-conduct in 1498 to collect "a household of a certain widow" of Aragon, with children, family members, and their goods, and take them to his homeland:

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que … moro de allende, vezino de…, nos pidió seguro para yr e pasar allende a fazer… de lo qual ovimos plenaria información e le dimos nuestra carta de seguro": López de Coca Castañer, "Los genoveses," 44–45.

205 "Queriendo dar lugar e fauorecer la negociación de la mercaduría, para la qual cosa publica de nuestros reynos y los drechos reales nuestros reciben grande utilidat e augmento, por tanto, atendido que vos, deuoto nuestro, Hamet de Sale, mercader, habitante en la prouincia de la Barberia, desseays y havueys deliberado tractar, comarciar, comerciar e negociar mercantiuolament en e por nuestros reynos y tierras, y con vuestras mercaduría nauegar por las mares y puertos de aquellos, y embiar y tener vuestros procuradores y factores, que las dichas mercadurías, en los dichos nuestros reynos y señoríos en vuestro nombre, tracten, vendan y compren y lleuen de unos lugares a otros": *Documentos*, 4:479–80, 531–32.

206 Letter from Ferdinand the Catholic, Segovia, 6 July 1494, *Documentos*, 4:479–80.

207 Letter from Ferdinand the Catholic, Segovia, 3 September 1494, *Documentos*, 4:532.

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> We give permission and license to Brahin the Moor, a ransoming agent from the kingdom of Fez, who without incurring any punishment at all, at any time and place that he wishes and prefers, may bring out at one time, from any city, town, or village of our kingdom of Aragon that he wishes, a household of a certain widow with her sons, daughters, daughters-in-law, grandsons, and granddaughters whom he may choose, because they are the king's subjects; and that the said mother, sons, daughters, daughters-in-law, granddaughters, and grandsons who live in a house with a single patrimony or individual shares, with all they own of gold, silver, coins, jewels, clothing, adornments, bedding, horses, and other goods, that household of Moorish men and women may pass through any of our kingdoms and embark from any port or beach on any ship that they wish and are able to do, until he has transferred them and placed them across the sea in the land of the Moors.[208]

We have seen other instances in which North Africans in financial straits received help from the king to return to their homelands. In 1499, for instance, the monarch ordered the viceroy and the representative of Majorca to provide clothing and funds to visiting Moors so that they would depart contented.[209]

In around 1505 a man named Abrahen Zerchel, a "squire" to Ali Barrax who ruled Chaouen at the time, appeared in Málaga. Because he spoke Spanish fluently, he was probably a Nasrid exiled from Granada. After buying and selling goods he gave a power of attorney to a resident of Setenil, authorizing him to collect debts from former Christian captives. By 1508 he was in Granada and received a passport from the Count of Tendilla, valid for sixty days, with other letters of introduction to local authorities in eastern Andalusia meant to help him collect debts he was owed. He also formed relationships with local artisans. He was arrested and jailed in August 1508 in Málaga, probably because he

208 "[D]amos, licencia y libera facultad al Brahin, moro, alfaqueque del reyno de Fez, que, sin incorrer en pena alguna, cada y quando quel quisiere y bien visto le será, pueda sacar, por una vez tantum, de aquella ciudat, villa o lugar deste nuestro reyno Daragon que el quisiere, una casada de cierta viuda, con sus fijos, fijas, nueras, nietos y nietas quel escogerá, pues sean de realenco, y que las dichas madre, fijos, fijas, nueras, nietas, nietos viban en una casa con una fazienda, siquier bienes indivisos, con todo lo que tuvieran de oro, plata, moneda, joyas, vestidos, atabios, ropa, cabalgaduras e de otros bienes y pasar la dicha casa de moros y moras por qualesquier reynos nuestros, y embarcarlos en qualesquier puertos, playas e fustas que quisiere e podiere, fasta transferirlos y ponerlos allende el mar, en tierra de moros": letter from Ferdinand the Catholic, Zaragoza, 9 October 1498: Torre, *Documentos*, 6:146.

209 Ferdinand the Catholic, 5 August 1499, *Documentos*, 6:196–97.

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owed a debt to one of the town councillors: that official had given him a sum to rescue a Christian captive, but the man was still not free.[210]

We know of Muslim traders who were admitted to the port of Valencia: they were allowed to "deal, trade, and negotiate in mercantile fashion in and for our kingdoms and lands, and travel with [their] goods through their seas and ports," in the language of the document we saw above.[211] In the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries several North African merchants arrived in Valencia aboard Venetian galleys.[212] Though they were sometimes abused by local residents and authorities, the monarchy intervened on several occasions to put an end to such treatment.[213]

The Valencian merchant Juan Allepus requested a license from the city's bailiff in 1510 that would allow his slave Mahomet de Marbella to make a business trip in the company of a Muslim freedman.[214] In 1512 a tradesman from Oran arrived in the port of Valencia as a slave in a caravel, and when he claimed to be a free man who had been unjustly enslaved an investigation was opened to determine the truth.[215]

We also, however, hear of the opposite cases in which North African traders were impeded or forbidden when they tried to stay on Spanish soil. By a decree of 1502, Muslim merchants detained at a distance of twenty leagues from the coast would "become slaves of the king, as is the current practice."[216] We hope for studies in greater depth that will clarify the issue.

In the seventeenth century news about Muslim merchants in Spanish territory becomes less frequent, but there were cases in which they were allowed into a port without being detained, expelled, or enslaved. Between 1585 and 1602 two Muslim tradesmen were in Málaga together with the Jew Judas Malaqui, and one of them stayed in the city for at least four years while he conducted

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210 López de Coca Castañer, "Esclavos, alfaqueques."

211 Guiral-Hadziiossif, *Valence*, 342–46.

212 We know of their presence because Muslim captives in the city approached them seeking help: Cortés Alonso, *La esclavitud*, 139.

213 In October 1491 the Spanish monarch ordered eighteen North Africans captured at sea to be freed, probably because they were subjects of a Maghrebi ally. In 1494 new orders prohibited capturing Moors in North Africa. In 1508 the bailiff of Valencia forbade any injury to the persons or goods of Moors who arrived on Venetian galleys, though they were not allowed to disembark: Cortés Alonso, *La esclavitud*, 359, 495, 503, 517–18.

214 Cortés Alonso, *La esclavitud*, 131.

215 His name was Yucef Abrauda and he had come from Oran with at *guiatge* or safe-conduct from Count Pedro Navarro that allowed him to proceed to Borja to ransom his wife and daughter: Cortés Alonso, *La esclavitud*, 121, 138.

216 Martínez Almira, "El intercambio de moros cortados," 241.

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Malaqui's business.[217] Between 1611 and 1632 a group of twenty-seven individuals, almost all from Oran and some identified as merchants, were accused of "Mohammedanism" and pursued by the Inquisition in Murcia.[218] The retinue of the Persian ambassador Denguis Beg, who spent 1611–1612 in Madrid, included Coja Regeb, considered an expert in commerce. A few years later, in 1620, two other Persian merchants were plying their trade in Madrid: "they brought no particular business from their king, but [only wished] to sell and employ their goods." They do not seem to have been hindered in their trade, but on 6 October they tried to kill an Armenian from Robert Sherley's delegation, one of the embassies that Shah Abbas sent to the Spanish court. The Council of State ordered the two Persians arrested, though it is not clear what their links to the Englishman might have been.[219]

North African corsairs sometimes sailed along the Spanish coasts and even landed to try to sell the spoils from their captures. In 1601 an Algerian frigate "of fifteen benches, flying a safe-conduct flag," approached Ibiza to sell a cargo of cowhides: "they wanted us to buy one thousand cowhides out of three thousand five hundred that they had taken from a French settee," and "to make the deal two Moors disembarked and because there was no money, [though they were] giving them at a low price, the purchase was not made."[220] In 1643, in the course of negotiating the rescue of men captured off Andratx in the bay of Palma, three Algerian corsairs came ashore in Palma to buy fruit and supplies.[221] Such incidents may have occurred fairly often and occasionally been successful.

There are fuller records for the eighteenth century. In 1763 Agi Gasep, a Moor from Tripoli, arrived in Barcelona in a packet-boat loaded with wheat, captained by a Minorcan (and under the English flag, since Minorca was an English possession at the time). Gasep presented a formal request to be led in by the pilot, sell the wheat, and use the profits to buy certain goods: "And having been allowed pilotage he has come to unload that wheat in this city, wishing to spend the profits on products and fruits of the land." He asked "permission to come on land and enter the city to carry on his business." The Captain General of Catalonia, the Marquis of La Mina, consulted the Board of Health because

217 Tarruell, "Circulations," 257.

218 Vincent, "Musulmans et conversions," and its Spanish version "Musulmanes y conversión" in *El río morisco*, 78.

219 Gil Fernández, *El imperio*, 1:79 ff., 2:414–21; Alonso, "Embajadores de Persia"; Davies, *Elizabethans Errant*; Penrose, *The Sherleian Odyssey*; Ross, *Sir Anthony Sherley*.

220 Tarruell, "Circulations," 136.

221 Deyá Bauzá and Oliver i Moragues, "El Mediterráneo bipolar," 61.

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he wanted to know if there was "any example in this capital that would give him licence to be admitted as he asks, in view of his religion." The Board made no objection on grounds of health, since the ship had been piloted in, and declared itself not competent to rule on the issue of religion. There is no record of Gasep's having been denied.[222]

On 28 October 1775 Mula Osman, a Turk from Crete ("Candia"), arrived in Barcelona on the English brigantine *Anglois* under Captain Pierre Marqués as the supervisor of its cargo. Because the ship had stopped at Majorca it had the proper approvals from the authorities there. The island's Captain General had issued Mula Osman a passport that described him as "twenty-five years old, tall in stature, with black hair, a short beard, and black eyes":

> We grant a free and assured passport to Mula Osman, a Turk from Candia, who comes in charge of cargo in the brigantine from Mahón under Captain Pierre Marqués and will continue his journey to Barcelona. And we order all Ministers of War and of Justice who are under our jurisdiction as well as those who are not. We ask and request that they place no impediment to his voyage but rather give him [any] assistance and help he may need, as is proper in service to the king.

Osman, who enjoyed official protection from the French consul Bautista Albert, sold his goods in the city (dried beans and peas from Tunis, which he sold on the Catalan coast to a Greek, Nicolás Telemachi), and bought others. Since he was going on to Marseille he hoped for "payment for his foodstuffs after disembarking, to be converted into letters."[223]

Also in 1775 a French ship under Captain Souffret arrived in Barcelona from Tripoli. Five Turks, including two "Moors," were on board and one of them, Sidy Amer from Crete, brought a load of barley. They were put in prison, causing the French consul in Barcelona to protest that the action would interfere with French commerce in the Levant. He did not obtain their freedom even though

222 Report by Agi Gasep, who arrived in the packet-boat of Captain Lorenzo Vendrell of Mahón: IMHB, FS, Serie I, vol. 11, fol. 212, 6 May 1763; Serie V, vol. 10, fols. 113–14, 5 May 1763.

223 "Concedimos libre y seguro Pasaporte, á Mula Osman turco de Candia, que viene de sobre cargo del Bergantin Mahones del Capitán Pierre Marqués, y Continua su viage, à Barcelona. Y ordenamos â todos Ministros de Guerra y Justicias sujetos â Nuestra Jurisdiccion, y â los que no lo son. Pedimos y encargamos no le pongan impedimento alguno en su viage antes bien le den asistencia y favor, que necessitare por convenir asi al Real Servicio"; "[L]e païement de ses denrées après le débarquement et le convertir en Lettres": Archives de la Chambre de Commerce de Marseille, Série K. 197. Letters from Aubert dated 3 November, 8 November, and 4 December 1775.

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he asked that they be transferred to a better prison and one of them, who was ill, be taken to a hospital; eventually a royal order placed them at liberty. The French consul asked for reparations:

> An indemnity should be given to the passengers for the injury done to them and for what they have suffered during sixteen days of a most harsh and humiliating imprisonment.[224]

Amer and the captain canceled their mutual contract, signed in Tripoli the preceding 19 May, and separated

> on condition, however, that Sidy Amer in payment for his expectations shall be reimbursed with fifty *zequins* [a gold coin] … for the value of one-quarter of a month's salary that he has sacrificed for them, even though according to his contract he could have demanded to be conveyed to Tripoli to complete his journey.

The Spanish government refused to pay any compensation, arguing that the French were engaged in illegal commerce. But the French kept up their petitions because their fortunes were tied to those of the Turks, as we see from Consul Aubert's correspondence:

> He has earned several months' salary, for the money given as a mortgage to the Turks is for the gross amount, and its payment will suffice for all these purposes.[225]

Three more Turks and North Africans arrived in Barcelona in 1775 aboard a ship commanded by Captain Minuti, coming from North Africa with a cargo of barley. On this occasion, however, the ship with its crew, passengers, and grain was not allowed to dock but was sent on to Marseille. The French commercial

224 "Il devroit êttre alloüe aux Passagers, une indemnité pour l'injure, à eux faite, et pour ce qu'ils ont souffert, pendan seixe jours de la prison la plus dure et la plus humilliante": ACCM, Série K. Letters from Aubert dated 2 September, 30 September, and 7 October 1775.

225 "[À] la condition cependant que si Sidy Amer en païe de ses pretensions, celuy cy será rembourse de cinquante zequins Zermabout pour la valeur d'un quart de mois de salaire qu'il à sacrifié en leur faveur, quoique par son contrat el êut pût exiger d'aller finir son voiage à Tripòli"; "il a plusieurs mois de salaires gagnés; que l'argent donnè aux Turcs en Hipothéque est en argent Prix à la grosse, et qui actuellement le chargement se suffira à tous ces objets." Three letters from Aubert in previous note: ACCM, Série K, 197.

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attaché in Madrid acknowledged that it was blocked for purely sanitary reasons, since in general there was no opposition to receiving Muslim passengers on French ships: "It appears that Spain does not mean to dispute to the French flag the right to carry Turks or Moors as passengers on board."[226]

In short, in the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries it was not unusual for Muslim merchants to be admitted to Spanish ports. It is clear that the conduct of Spanish authorities toward them was not always guided by an extreme intolerance based on a spirit of crusade. The instances we have described, to which others will surely be added after more research, suggest that economic and political considerations were operating as well.

4.4 Muslims of Christ

Conversion, to a Muslim, meant replacing one symbolic space – his or her own, with all its obligations – with another no less demanding Christian one. Not only belief and worship were involved, but also customs, practices, and the responsibilities of kinship. It is very difficult to study conversions of Muslims on Spanish soil in the Early Modern age because documentary evidence is widely dispersed. Everything suggests, however, that conversions were far more numerous and continuous than has been estimated before now.[227] They certainly did not exceed the more than three hundred thousand Christian renegades thought to have embraced Islam, but they were important from a qualitative point of view: many members of ruling families, leaders of rebel tribes, and important personages from North Africa converted, especially in the sixteenth century. The phenomenon had quantitative weight also, however.

Up to now the best-known figures have been the exiled members of Maghrebi royal houses who came to Spain in search of support in regaining their thrones or consolidating their power: Wattasids, Saadids, Zayyanids, and Hafsids. Some of those expatriates decided to accept Christianity once they had exhausted all possibilities, however remote, of returning to power in their countries of origin: that was the case for dozens of members of royal families and probably as many more of their partisans, servants, and others in their trains. This array of conversions resonated greatly at the time, because these notable persons

226 "[I]l paroit que l'Espagne ne prétend point disputer au Pavillon François le droit d'avoir des turcs ou des Maures, Passagers à son Bord": Letter from Aubert, 8 November 1775: ACCM, Série K, 197.

227 An overview in Vincent, "Musulmans et conversions" and its Spanish version in *El río morisco*, 75–88.

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had preferred the Cross to the Crescent. We discussed many of these cases in Chapter 3. We will only stress here that aside from members of those dynasties themselves there were companions, followers, and domestic servants who converted as well, and also impostors – showing that conversion was more widespread than has been thought. There were also conversions among members of embassies from the Kings of Kuku and the Shah of Persia.[228]

Aside from this select group of members of dethroned ruling families or diplomatic delegations, there were thousands of Muslims who converted either voluntarily or under pressure. Both modalities overlapped throughout the period that concerns us.

Pressure was exerted on Muslim slaves, and also on freedmen, to convert to Christianity, and the Jesuits made a special effort from 1669 to 1683.[229] Conversions were limited, however, for a variety of reasons. First, so as not to provoke similar pressures on Christian captives in cities in the Maghreb; second, the need for rowers in the galleys in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; and third, a similar demand for slave labor on public works (in shipyards, mines, fortifications, ports, roads, and other projects).

Most private slave owners, in the countryside or in cities, were not very interested in having their slaves convert because they feared losing many valuable kinds of labor that Old Christians were disinclined to perform. Nor did they want to lose their investment: conversion did not inevitably bring manumission, but there was greater pressure to manumit after a slave had been baptized. We have seen that the number of Muslim slaves in Spain in the Early Modern period has been estimated at three to four hundred thousand. How many of them became Christian? How many came to Spain intending to convert, or did so to ensure that they could remain? While perusal of the large bibliography on the topic suggest that there were thousands of conversions, scholars present their data in so many different forms that it is hard to reach consistent conclusions.[230]

228 Perpiñán Silla, "Dos visiones de la diplomacia hispano-persa"; Alonso Acero, "Being so Thoroughly Spanish, the Persian"; García Hernán, "Persian Knights in Spain" and "The Persian Gentleman at the Spanish Court"; Gil Fernández, *El imperio luso-español*; Cutillas Ferrer, "Las Relaciones de Juan de Persia"; Juan de Persia, *Relación*; Le Strange, *Don Juan of Persia.*

229 The Jesuits had many missions to convert Muslims in the Peninsula: Tirso González de Santalla and Juan Gabriel Guillén in Andalusia (1669, 1670, 1671, 1672, 1676), Francisco Poch in Barcelona (1676, 1679, 1680, 1682, 1683), and Antonio Moreno in Cartagena (1679): Vincent, "Musulmanes y conversión," 83–85, and "Les Jésuites et l'Islam Méditerranéen."

230 Many authors do not count the number of baptized slaves, and not all who do so differentiate between Muslims and blacks from sub-Saharan Africa.

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The best way to approach the question is to consider the Spanish and Portuguese fortified ports in North Africa, where there were thousands of slaves captured in open warfare or in mounted raids and expeditions. Many others, however, came to those ports voluntarily to choose slavery rather than lose their lives. It is hard to establish how many were baptized and how many not.

The years 1521 to 1524 were disastrous for the Moroccan regions of Chaouia and Doukkala: a famine caused by poor harvests was worsened by an epidemic of plague. Diego de Torres relates that many Moroccans were forced into the Portuguese *plazas* of Azzemour and Safi, seeking to sell their children and relatives to ensure that they would stay alive, even if enslaved. Other Muslims captured their coreligionists and sold them to the Europeans:

> At the beginning of the year one thousand five hundred twenty-one such a great plague and famine came to all those lands that they would steal each other and sell each other to the Christians of those fortified places – and so cheaply that a Moorish man or woman might be sold for a basket of figs or raisins, such was the hunger and want, except for the want of men. Many thousands of people died.

Torres added, "Today there are many slaves in Spain who were had at that time for such a price."[231] Another chronicler of the time reported that more than sixty thousand people were taken to the Peninsula, especially to Portugal.[232] Many sought to save themselves in the Iberian Peninsula at the expense of their freedom: hundreds of those slaves arrived in the Bay of Cádiz, and we can assume that many of them converted.[233]

In Oran between 1563 and 1599 at least 3,300 slaves were baptized (there is a gap in the records between 1581 and 1588). Most of them had been caught in raids conducted by members of the presidio's garrison, but they also included many black Africans. Most who converted did so under coercion, though a

231 "Al principio del año de mil y quinientos y veinte y uno, sobrevino gran peste y hambre en todas aquellas tierras, que se hurtaban los unos a los otros y se vendían a los Cristianos de aquellas fuerças y tan baratos, que acontecía dar un Moro o Mora por una sera de higos o pasas, tal era el ambre y la carestía si no era de ombres. Murieron muchos millares de gente. … Oi dia ai muchos esclavos en España avidos en aquella temporada a este precio": Torres, *Relación*, 100–01.

232 The chronicle by B. Rodrigues states that in Azemmour a thousand slaves were being sold every day, and that about one hundred fifty ships filled with slaves left that port. In Safi it was much the same: Rosenberger and Triki, "Famines et épidemies au Maroc," esp. 129. See also Bouchareb, *Os Pseudo-moriscos de Portugal*.

233 For the period 1521–22 see Rumeu de Armas, *Cádiz, metrópoli del comercio*, 20.

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number of voluntary conversions seemed to stem from the desire to obtain a passport for travel to Spain.[234] Baptisms continued into the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[235] Famine in the Oran region brought 862 additional slaves into the town between November 1750 and March 1751, of whom 184 were baptized.[236]

The largest number of North Africans – in fact, almost all the slaves captured when towns on the North African coast were conquered – entered Spain's closest ports, especially Cádiz, Málaga, and Cartagena, and the long seacoast between the latter two cities. In Cádiz, as we noted above, hundreds of Moroccans arrived either as slaves or in flight from the famine of the first half of the sixteenth century, and many of them probably converted. In the following century the number of slaves and the number of conversions both rose.[237] Two detailed studies have sought to determine how many slaves were baptized. (See Table 2.) Of a total of 11,450 between 1600 and 1749 there were at least 1,891 Muslims (Turks and North Africans). Another count made in the city gives us a total of 2,035 slaves baptized between 1700 and 1799, with only 154 identified as Turks and Moors.[238] If we combine the two sources and eliminate duplications we find at least 1,930 baptized Muslims, of whom 860 are called "Moors," 696 "Turks," and 364 "Berbers" (we subsume the Moors and Berbers under "North Africans").

We can see how many Muslims were baptized, but we do not know – and it is very difficult to determine – what percentage of all the Muslim slaves underwent conversion. Just as in the case of Oran, we have little information on how many turned Christian voluntarily; only rarely is it recorded that that was the case. Still, there is no doubt that many North Africans and even Turks arrived in Spain intending to become Christians. The few indications we have are not lacking in interest. In 1630 Guillermo, of North African origin, was baptized at his mother's request. Three baptized Turkish women, María Ángeles (1710), Ana María (1740), and Teresa Fisart, left sums to religious institutions in their wills. The Turk Andrés José in 1723 expressed a wish to be buried in the cathedral wearing the habit of Saint Francis.[239]

234 Bravo Caro, "El bautismo de esclavos."

235 For the seventeenth century see Vincent, "Musulmanes y conversión," 83.

236 Fe Cantó, "La grande famine de 1750."

237 In La Mamora (Mehdiya), which the Spanish seized in 1614, Jesuits, Capuchins, Dominicans, and Augustinians tried to outdo one another in converting the captured Moroccans, who would be sent immediately to Cádiz: Vincent, "Musulmanes y conversión," 82.

238 Morgado García, *Una metrópoli*, 130, 134, 146, 150; Parrilla Ortiz, *La esclavitud*, 96–97.

239 For Guillermo see Morgado García, *Una metrópoli*, 265; for the other cases see Parrilla Ortiz, *La esclavitud*, 134–35.

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TABLE 2 Muslim slaves baptized in Cádiz, 1600–1799

	Total slaves	North Africans	Turks	Total Muslims
1600–1619	714	136	–	136
1620–1639	1,491	127	–	127
1640–1659	949	206	1	207
1660–1679	2,949	637	39	676
1680–1699	3,718	90	540	630
1700–1799	2,035	38	116	154
	11,836	1,234	696	1,930

SOURCES: MORGADO GARCÍA, *UNA METRÓPOLI ESCLAVISTA*, 130, 134, 147; PARRILLA ORTIZ, *LA ESCLAVITUD EN CÁDIZ,* 96–98

Conversion efforts by the Jesuits from 1671 to 1681 in towns around the Bay of Cádiz resulted in baptisms as well.[240] Many in the audience spoke Arabic. There was great resistance to attending the sermons because slaves did not want to lose their day's wages; the preachers proposed attracting them by paying an equivalent amount.[241] It seems that in no other European city, not even in Rome, were there more baptisms than in Cádiz.

Málaga must have produced a large number of converts as well, and a few cases are recorded from the last third of the sixteenth century.[242] Of the 575 slaves counted there in 1581 we know that at least 428 were Muslims, of whom 135 converted: they appear as 117 North African Christians, four black North African Christians, four Moorish Christians, one Christian "of the Moorish caste," two Christian Arabs, five Christians, and two children of Old Christians.[243] There were baptisms in Málaga in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries

240 A Jesuit mission to Andalusia in 1671 spent four weeks trying to convert Turks, North Africans, and descendants of Moriscos in Cádiz, El Puerto de Santa María, Jerez de la Frontera, and Sanlúcar de Barrameda. In 1681 they organized mass baptisms in Cádiz and Jerez: Vincent, "Musulmanes y conversión," 83–85.

241 Nine Muslims were baptized in Jerez in 1671: Domínguez Ortiz, "La esclavitud," 395; Vincent, "Musulmanes y conversión," 84.

242 Ali Belhagi in 1510, as well as five men and two women from Tunis: González Arévalo, *La esclavitud en Málaga*, 194–95.

243 Also fifty-four Moriscos: Vincent, "La esclavitud en Málaga," and its Spanish version in *Minorías y marginados*, 239–70.

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as well: the 1661 census registers 227 slaves of whom some were converts.[244] By 1753 only forty-six slaves remained in Málaga, largely North Africans, of whom a few were baptized.[245] We do not know how many arrived intending to become Christians or how many made the decision after they came to the city as slaves.

It is clear, however, that a good many converts arrived in Málaga of their own volition. A married couple who had entered El Peñón de la Gomera in 1565 asked for baptism and were sent to Málaga; they became the property of a resident woman who claimed them as her servants, so they might have been Moriscos who had returned to the Peninsula. One Almanzor had served in Melilla since 1583 in return for a daily wage and a little wheat and barley; he moved to Málaga with his family and converted, taking the name Luis Manrique. His son, known as Don Felipe de África, hoped to be a soldier in Navarre, Perpignan, or Fuenterrabía, but the king had him choose between Pamplona and Milan. Aduc Hamama, of a family of "Moors of peace," took temporary refuge in Melilla because of his compromised position, but after the danger passed he refused to leave the presidio and asked for baptism; he was sent to Málaga where, after converting, he took the name Francisco Pacheco. We know that he moved to Madrid in late 1586 and the next year was sent to Naples, where he served the viceroy as a soldier at least until 1603.[246]

Cristóbal, a native of the region around El Peñón de Vélez de la Gomera, was captured by the Spanish and sent to Málaga. In about 1589 he managed to escape to his native land, but once there

> on considering the Christian religion and the Mohammedan sect, realizing its error, he returned of his own free will to Oran meaning to be instructed and receive the water of holy baptism … [after some time] he took ship and came to Málaga where he was baptized a Christian, wishing to live and die as such through the grace of the Holy Spirit.[247]

244 Bravo Caro, "Esclavos al servicio." The Jesuits preached to Muslims in the open-air theater in 1669: Vincent, "Musulmanes y conversión," 84.

245 Several baptisms were recorded between 1750 and 1753. Before the latter year there were María de los Dolores Rosa, her North African husband Cristóbal Andrés, and their children, four-year-old José and six-year-old María de la Encarnación. Teresa, also a North African, received baptism, as did Juan José Phelipe from Tetouan in 1750. Others were Juan Rodríguez and Francisca María Joachina in 1751 and María de la Paz "of the Moorish nation" in 1753: Bravo Caro, "Los esclavos de Málaga," 95–96. 104.

246 In 1607 a María Jesús de África, resident in Milan, appears in the documentary record; she might have been the widow of Felipe de África. For Almanzor, Felipe de África, and Aduc Hamama see Tarruell, *Orán y don Carlos*, 268–71.

247 "[C]onsiderando la religión cristiana y la secta mahomética, cayendo en el error della, se bolvió de su boluntad a Orán con intençión de ser instruido y pedir el agua del santo

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In Cartagena, a city strongly oriented toward North Africa, there were conversions among Muslim slaves in general[248] and galley rowers in particular.[249] We know of only a handful of cases but there must have been many more, because most of the slaves baptized in Oran in 1750–1751 were sent to Cartagena.[250] In nearby Murcia conversions were frequent. In the first half of the seventeenth century the Jesuits there tried to convert Muslim slaves and published a "Method to be Followed in the Conversion of Moorish Slaves to our Holy Faith, with some Techniques for Attaining that End" (*Método que se debe guardar en la conversión de los moros Esclavos a nuestra Santa Fe con algunas industrias para lograr este fruto*). While they must have met with some success, a few converts returned to Islam: between 1611 and 1632 fifty-eight persons (of whom twenty-seven had come from Oran) were pursued by the local Inquisition tribunal, meaning (with few exceptions) that they had once been baptized. Later on, in 1690, a survey identified forty-four Muslims (twenty-three slaves and twenty-one freedmen), who probably included several baptized Christians.[251]

Of the cities in the interior we know most about Madrid and Granada, in both of which conversion might be forced or voluntary. Many Muslims came to Madrid from Africa in the very years of the expulsion of the Moriscos: large groups in 1609 and 1610, resulting in one hundred fifty and sixty conversions respectively. In later years the number of baptisms seems to have declined in spite of the Jesuits' efforts. In 1669 no more than forty people ever attended one of their sermons, even though they preached in capacious spaces, and Muslims viewed them with suspicion. They performed ten baptisms in 1670[252] and only 184 (of North Africans and Turks) between 1650 and 1700.[253]

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baptismo. … [tras un periodo de tiempo] se embarcó y bino a la dicha Malaga, donde fue baptizado christiano y que como tal quiere vivir y morir mediante la graçia del spiritu sancto": Tarruell, "Circulations," 220.

248 A woman named Aysa had five children baptized between 1681 and 1692. Three children of Fatima, a North African slave, were baptized in 1692, 1694, and 1695: Sánchez Torres, "La esclavitud en la Cartagena."

249 In 1679 the Jesuits sent a mission to Cartagena that spent nine days attempting to convert Muslims, with three of those days devoted to galley slaves: Vincent, "Musulmanes y conversión," 83.

250 The greater part of the 488 slaves sent to the Peninsula: Fe Cantó, "La grande famine."

251 The author of the *Método que se debe guardar en la conversión* was Juan de Almarza. Of the forty-four Muslims listed in 1690 thirty-four were natives of North Africa and eight had been born in Murcia: Vincent, "Musulmanes y conversión," 78–79, 83–85.

252 On that occasion they organized a procession from the Jesuit house to the Imperial College in which several grandees of Spain, who were acting as godfathers, took part. In the same year, in a perhaps related incident, a Tunisian convert addressed his former coreligionists in Arabic. During such ceremonies the populace, including the nobility, would press around so closely that the new converts could scarcely move: Vincent, "Musulmanes y conversión," 78, 83–85.

253 Larquié, "Les esclaves," 60.

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For Granada information for the sixteenth century is scarce[254] in comparison to what we know of the seventeenth. In the 1600s at least 640 acts involving Muslims are noted in parish records. Of these 256 were baptisms, usually of the children of North Africans, 125 were burials, and 177 individuals are named in marriage records. We cannot simply add up these figures, since a single person might have participated in two or even three of the ceremonies.[255] A few anecdotes suggests that baptisms were an important factor.[256] In 1607 a group of North Africans arrived in Almuñécar, and forty of them (plus an unknown number of their wives and children) were baptized a few months later by the archbishop of Granada:

> On 19 March of this year many Moorish men and women came to the city of Granada from Barbary with their children, having disembarked in the city of Almuñécar, coming to turn Christian and by order of His Majesty, who commanded that they be welcomed in the city of Granada and live in it. They received the faith, and to accomplish it the most illustrious Señor Don Pedro de Castro y Quiñones, Archbishop of Granada, gave them the water of holy baptism in the collegiate church of the Sacromonte with much solemnity and rejoicing. The number of the converted was more than forty, with their wives and children; the archbishop, as a pious prince, ordered them all to wear Spanish clothes, and even gave cloaks to the women, and likewise other charitable citizens gave them bedding and other items. And as for those who were married in the sect of Mohammed, they married them anew as is required by our Holy Mother Catholic Roman Church.[257]

254 Very few cases are cited in Martín Casares, *La esclavitud*, 426–28.

255 Sánchez-Montes González, *La población granadina*, 129, 209–13.

256 María, a North African slave, was accused of Islamic practices by the Inquisition in 1619: Martín Casares, *La esclavitud*, 427–28. A Muslim who had been baptized in the Alhambra in June 1652 was murdered six months later by his former coreligionists: Vincent, "Musulmanes y conversión," 78–80.

257 "En diez y nuebe días del mes de marzo deste año vineron a la ciudad de Granada muchos moros y moras de Berberia con sus criaturas, los quales desembarcaron en la ciudad de Almuñecar, viniendo a volverse cristianos y por mandado de su magestad, que mandó que se les diese coximiento en la ciudad de Granada y que abitasen en ella; recibieron la fee y para su cumplimiento el ilustrísimo señor don Pedro de Castro y Quiñones, arzobispo de Granada, les dio el agua del santo bautismo en la iglesia colegial del santo Monte ilipulitano, con mucha solemnidad y fiesta. Fue el numero de los combertidos mas de quarenta con mujeres y niños, a todos los quales el señor arçobispo como tan piadoso príncipe, los mandó vestir a la española, dándole hasta mantos a las mugeres y ansi mesmo otras personas particulares y caritativas les dieron cobertores y otras cosas y a lo que eran casados en su secta Mahoma los desposaron de nuevo como lo mandó la santa madre iglesia católica romana": Henríquez de Jorquera, *Anales de Granada* 2:533. Cited also in Vincent, "Les Jésuities et l'Islam."

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Once again for the following century we have few data about converts. Between 1727 and 1730 we can identify a coherent Muslim or crypto-Muslim community of 226 members from about fifty families, but they were essentially of Morisco origin. Though they were well integrated into the population the Inquisition of Granada condemned them for "Mohammedanism."[258]

In Barcelona the Jesuits also had conversion campaigns throughout the seventeenth century, directed chiefly at galley slaves: these were carried out in 1676, 1679, 1680, 1682, and 1683. Four Turks and three North Africans were baptized in the cathedral in July 1680.[259] We know little about the eighteenth century, but one Mustafa Azen was baptized in 1723.[260]

We have information on many other towns and regions: in Andalusia Seville,[261] Córdoba,[262] Jaén,[263] Huelva, Palos, and Moguer;[264] in Extremadura

258 Vincent, "Musulmanes y conversión," 77.

259 The Jesuit leader there, Francisco Poch, preached 104 sermons between February and May 1680. In one session, in which in a dramatic gesture he held up a dead man's skull, he persuaded five galley slaves to convert. He organized processions in which galley slaves and musicians from the galleys took part, singing litanies and carrying torches, while volleys of cannon were fired from the ships: Vincent, "Musulmanes y conversión," 80–86, and "Les Jésuites et l'Islam."

260 See the *Relación verdadera* of 1723. In 1762 a North African who had been captured off Barcelona and was serving out his quarantine in the lazzaretto expressed a desire to convert, and a priest who served there, Pasqual Massach, reported the presence of a "Moor who wishes to turn Christian": IMHB, Fons de Sanitat, Serie I, vol. 11, fol. 97, 19 June 1762.

261 In 1672 the Jesuits managed to convert forty-four people there who were baptized in the cathedral: Vázquez Ruiz, "Una aproximación," 220, and "*Ad conversionem*"; Domínguez Ortiz, "La esclavitud," 395. In 1679 they took over the Lonja in Seville as a space for proselytizing Muslims: Vincent, "Musulmanes y conversión," 84.

262 In 1593 a Moor was baptized: "he was first very well instructed, and he received holy baptism with great joy." In 1597 the baptized were Diego, Juan, and Diego, "Moors from Oran sent by the Count of Alcaudete." María, also from Oran, received baptism in 1598: Aranda Doncel, "La esclavitud en Córdoba," 154, 165. For Lucena see Aranda Doncel, "La esclavitud en Lucena."

263 Of 285 slaves sold in Jaén all were baptized except an eight-year-old North African boy named Embarca. About fifty of them were probably Muslims: Aranda Doncel, "Los esclavos en Jaén," 236–39. In 1677 it was Juan Francisco, "a boy of about four years, an infidel Moor by nation, son of an enslaved infidel Moorish woman." In 1685 Fatima was given the name María de Santa Rosa on baptism: "a five-year-old girl of the nation of Barbary, who said that her father was called Hamete and her mother Maimona." The source states explicitly that her mother consented to the ceremony: López Molina, *Una década*, 124–26.

264 In 1562 a North African was captured in the area of Tinto-Odiel; he alleged having arrived voluntarily by ship in order to become a Christian. He was eventually baptized in Moguer. In the same town in 1695 Catalina de Mesa, "of the Turkish nation," was manumitted without payment because she was going to marry a free man: "of her own will she was baptized and turned to Christianity and joined our holy Catholic faith": Izquierdo Labrado, *La esclavitud*, 1:290, 2:92.

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Badajoz,[265] Llerena,[266] Fregenal de la Sierra, and Montijo.[267] We have further information on baptisms in Valladolid,[268] Navarre,[269] the Canary Islands,[270] Majorca,[271] and a few other scattered places.[272]

265 Baptisms in Badajoz included those of "Jerónimo and Hernando, Turkish slaves," in January 1552; Bartolomé, son of a Morisca named María, on 21 August 1573; María, daughter of Isabel, a Morisca, on 19 September 1574; Francisca Juana, daughter of Moorish slaves, on 20 September 1581; María, "a Moorish woman, newly converted to our holy Catholic faith," in 1587; in the same year Catalina, daughter of María, a "dark" Moorish slave woman. Three-year-old Antonio and six-year-old María, enslaved "Moors by nation," were baptized on 25 March 1605; Mariana, "of the Barbary nation," on 15 March 1614; María de Gracia, an "adult Arab slave," in March 1666; Francisca, daughter of enslaved Moors, on 20 September 1681; María de la Cruz, "of the Turkish nation," on 3 May 1698: Cortés Cortés, *La esclavitud,* 51–52, 101–02, and "Aproximación a la esclavitud."

266 Two Turks from Timisoara were baptized in 1696, taking the names Juan Miguel and María de la Granada: Periáñez Gómez, *Negros, mulatos*, 85.

267 In Montijo the convert was Juan, "who was a Moor by birth and turned to our holy Catholic faith of his own will" on 25 May 1638. In Fregenal de la Sierra the local priest, Alonso Calvo Romero, owned five slaves; one of them was Juan de la Cruz, "an African whom they brought from Oran at my expense and is baptized" in 1649: Cortés Cortés, *La esclavitud*, 51–52, 101–02.

268 The baptized included María de la Concepción from Tunis, the Turks Francisco de Rojas and Casarrami, and Pedro Moreno from Bougie: Fernández Martín, *Comediantes, esclavos*, 145–49.

269 Juan Bautista de Cardona was captured at the battle of Lepanto and kept in slavery until 1595, when he was freed. Four years later he returned to the Iberian Peninsula and was baptized, later serving as a foot-soldier in Navarre until at least 1609 and in the Armada of the Ocean Sea: Tarruell, "Circulations," 210. Miguel Joseph de Austria and Jacinto de Austria were baptized in 1703 and 1707 respectively in the church of San Miguel in Larraga (Navarre): Alonso Acero, *Sultanes*, 162.

270 For the sixteenth century see Lobo Cabrera, "Rescates canarios." In 1765 two North African women were baptized in Las Palmas de Gran Canaria: Marrero, "Solemne bautizo de dos moras."

271 Muslims who had been baptized and met problems with the Inquisition were Margarita (1607), María or Fatima (1610), Francisco de la Cruz, a North African (1614), Miguel Tur, a North African (1614), Guillermo, a North African (1614), Jerónimo, a Turk (1617), María, of Moorish heritage (1623), Isabel Pastor and Jerónimo Pastor, both from Barbary (1629), Juan Bautista from Oran (1686), and Juan José Cayetano, a North African (1788). Many Moriscos faced the same fate: Vaquer Bennassar, *Captius i renegats*, 127–251. Between 1579 and 1689 thirty "Moors" were tried by the Inquisition: González-Raymond, *La croix et le croissant*, 282.

272 Diego López de Franca, a Moroccan from Tetouan, converted to Catholicism in 1600. In 1604 the Council of War granted fifty ducats to a convert of Ottoman origin who was in Sicily: Tarruell, "Circulations," 66, 153. Between 1685 and 1687 the list of galley slaves in Toulon notes the arrival of a forty-two-year-old black Moroccan who had converted in Spain: Boyer, "La chiourme," 73.

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Even such distant cities as Palencia received North Africans for baptism. The abbot of Husillos, at some time before 1597, welcomed several who came to him either willingly or by order of the king:

> Even infidels from Barbary were well received and lodged in this house; the King sent many for him to catechize and baptize; others came of their own will, drawn by word of this generosity. He took them all in with great pleasure and some remained in the house after their baptism, with a salary and maintenance for the rest of their lives.[273]

Those Muslims may have been members of the retinues of rulers exiled to Spain, since as we saw above the authorities tried to distance them from North Africa by sending them north to Navarre, Old Castile, and Galicia.

The number of converts seems to have been considerable. Although it is difficult to present data from all the cases mentioned above, we can offer some of the most notable ones as proof that the issue deserves exhaustive monographic treatment:

TABLE 3 Converted Muslims

City/Region	Date	Muslims baptized
Oran	1563–1569	3,300
Jaén	Sixteenth century	285
Málaga	1581	135
Córdoba	1593–1598	6
Granada	Sixteenth-seventeenth centuries	296
Extremadura	Sixteenth-seventeenth centuries	16
Madrid	1609–1700	394
Murcia	1611–1632	58
Seville	1672	44
Barcelona	1680	7
Cartagena	1679–1695	11
Cádiz	1600–1799	1,920

273 "Hasta con infieles venidos de Berberia fueron en esta casa muy bien recibidos y hospedados; muchos le envió el Rey para que los catequizase y bautizase; otros vinieron de su voluntad, que los traía la fama de esta liberalidad; a todos los acogía con mucho gusto, y algunos después de bautizados, perseveraron en casa, dándoles salario y ración para toda

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TABLE 3 Converted Muslims (*cont.*)

City/Region	Date	Muslims baptized
Oran	1750–1753	184
Málaga	1750–1753	9
Majorca	Sixteenth-eighteenth centuries	30
TOTAL		6,695

THE SOURCES ARE THOSE CITED THROUGHOUT THIS SECTION

The total should be considered a mere starting point, since it does not even include all the numbers cited in this section. I believe that the phenomenon has much greater significance than has been accorded it before now. It is clear that many converts took the step as a way of entering the Iberian Peninsula, and many others as a way of avoiding a future in slavery.[274] A separate issue is the extent to which baptism integrated these neophytes fully into the Catholic Church, or how many of them returned to their former faith. We have seen how a number were sincere enough to have requested interment in churches and monasteries. We should bear in mind that with the exception of a few prominent figures, most baptized Muslims who lived quietly in their new religion produced few documents and are hard to identify.

A good number, in contrast, chose to return to Islam. Hundreds of baptized Muslims were tried by the Inquisition, most of them Moriscos but North Africans and Turks as well. In Majorca thirty "Moors" were tried between 1579 and 1689;[275] in Murcia from 1611 to 1632 fifty-eight met the same fate, including twenty-seven natives of Oran;[276] and there were similar cases in Granada,[277] Extremadura,[278] and Catalonia.[279]

la vida": Alfaro, *Vida ejemplar*, chap. 28. In the mid-sixteenth century Juan from Alexandria was baptized in Palencia, and in 1591 Antonio from Fez: Bennassar, *L'homme espagnol*, 90.

274 There are many documented cases about which we know few details. Diego López de Franca from Tetouan converted in 1600. In 1604 the Council of War granted fifty ducats to a converted Ottoman Turk who was living in Sicily: Tarruell, "Circulations," 23, 153.

275 González-Raymond, *La croix et le croissant*, 282; Vaquer Bennassar, *Captius i renegats*, 238–51.

276 Vincent, "Musulmanes y conversión," 78.

277 These were Moriscos and North Africans who mocked Christian symbols and performed Muslim rites: Martín Casares, *La esclavitud*, 427–28.

278 Three Moors were tried by the Inquisition in Guadalcanal, Llerena, and Cáceres: Periáñez Gómez, *Negros, mulatos*, 368–69.

279 Blázquez Miguel, *La Inquisición en Cataluña*, 148–50, 346.

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We have mentioned that some Muslims, both slaves and freedmen, resisted conversion strongly in the face of pressure by certain sectors of the Church and the religious orders, particularly the Jesuits. These efforts seem to have been most intense in the second half of the seventeenth century, a period when Muslims were arriving on the coasts of the Peninsula in large numbers. The following examples will illustrate this trend.

In the Murcia/Cartagena region around 1667 Muslims used to gather in the chapel of the monastery of San Ginés, a house of cloistered Franciscans, in La Jara, about fifteen kilometers from Cartagena. During three feast days around 25 August in honor of the local saint (whom they considered a descendant of Mohammed) as many as four hundred came together, according to the father superior.[280] Muslims from Málaga used to honor Mohammed in a ruined castle about five kilometers outside the city.[281] In Vélez-Málaga in 1669 the Jesuits tried to convert a Muslim leader who mounted a vigorous opposition, and in the same year in Marbella a Quranic expert said to have been educated in Fez managed to keep any Muslims from converting.[282]

Resistance to baptism was also reflected in the poor attendance at Jesuit missions in Madrid in 1669, as we saw above.[283] Sometimes the resistance turned violent: in Granada a Turk who had been baptized in the Alhambra in 1652 was murdered six months later,[284] and in Barcelona a galley slave stabbed a Jesuit who was trying to convert him.[285]

In short, Muslims converted to Christianity in larger numbers than has previously been thought even though there was considerable resistance to baptism. The entire subject, however, is an area for further research.

4.5 (Limited) Freedom of Worship for Muslims

As we explained in the Introduction, members of other religions had a certain latitude in maintaining their practices, although they could do so in only limited social spaces.[286] For this reason the phenomenon has often been overlooked, while attention has been focused on the Inquisition and its persecution

280 In 1641 Barbary corsairs landed there and sacked the monastery: Vincent, "Musulmanes y conversión," 81.
281 Vincent, "Musulmanes y conversión," 81.
282 Vincent, "Musulmanes," 84.
283 Vincent, "Musulmanes," 84.
284 Vincent, "Musulmanes," 77.
285 Vincent, "Les Jésuites," 529.
286 Amelang, *Historias paralelas*, 37.

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of crypto-Jews, crypto-Muslims, and heretics. Treaties signed with countries of different religions created a narrow opening of liberty for Protestants, members of reformed sects, and Muslims, at least to a slight extent. The presence on Spanish soil of Protestants and Muslims, especially when they died and were buried there, favored slightly more permissiveness in religious practice or at least a willingness to look the other way.

For Muslims in particular, free or enslaved, local authorities had to accept certain religious observances – usually private ones, though some venues were semipublic, as we shall see later on. In Castile, Aragon, and Navarre the Muslims were descended from the Mudejars who had decided to remain under Christian rule and were once allowed free practice of their religion, however limited.[287] After 1492 the Muslims of Granada found themselves in the same situation, but little by little this privilege was eroded until those of Granada and Castile in 1502, those of Navarre in 1515–1516, and those of Aragon in 1526 were forced into baptism.

From that point onward, in theory, unconverted Muslims could not live in the Catholic Monarchy's domains. Still, we have seen how ambassadors, envoys, tradesmen, exiles, and others frequented Spanish cities and ports freely, thanks to treaties that their rulers had signed with Spain – a situation that continued until 1574, when Tunis fell under Ottoman rule. After that date many Muslims still arrived in Spain, while the large number of enslaved Muslims required a certain tolerance of their religious practices; without it, Christian slaves and captives in North Africa would have been forbidden their own religious rites, as we saw in Chapter 2. It was pure pragmatism that dictated acceptance of Muslim rituals. The two shores of the Mediterranean therefore shared a degree of tolerance, though it was much more limited in Europe than in Muslim lands.

Unfortunately we have almost no information about even this limited practice of Islam in Spain during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. By the end of the latter period, however, information about semipublic manifestations of Islam begins to appear. We recall how in 1690, when the Moroccan ambassador Muhammad b. Abd al-Wahhab al-Gassani arrived in Spain, Muslim men, women, and children acclaimed him in Cádiz, Córdoba, and Madrid in a public show of their faith.[288] The phenomenon was most notable in Cartagena, a strategic port where a large number of Muslim slaves resided and practiced their religion with the limitations we have mentioned above.

One might think that the spontaneous demonstrations of faith that Muslims offered to al-Gassani were unique, and tolerated only because he was an

287 Echevarría Arsuaga, *La minoría islámica*.

288 García Mercadal, *Viajes de extranjeros*, 286–87, 292–93, 303; al-Gassani, *El viaje del Visir*, 111, 21, 42.

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important ambassador; but in fact there was a building in Cartagena that was used as a mosque at least from the late 1600s. In 1695 the city's Inquisition tribunal received a letter from the "king of Algiers," who had been deeply offended by attacks on that mosque, an edifice purchased by Muslims "where they receive their sick and perform their ceremonies and prayers and bury their dead." A lamp had been broken and several tapestries burned, while worshippers were forbidden to enter the building. The Dey of Algiers threatened to retaliate against Christian slaves in his Regency by closing the hospital and church that served them.[289]

It is likely that the place of Muslim worship remained open, though it was moved later on. When construction began on Cartagena's shipyard in 1733 a larger number of slave laborers was needed for that project and for extending and improving the port and the city's fortifications. In that same year Fatma, a Muslim resident of the city, bought from Juana Navarrete a house in Santa Lucía, to the southeast of the so-called "Castle of the Moors"; it was purchased with money collected from galley slaves and served as a rest-house and hospital for them. By 1755 it was described as a mosque and hospital. It held one room lit by a lamp, with rush matting on the walls and floor; a chest held the shroud in which cadavers were wrapped and the coffin in which they were conveyed to the cemetery. In a second room a cistern provided water for the ritual washing of corpses. Both free Muslims and slaves contributed to its upkeep through a fee of four *maravedís* per month. Its caretaker lived in the building and acted as a muezzin, issuing the call to prayer from a window; the faithful entered after removing their shoes, and prayed "raising their voices aloud all together."[290]

In the same year, 1755, Christian residents of the Calle Gimero below the Castle of the Moors asked Cartagena's town council to move the "hospital of the Moorish slaves" elsewhere. It is not clear if they wanted it closed completely, but a priest named Diego de la Encina led a mob that again destroyed the religious objects it contained.[291]

The mosque continued to function in spite of the attack. Its maintenance must have been a significant burden to the faithful: in 1765 the slaves asked the marine supply office to return the clothing of deceased Muslims so that they could sell it, using the profits to cover the costs of the mosque and the burials. That official decided to send the petition to the governor of the Council – who at that moment

289 Vincent, "Musulmanes y conversión," 80.

290 The house may have been purchased in 1730, not 1733; but eventually the one bought in those years was exchanged for another owned by Pedro Sánchez Corbalán, at the end of the Calle del Ángel: Barrio Gozalo, *Esclavos y cautivos*, 154–55.

291 Martínez Rizo, *Fechas y fechos*, 1:24–25, 250.

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was the bishop of Cartagena – informing him of the rites that were performed in the mosque, which in his opinion constituted a public scandal. The governor replied that he was aware of the mosque's existence but had taken no measures for fear of reprisals against Christian churches in North Africa. It is clear, in any event, that Christian neighbors complained.[292]

Muslim worship, whether public or semipublic, was a reality, and must have become more evident when the Moroccan ambassador Sidi Ahmed al-Gazzal arrived in Cartagena in 1766 with the aim of ransoming Muslim slaves. His memoir illustrates what we have been describing:

> As we drew near the city and were only a short distance away a group of Muslim men, women, and children came out to meet us in great excitement, repeating the word "Salvation!" and saying, "May God assist the son of my Lord, the Prophet of God, my Lord Muhammad ibn Abdallah!". We greeted and welcomed them and took an interest in their situation.They were people who had been freed but might as well have been still captive, for they could not leave the country, except those who were authorized by the Christians, if they were not in the king's service. … We managed to calm them and promised them help from our ruler (may God aid him!), and we told them that they would attain what they asked, and that we would take them to the land of Islam if God wished it so.[293]

The Treaty of Peace, Friendship, and Commerce that Spain and Morocco signed in 1767 doubtless increased the degree of tolerance toward Muslim practices, but it makes no mention of religious freedom for Moroccans even in the private sphere. Since Spaniards in Morocco enjoyed total religious liberty, however, reciprocity was implicit in the treaty. In 1799 the two nations signed another Treaty of Peace, whose Article 12 read as follows: "Likewise Moroccans living in Spain may practice in private the acts proper to their religion, as they

292 Barrio Gozalo, *Esclavos y cautivos*, 154–55.

293 "Cuando nos acercábamos a esa ciudad, de la que sólo nos separaba una distancia, salió a nuestro encuentro un grupo de musumanes – hombres, mujeres y niños – que con gran alboroto proclamaban la palabra "salvación" para después seguir diciendo – ¡Que Dios ayude al hijo de mi señor, el Profeta de Dios, mi señor Muhammad ibn Abdallah! --. Los saludamos y les dimos la bienvenida interesándonos por su situación. Eran personas liberadas, pero su régimen era el del cautivo pues no podían salir del país, salvo aquellos a los que los cristianos se lo autorizaban y no estaban al servicio del rey. … Procuramos calmarles, les prometimos ayuda por parte de nuestro señor – ¡Que Dios le ayude! – y les anunciamos que conseguirían aquello que pedían y que los llevaríamos a la tierra del Islam si Dios así lo deseaba": Paradela Alonso, *El otro laberinto*, 67.

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have done up to now." A comparison of the Spanish and Arabic texts of the treaty would establish if there are differences between them, but the Moroccans' obvious intent was to demand for their coreligionists in Spain the same freedom that Spaniards enjoyed in Morocco.[294] Ever since the Middle Ages Muslims had been more tolerant than Christians in these matters.

Public manifestations of Islam produced reactions against it. In 1769 the Council of the Inquisition told the monarch that such a situation could not be permitted in Spain, "which, being proud of the purity and unity of its religion above all things, now contains a space for this abomination." It accused the Council's governor of cowardice and insisted that the laws of 1502 and 1712 be applied, expelling free Muslims and closing mosques. In April 1770 the king accepted the petition and issued a royal decree:

> The Council of the Inquisition having shown the king the grave harms that arise from the presence in these kingdoms of free Moors or *cortados*, in violation of several laws and proclamations that order them not to reside in them, and from the presence of a mosque in Cartagena … Because what the Council of the Inquisition requests in its petition is founded in royal laws and in accord with His Majesty's Catholicism, he has resolved that the aforesaid Mosque of Cartagena be extinguished and destroyed entirely, and that all the *cortados* or free Moors who live in that city or in any other part of these dominons be expelled.[295]

The Cartagena mosque was demolished in 1770 with the excuse of strengthening the fortifications in that part of the city. Measures were taken to ensure that slaves did not inform Maghrebi authorities, which might result in reprisals against Christians in Algiers and Tunis in the form of closing or razing their churches. The value of the building was assessed at 6,223 *reales de vellón*, a sum meant to be given to the slaves; but they refused it, insisting that another mosque be built equal to the first. As a concession they were ceded a space in the hospital where they could perform their funeral rites: "A hidden

294 Cantillo, *Tratados*, 685–91, quotation at 687.

295 "El Consejo de Inquisición ha hecho presente al Rey los graves prejuicios que se originan de existir en estos reinos los moros cortados o libres, contra varias leyes y pragmáticas que mandan que no se los permita residir en ellos, y la de existir en Cartagena una Mezquita… Siendo lo que pide el Consejo de Inquisicion en su consulta tan fundado en leyes reales, como conforme al catolicismo de S.M. ha resuelto se extinga y destruya enteramente la referida Mezquita de Cartagena y se ejecute la expulsión de todos los moros cortados o libres que existan en aquella ciudad o en cualquier otra parte de estos dominios": Barrio Gozalo, *Esclavos y cautivos*, 155.

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place and very well suited for no one to impede them." The Muslims continued to complain, alleging that "they have no place to revere and wash their dead, that they give them no land [for burials], and that they throw them [the dead] into the sea." The military governor of Cartagena, Carlos Reggio, rejected their complaints in view of the space they had been given in the hospital. Again the Muslims retorted that the place was very small and open to the sky, and in addition was right next to the ward where patients in the last stages of syphilis were treated.[296]

In 1774 the director of the Christian hospital in Algiers informed the president of the Council that the laments of Cartagena's slaves had reached the ears of his Dey, who threatened to destroy the Christians' hospital and church and punish both slaves and priests unless another mosque was built for the Muslims of Cartagena. Spain took the threat seriously: just a few weeks later the king, with the Inquisitor General's approval, approved a new building meant for funerals, but "forbidding in it those abominable rites and ceremonies with which they created a scandal before, causing grave harm." The muezzin could not call to prayer and could enter the building only when a Muslim had died. Moreover it was not to be called a mosque, and that term could not appear in any document. The new edifice was built in the Santa Lucía neighborhood near the Muslim burying-ground at El Cabezo de los Moros. Construction began in May 1774 and cost 7,362 reales de vellón (including the 6,223 from the razing of the previous building four years earlier), and resulted in a structure "without windows to the outside, only into a courtyard" and without access to the roof. The slaves accepted the new conditions and raised no more complaints.[297]

We should note here that Spanish authorities allowed Muslims who testified in legal matters to swear "in accordance with their sect." This practice is documented in Valencia in the sixteenth century: Amet signed in Ottoman script while another slave "swore facing the *qibla*, by Mohammed."[298]

In concluding this section we will mention briefly the burial places and rites devoted to dead Muslims, whether free or enslaved. It has been believed that no special areas were set aside for burials of members of other religions or non-Catholic Christian sects (the first official non-Catholic cemetery in Spain was opened in Málaga in 1831). But Muslims and Protestants who died in Spain had to be buried – though along the coasts it was not uncommon to toss their corpses into the sea.

296 Barrio Gozalo, *Esclavos y cautivos*, 155–56, 181–82.

297 Barrio Gozalo, *Esclavos y cautivos*, 181–82; Martinez Rizo, *Fechas y fechos*, 1:220.

298 Pomara Saverino, "Esclavos, identificación," 235.

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Nonetheless pragmatism played a role here too, based on maintaining reciprocity between different sovereigns and countries. Muslims were permitted burials in their own cemeteries at least until 1526, when those of Aragon were forcibly converted; at that point their cemeteries were confiscated and closed, though the history of the process requires further study. Muslim corsairs who died fighting on land or near the coast, or drowned, were buried on beaches, but there was still no solution for slaves or free Muslims who were either passing through Spanish domains or residing there. We have no data for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but in the eighteenth, as we saw in the previous section, there was an area set apart for the purpose in Cartagena. Like the mosque, it was acquired with donations from slaves working on the shipyard and was located in El Cabezo de los Moros, not far from the mosque.[299]

Burials sometimes gave rise to incidents, of which we will mention some here though we have no sense of their frequency. In 1761 five slaves who had tried to escape complained to the Dey of Algiers: the plot they used as a cemetery had been taken from them and they were forced to bury their dead in corrals, as if they were horses – besides, people would throw stones at them during their funerals. When Algiers protested and the Secretary of the Navy ordered the supplier of Cartagena to investigate, he returned a declaration by twenty-five North Africans and Turks that denied the story. One of them, a corsair from Algiers named Omar, explained that although part of their previous plot had been taken away they had been compensated with a better one. He did acknowledge, however, that a boy had once thrown a stone at a funeral procession.

Attacks on funerals must have been fairly common, because in 1761 a sheriff and six soldiers were detailed to keep boys from Santa Lucía from mocking Muslims and throwing stones at them. When new complaints arose in 1770 the military governor, Carlos Reggio, admitted that there had been abuses but claimed they had ceased after the mosque was moved. According to him, burials proceeded normally in El Cabezo de los Moros:

> They do not suffer the mockery from boys that they used to be exposed to, when as they were bringing the corpse into town many [boys] would gather and follow them out of mere curiosity; that has later been avoided by placing the hospital outside the city walls and carrying the corpses

299 Barrio Gozalo, *Esclavos y cautivos*, 181–82.

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> from it to El Cabezo, where no one notices because [it has become] a long-established custom.[300]

This topic, on which more research is also needed, does not end here: as we shall see in Chapter 8, complaints by Moroccans would again cause deep concern to Spanish rulers.

4.6 Diplomacy with the Maghreb in Castilian Spanish

The flow of peoples between the Maghreb and Spain favored a great increase in the number of North Africans who were fluent in Spanish, including some who could write it as well. First there were the Muslims who, already knowing the language to some degree, chose to move to North Africa when their regions were taken in the Christian Reconquest. Sephardic Jews who settled in the Maghreb after their own expulsion also retained their Spanish language,[301] as did the expelled Moriscos who went to Morocco and Tunis.[302] Then there were the Maghrebis who learned Spanish while living in Spain for long periods as slaves, merchants, and adventurers. Renegades, who were especially numerous in the Regencies and Morocco, and the smaller number of Spanish Christian slaves contributed to the use of Spanish in many areas of daily life: at North African courts, at sea in general, and in corsair warfare in particular.[303]

Some of those who left Spain for the various reasons described above placed their talents at the service of the sultans of Morocco. Many were Jews who decided to settle in Morocco and other North African lands after their expulsion in 1492. Those who had been scribes or officials at the Spanish court and had relevant experience and skills in administration, accounting, and commercial and diplomatic relations offered them in their new home; this was

300 "Sin sufrir las burlas de los muchachos a que antes estaban más expuestos, porque trayendo el cadáver a la población se juntaban muchos y los seguían, aunque fuese solo por curiosidad, lo que se ha evitado después por la situación del hospital extramuros de la ciudad, conduciendo los cadáveres desde él al expresado cabezo, en que ya nadie repara por la envejecida costumbre": Barrio Gozalo, *Esclavos*, 157, 178–82.

301 There is much attention to this issue in García-Arenal, *Entre Islam y Occidente*; Fierro, *Judíos en tierras de Islam*, vol. 1; Alcalá, *Judíos, sefardíes*.

302 Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, "Éxodo"; Epalza, *El español hablado en Túnez*; Epalza and Petit, *Recueil d'études sur les moriscos*; Oliver Asín, "Un morisco de Túnez."

303 Maziane, "Le castillan, langue de la marine."

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> one of the factors that made of Spanish in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the required language for diplomatic communication with this country [Morocco]. This practice is reinforced by the presence of a large number of captives, merchants, and somewhat later, Moriscos.[304]

Spanish was therefore in use at the Moroccan court and in the governments of several cities such as Tetouan and Rabat; at least, there were persons who were fluent and could be called on to compose letters in that language.[305] We have abundant documentary evidence of the role that Spanish played in diplomatic relations between Europe and the Maghreb, particularly Morocco, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

A correspondence was established between the Moroccan chancellery and the Duke of Medina Sidonia, who from his seat in Sanlúcar de Barrameda was responsible for communication with Morocco from the mid-1500s well into the following century. Interpreters at the Moroccan court wrote many letters directly in Spanish, after which the sultan simply appended his signature. Sometimes a letter written in Arabic would arrive together with its translation into Spanish. In 1605 the Duke of Medina Sidonia informed King Philip III:

> Alonso Marín has just arrived from Morocco by way of Safy, in an English ship of the line … and through him the Sharif Muley Biferes replies to the original letter that accompanies this one, and there was a translation along with it, which is something new among these Sharifs in the correspondence I have had with them.[306]

Moriscos who had captured the fortress of Rabat, and who corresponded with Spanish authorities about the possibility of exchanging it for their right to return to Spanish soil, wrote some of their letters in Spanish.[307]

304 "…[U]no de los factores que hacen que el castellano se convirtiera durante los siglos XVI y XVII en la lengua obligada para la comunicación diplomática con este país. Este uso viene reforzado por la existencia de un gran número de cautivos, de mercaderes, y algo más tarde, de moriscos": García-Arenal *et al.*, *Cartas marruecas*, 9–10, 19–20.

305 A large proportion of the letters sent from Morocco in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and held in the Archivo General de Simancas were written in Spanish, with one or two additional lines of certification and validation in Arabic: García-Arenal *et al.*, *Cartas*, 9–10.

306 "Acava de llegar Alonso Marin de Marruecos por la vía de Safy en un navío inglés … y con él me responde el xerife Muley Biferes la carta original ques con ésta y dentro della benia traducida, cossa nueva y no usada entre estos xerifes por la correspondencia que yo he tenido con ellos": García-Arenal *et al.*, *Cartas*, 17.

307 García-Arenal *et al.*, *Cartas*, 142–46; Colin, "Projet de traité."

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In Morocco's diplomatic relations with France, England, and the United Provinces of the Netherlands the practice of writing in Spanish was not unknown. In correspondence between the French King Louis XIII and the fortress of Salé there are several letters in that language.[308] The same happened in Anglo-Moroccan relations. In 1621 the governor of Tetouan wrote in Spanish to Walter Aston, who had been ambassador to Spain: "Juan Duppa, an English gentleman, has arrived here to negotiate the ransom of Andalusians captured by the fleet of the king of Great Britain; and by order of his general he can perform only an exchange of one man for one man."[309] The treaty signed by Great Britain and Morocco in 1638 was translated into Spanish.[310] The Dutch received several letters in that language from the governors of Rabat, including one to the Prince of Orange in 1629 and one to the Estates General in 1635.[311]

Up to a late date there were comments on the extent to which Spanish was used in Morocco. In 1683 Germain Mouëtte, who was a captive there for eleven years, wrote that "The Moors [i.e., Moriscos], on moving there [to Morocco], took the Spanish language which still today is as common as Arabic."[312]

Among corsairs, many ships' captains and crew members either spoke Spanish fluently or understood it readily. Marie Ter Meteleen spent twelve years in captivity in Morocco after the ship in which she was sailing was captured in 1731: the corsairs had "immediately sent their captain aboard, and I welcomed him with a grand compliment in Spanish that he understood well, as did a few of his men."[313]

There is no doubt that Spanish was common in the seafaring environment in general and among corsairs in particular. In around 1781 the Danish consul, Georges Höst, noted how many Spanish words there were in sailors' vocabulary. Almost a century and a half later, in 1920, a study of terms related to the sea in Rabat-Salé concluded that sixty percent were Arabic and thirty percent Spanish, with the remaining ten percent distributed among Italian, French, Turkish, and Berber (Amazigh).[314]

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308 Maziane, "Le castillan," 204–05.

309 *Sources inédites de l'Histoire du Maroc*, Series 1, Angleterre, vol. 2, 21 December 1621; vol. 3, March 1626–1660, 16–20. See Maziane, "Le castillan," 205.

310 García-Arenal *et al.*, *Cartas*, 45.

311 Maziane, "Le castillan," 205–06.

312 "Les Maures en s'y retirant, y portèrent la langue espagnole qui est encore aussi commune aujourd'hui que l'arabe": Maziane, "Le castillan," 206.

313 "[I]nmédiatament ils mirent le capitaine [corsaire] à notre bord, à qui je souhaitai la bienvenue avec un grand compliment en espagnol qu'il savait bien comprendre ainsi que quelques uns de ses hommes": Maziane, "Le castillan," 206–07.

314 Maziane, "Le castillan," 207–08; Levy, "Ports parlers portuaires."

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It is even more important to recall that prominent members of the Moroccan court understood Spanish. One was Muhammad Ibn Utman, the ambassador to Spain in 1780 and 1791–1792. He needed no interpreter in his first interview with the Secretary of State, Floridablanca, "although he prefers not to speak it in public because he thinks he speaks it ill, and perfers the help of interpreters."[315] Nonetheless, before Ibn Utman's first embassy to Spain he requested in Ceuta to be accompanied by the local interpreter; the governor denied him, claiming that " he does not need him because his own makes himself very well understood in Spanish."[316]

Other Moroccans knew at least some Spanish: one was Muhammad al-Dalimi, who traveled to Cádiz in May 1792 as the ambassador from Muley Hisam, who was contesting the throne with his brother Muley al-Yazid. His interpreter on that occasion was Pedro Umbert, the former secretary to Muhammad Ben Abdallah.[317]

When the Polish author Jean Potocki visited Tetouan in July 1791, he found himself at a gathering without his interpreter but in which "several persons present spoke Spanish."[318] The abovementioned secretary Pedro Umbert was a Spanish former slave.[319]

⁂

As we have shown in the preceding pages, a large number of Muslims (ambassadors and envoys, merchants, freedmen baptized or unbaptized, travelers, and adventurers) lived temporarily or permanently on Spanish soil from the sixteenth century to the first half of the eighteenth.

This fact coexists with, and contradicts, the hostility that reigned between the Hispanic Monarchy and Muslim rulers in the Mediterranean and reduced hundreds of thousands of persons to slavery or captivity. Policies of reciprocity, therefore, should be seen as strategic rather than erratic. One proof is the large number of embassies sent from Muslim lands to Spain – not as many as to Venice and France, but more than were sent to other European countries. Even now we do not know just how many reached Spanish dominions. The

315 Rodríguez Casado, *La política*, 289, 304.

316 Domingo de Salzedo, military governor of Ceuta, to Count Floridablanca, Ceuta, 13 November 1779: AHN, Estado, Leg. 5819.

317 Arribas Palau, "Embajadas marroquíes" and "Nuevos datos sobre la embajada."

318 He also reports that in the card game of *tresillo* or ombre, popular throughout Morocco, the vocabulary was Spanish: Potocki, *Viaje al Imperio de Marruecos*, 36, 44.

319 Umbert accompanied Ibn Utman's embassy to the Spanish court: Rodríguez Casado, *La política*, 295–96, 317.

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number of Muslim tradesmen does not seem to have varied much from country to country; Venice seems to have received the most, but Spain and its Italian domains were not far behind.

Spanish society was divided over whether to expel free and enslaved Muslims, either altogether or from coastal areas – as it was in the case of the Moriscos. While some saw them as a threat, for others they were essential to local economies. Everthing suggests that slave owners resisted all efforts to expel such a cheap and abundant source of labor. They also limited the scope of expulsions, since the monarchy was content to send many Muslims, especially freedmen, to cities in the center and north of the Peninsula.

The number of Muslims who were free, freedmen, merchants, and adventurers who chose Spain for many reasons was demonstrably larger than the number who went to more northerly European countries, France included. In no other country did as many Muslims convert to Christianity, whether out of conviction or self-interest – not even in Spain's Italian domains or in Rome, the capital of Christendom. No free Muslims lived in any other European country in such numbers. More North African immigrants, especially Moroccans and Algerians in the terrible years of 1521–1522, 1609–1611, and 1750–1751, went to Spain than to any other country in Europe.[320] The same could be said of travelers and adventurers. Spain was the country that harbored the largest number of Muslims, either for brief periods or for life.

The number of Muslims who were manumitted on Spanish soil was also dominant. While freedmen in Spain were a tiny minority compared to Muslim slaves, who were vastly outnumbered in turn by sub-Saharan Africans, there were many more of them than in other European countries.

In the light of all this it makes little sense to apply the notion of the "forgotten frontier" almost exclusively to the Spanish case. B. Vincent is more accurate in his view of a porous, much-crossed boundary:

> On the one hand [there were] Muslim communities spread all over Spanish territory and tolerated by the authorities; on the other, extreme caution and an unceasing effort to convert their members. These two constellations, far from being contradictory, demonstrate the persistent vigor of the frontier between Islam and Christendom in seventeenth-century

320 B. Vincent has called attention to this phenomenon, noting that the number of Moriscos who either remained in Spain or returned there has overshadowed the migration of North Africans who came to Spain because of economic circumstances at home in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, or in corsair activity. Their arrival helped to bolster the Moriscos' Islamic faith, which had been deteriorating: "Musulmanes y conversión," 78.

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> Spanish consciousness. One always had to count on the presence of Turks and North Africans, powers with which there was daily contact in the Mediterranean, North Africa, and even the interior of the Iberian Peninsula. Many people passed from one world to another in either direction, and if [a country] did not wish to lose its own it had to accept the others. This *modus vivendi* existed while [Spain] hoped for a decisive victory over the most feared enemy of Mediterranean Christendom. There are two ways to triumph: by way of arms or by way of souls.[321]

Though more research is needed, everything indicates that the thousands of Muslims on Spanish soil – like the thousands of Christians in Muslim lands – maintained relations with their countries of origin, helping to weave ties and networks between the two opposing worlds.

All the events described above contributed to the image that each side forged of the other – both "the other" from across the sea and the one who lived in the same city or town. It was a frightening image, born of the accumulated stereotypes of centuries, but in the circumstances we describe the "image" contained elements of nearness and realism; the Muslim Other involved real people and behaviors that were familiar from daily life. That nearness and realism overlapped with the hostility and drive to dominate that ruled both societies, so that the inhabitants of the two Mediterranean shores did not see themselves as so different after all.

In Spain as in the other Western European countries, Muslim ambassadors with their retinues and exotic animals, as well as captured corsair captains, aroused enormous curiosity in society at large. The sentiment was encouraged in part by the authorities themselves, who ordered towns on the ambassadors' itineraries to offer them a warm welcome.

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321 "Por un lado, unas comunidades musulmanas dispersadas por el territorio español y toleradas por la autoridad; por otro, un cuidado extremo, un esfuerzo infatigable para convertir a sus miembros. Lejos de ser contadictorias estas dos constelaciones traducen el vigor persistente de la frontera entre islam y cristiandad en las conciencias españolas del siglo XVII. Turcos y berberiscos constituyen siempre unos poderes con los cuales es preciso contar, poderes con los cuales el contacto es cotidiano en el Mediterráneo, en África del Norte, e incluso en el interior de la península ibérica. Muchos hombres pasan en los dos sentidos de un mundo a otro. Y si no se quiere perder a los suyos, es preciso aceptar a los otros. Es así un modus vivendi a la espera de la victoria decisiva sobre el que, para la cristiandad mediterránea, representa al enemigo temido por excelencia. Hay dos maneras de triunfar, por la vía de las armas y por la vía de las almas": Vincent, "Musulmanes y conversión," 86.

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The great majority of the Muslims who interest us here, however, were slaves or freedmen, baptized or not, who suffered the same privations as other sectors of Spanish society: day laborers, wage laborers, paupers, gypsies, condemned prisoners, and other marginalized groups. There must have been a certain harmony among them even while they competed for the scarce opportunities offered by a hierarchical society such as that of Spain in the Early Modern Age.

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CHAPTER 5

Peace Treaties with Morocco, the Ottoman Empire, and the North African Regencies

At the end of the War of Spanish Succession the Bourbons consolidated their hold on the Spanish throne in exchange for several concessions, including the loss of their Italian domains. Philip V tried unsuccessfully to recover them, but from 1734 on his son, the future Charles III, wore the crown of King of Naples and Sicily.[1] The Bourbons' North African policy produced better results: they strengthened their hold on the few territories Spain still held there and recovered some that had been lost.[2] They managed to lift the siege of Ceuta initiated by Muley Ismail (1694–1727)[3] and to regain the presidio of Oran and its port at Mazalquivir, conquered by the Algerians in 1708.[4] A Spanish fleet also helped to expel the Turks from Corfu in 1716.[5]

At this point it had become clear that Spain's hegemony belonged to the past and that the nation had to accept the decline of its empire. Pressure from England and France forced the elites of the Bourbon state to adjust to the new times, and in the spirit of reform they refocused their attention on the Mediterranean. A new policy began to emerge vis-à-vis the Muslim enemy, who no longer seemed so fearsome as before. To assure the defense of Spain's southern flank, and navigation under the Spanish flag, the monarchy began to seek stable and permanent relations with Morocco, the Regencies, and the Ottoman Empire.

The Bourbons took some time to develop their negotiations with Muslim countries; we know little about the North African and Levantine policies of

1 Jover Zamora, *España en la política internacional*.

2 Abitbol, *Histoire du Maroc*, 250–53; Vilar and Lourido Díaz, *Relaciones entre España y el Magreb*; García-Arenal and Bunes, *Los españoles y el Norte de África*; Vilar Ramírez, *Planos y mapas históricos de Argelia*.

3 Posac Mon, "Traslado del emplazamiento"; Sanz Sampelayo, "Un informe anónimo"; Guastavino Gallent, "Los comienzos del sitio de Ceuta"; Galindo y de Vera, *Historia, vicisitudes*; Correa da Franca, *Historia de la mui noble … ciudad de Ceuta*, esp. 675–828.

4 Bravo Caro, "Málaga en la logística de la Expedición a Orán"; Terki-Hassaine, "Liberación de Orán y Mazalquivir"; Alberola Romá, "El port d'Alacant"; Epalza, "La expedición de Alicante para la toma de Orán."

5 Fernández Duro, *La Armada Española*, 6:118–19.

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Philip V and Ferdinand VI, but their occasional dealings do not seem to have borne fruit.[6] The most notable episode was a timid approach to the Regency of Algiers: its envoy visited Madrid in 1701 in an attempt to ensure Spain's neutrality in its conflict with Morocco.[7] The thaw did not last long because Algiers, seizing an opportunity during the War of Spanish Succession, conquered Oran in 1708 and held it until Spain reoccupied it in 1732.

In the 1730s the monarch and his governing elites accepted fully Spain's status as subordinate to Great Britain and France, especially after its defeat in the War of the Quadruple Alliance (1717–1720). The nation's foreign policy turned toward alliances that might make English and French hegemony more bearable, beginning with a cautious diplomatic turn toward Morocco, the North African Regencies, and the Ottoman Empire. A sort of pre-agreement was reached with the sultan of Morocco in 1736, but progress was slow because influential sectors of Spanish society still opposed negotiations with "the enemy of the Faith." There was reluctance on the Moroccan side for similar reasons, and because the country smarted under Spain's occupation of towns on its coastline (Ceuta, Melilla, El Peñón de Vélez de la Gomera, and El Peñón de Alhucemas).[8]

By the second half of the eighteenth century, however, Spanish society had clearly come to favor peaceful relations with Muslim countries.[9] When the Count of Floridablanca made his will, after the period of which we speak and referring to the peace with the Regency of Algiers, his words were just as applicable to the wish for a policy of peace with all four Maghrebi countries, then in the process of formation:

> On this peace depends the safety of our coasts and our Mediterranean trade, increase of that trade and of agriculture, and even the supplying and protecting of our southern provinces.[10]

6 Windler, "La diplomacia y el 'Otro' musulmán" and "De l'idée de croisade"; Lepore, *Un capitolo inedito*.

7 See Chap. 4, section 4.1.

8 García-Arenal and Bunes, *Los españoles y el Norte de África*, 147; Lourido Díaz, *Marruecos y el mundo exterior*; Abitbol, *Histoire du Maroc*, chap. 8.

9 Beside the works that will be cited in the following pages see Epalza, "Intérêts espagnols et intérêts de la Turquie" and "Intereses árabes e intereses españoles."

10 "De esta paz depende la seguridad de nuestras costas y comercios del Mediterráneo, el aumento de éste y de la agricultura, y aún el abasto y socorro de nuestras provincias meridionales": Rumeu de Armas, *El testamento político de Floridablanca*, 120.

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Just at this time there were calls for abandoning the Spanish presidios on the North African coast, wholly or in part, since their occupation poisoned the country's relations with the Moroccans and Algerians.[11]

5.1 Negotiations with Morocco: the Embassy of Al-Gazzal (1766) and the Treaty of Peace (1767)

The king of Spain and the sultan of Morocco ascended their respective thrones almost simultaneously: Charles III in 1759 and Muhammad ben Abdallah in 1757. The latter, of the Alawite dynasty, soon showed an interest in establishing peaceful relationships with European powers.[12] We have mentioned how influential elements in both Spain and Morocco were opposed to such relations, but mutual hostility benefited neither country and had to be brought to an end.[13] By 1765 negotiations were well advanced, helped by two Spanish priests who were close to Muhammad Ben Abdallah's court.[14] Finally in 1767 Jorge Juan went as ambassador to Marrakesh together with the Moroccan ambassador, Sidi Ahmed al-Gazzal,[15] and the Treaty of Peace, Friendship, and Commerce was signed.[16]

The Moroccan representative had arrived in Spain a year earlier, in 1766, to negotiate either a lasting truce or a permanent peace between the two countries, and his role in the final treaty was significant. Al-Gazzal, a native of Fez and a descendant of Andalusis, was one of the sultan's secretaries and would distinguish himself for his insight and effective writing, including the memoir of his diplomatic mission to Spain.[17] Surviving documents attest to the esteem

11 Vilar Ramírez and Lourido Díaz, *Relaciones entre España y el Magreb*.

12 Abitbol, *Histoire du Maroc*, 269–78; Lourido Díaz, *Marruecos y el mundo exterior* and *Marruecos en la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII*.

13 Even in theological circles there began to be a current of greater respect and objectivity toward Islam, though always with apologetic and polemical features: Epalza, "Guerras y paces hispano-turcas."

14 Arribas Palau, "La estancia del padre Girón" and "El viaje de Fr. Bartolomé Girón"; Rodríguez Casado, "La política…Las misiones diplomáticas de Boltas y Girón"; Palacio Atard, "Primeras negociaciones entre España y Marruecos."

15 Sánchez Carrión, *La embajada inacabada de Jorge Juan*; Arribas Palau, "La acogida dispensada a Jorge Juan"; Rodríguez Casado, "La política…Las embajadas de El Gazel y Jorge Juan."

16 For an analysis of this first treaty see Martínez, "El Tratado de Paz de 1767"; Feria, "El tratado hispano-marroquí. I" and "El tratado hispano-marroquí. II"; Rodríguez Casado, *La política marroquí de Carlos III*.

17 Al-Ghazzal, *The Fruits of the Struggle in Diplomacy and War* (Arabic original in Bustani [ed.], *Consecuencias del esfuerzo*); Ben Hadda, *A Moroccan Ambassador*.

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in which Spanish authorities held him during his stay of several months. Carlos III called him "an ingenuous man, affable and well intentioned, recommended by his situation as well as by the respect that is due to his master." Members of his delegation included Sidi Amara Ben Musa, a relative of the sultan whose post was equivalent to leader of the cavalry; Sidi Eljas Mohamet Esiles, the ambassador's cousin; and "other lesser dignitaries," servants, and a few Spanish priests.

The delegation arrived in Ceuta on 22 May 1766 and boarded a xebec bound for Algeciras, where it docked on 29 May. Carlos III assigned them eight hundred reales a day and the use of a four-horse carriage. After the group left Algeciras "horsemen from one town would gallop along with them as far as the next one, where men of the principal families were proud of joining the race to the next one on the route." Authorities along the way to Madrid, and then back to Cádiz, made preparations to welcome them while multitudes of the curious gathered to view the procession at every stage. In a halt of two or three days in Medina Sidonia (because a servant had fallen sick) fêtes and bullfights were organized, and feasts and serenades entertained the Moroccans in Jerez from 9 to 14 June. When they reached Seville on 16 June the inhabitants "made a great show of happiness"; the ambassador was lodged in the Alcázar and visited the Giralda, later touring the mosque in Córdoba as well. Reaching Madrid on 11 July, the train entered through the Puerta de Atocha "in the sight of a large group of persons of all classes who had come out to meet them"; the delegation was housed in the Buen Retiro palace.[18] In mid-October it left for Cartagena, meeting the same expectation as before in towns along the route and being received in similar fashion. In that port city al-Gazzal visited the slaves who worked on the shipyard and made some of the arrangements for their release that had already been agreed on. The next important stop was Granada, where an especially warm welcome was offered. Although the town council had received no instructions from the king it prepared the best reception it could, including theatrical performances:

> For in spite of having no orders from the Court about demonstrations of welcome for him [the Moroccan ambassador], we have reliable accounts

18 Arribas Palau, "Algunos datos sobre el viaje"; Domínguez Ortiz, "Un embajador marroquí en Sevilla"; García Figueras, *Embajada de El Gazzal*; Commandant, "Une ambassade marocaine en Espagne"; Gorgous, "Ambassade marocaine en Espagne"; Velázquez y Sánchez, *La embajada marroquí en 1766*; Ramírez, *Relación métrico-histórica*.

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> of how they have honored him in other capitals and towns, to the satisfaction of our lord the king.[19]

From Granada they traveled through the interior toward Osuna, Utrera, and Jerez, where the retinue rested for several days; after passing through La Isla de León they reached Cádiz on 7 January 1767. More feasting and dancing ensued until 19 February, when the Spanish and Moroccan embassies together boarded three xebecs in which they arrived at Tetouan on the following day.[20]

As for the embassy's business in Spain, al-Gazzal made his presentation to the king on 21 August, after which he entered into negotiations with the Secretary of State, the Marquis of Grimaldi. They reached agreement on the relevant points of the Treaty of Peace, which was to be signed and ratified by Morocco. (That was accomplished when the famous naval officer Jorge Juan, designated Minister Plenipotentiary, made a return visit to Morocco the following year.) Al-Gazzal's retinue began its journey home from Madrid on 5 October 1767.

Al-Gazzal, as we have mentioned above, had other orders from the sultan in addition to the treaty negotiations. He was charged with arranging contacts between the Spanish monarchy and the rulers of Algiers and Tripoli that would lead to similar treaties of peace, something considered essential if the friendly relations between Spain and Morocco were to last. He was also to make every effort to recover Arabic manuscripts from the library at El Escorial, and to ransom the greatest possible number of Muslim slaves.

Al-Gazzal received a few manuscripts from El Escorial:

> Our stay in Madrid lasted one month after we took leave of the king, a period we spent awaiting the Islamic books that they had promised us, which were in the city. Since the king was not in the capital at the time of our departure he ordered the books removed from the place where they were kept and given to us, joining the books from Granada that we had brought with us.[21]

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19 "[Q]ue sin embargo de no tener orden de la Corte para que se le hagan algunas demostraciones de obsequios, se tienen verídicas noticias de lo que en otras capitales y demás pueblos le han cortejado, y que ha sido del agrado del Rey nuestro señor": Valladar, "Un embajador de Marruecos en Granada."

20 Rodríguez Casado, *La política marroquí de Carlos III*, esp. chap. 3, "La embajada de Sidi Ahmet el Gazel," 67–93, 105–12; also his "Política marroquí de Carlos III."

21 "Nuestra estancia en Madrid, tras la despedida del rey, fue de cerca de un mes, tiempo que pasamos esperando los libros del Islam que nos habían prometido y que estaban en la ciudad madrileña. Como el rey no se hallaba en la capital en el momento de nuestra partida, ordenó que sacasen los libros del lugar en el que se encontraban y nos fueran entregados

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He presented both the manuscripts and the slaves he had liberated to the sultan:

> We placed in the generous hands of our master the three hundred freed prisoners, men, women, and children, putting on the head of each of them a copy of those Islamic books that God had saved from the land of impiety through the blessing of our sultan, he who is victorious by the grace of God: works of *hadith*, Islamic jurisprudence, and other subjects.[22]

Al-Gazzal returned triumphant from his ransoming mission, since he was able to bring three hundred souls back to Morocco. When slaves had come out to meet his delegation in Cartagena he had promised to free them by any means possible:

> These slaves are very poor and downtrodden, and what they earn after performing their service is not enough to feed their children, because prices are so high … We spent a long time in their company while they wept and implored us, and we wept and lamented even more.[23]

Al-Gazzal was concerned not only for the Moroccans in Cartagena but also for the almost three hundred Algerians laboring on a highway in Segovia, and sick slaves being cared for at a hospital in Madrid. After difficult negotiations he was able to arrange freedom for the king's own slaves and a good proportion of those who were privately owned: altogether an additional five hundred, mostly Algerians but with some Turks, Tunisians, and Tripolitans. Almost all had been held in Cartagena, Barcelona, and Cádiz.[24]

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para ser añadidos a las obras de Granada que venían con nosotros": Paradela Alonso, *El otro laberinto*, 69.

22 "Pusimos en las generosas manos de nuestro señor a los trescientos prisioneros liberados, entre hombres, mujeres y niños, y colocamos sobre la cabeza de cada uno de ellos un ejemplar de aquellos libros del islam, que Dios había salvado del país de la impiedad por la bendición de nuestro sultán, el Victorioso por la gracia de Dios: obras de hadiz, de jurisprudencia islámica y de otras materias": Paradela Alonso, *El otro laberinto*, 71.

23 "Estos esclavos son muy pobres y miserables y lo que ganan, tras prestar sus servicios, les es insuficiente para alimentar a sus hijos debido a la carestía de los precios. … Estuvimos largo tiempo en su compañía mientras ellos lloraban y suplicaban y nosotros llorábamos y nos lamentábamos aún más": Paradela Alonso, *El otro laberinto*, 65.

24 Domínguez Ortiz, *Sociedad y Estado*, 338–39; Rodríguez Casado, *La política*, 69–88; Pérès, *L'Espagne*, 21–27; Arribas Palau, "Tres tetuaníes cautivos."

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The ambassador's next mission was even more significant: he went to Algiers in 1768 with orders from Sultan Muhammad ben Abdallah to negotiate for an exchange of captives and a peace treaty between Spain and Algiers. In October 1768 the Madrid press described how negotiations were proceeding, in spite of obstacles:

> It is rumored that a truce or formal peace treaty will be arranged between this Regency and Spain, with the intervention of the Emperor of Morocco – from where two Ministers plenipotentiary have just arrived, one to negotiate the exchange of all the Spanish captives for the Algerian, Turkish, and Moorish ones held in Spain, and the other to propose at least a suspension of hostilities in the event that peace cannot be arranged. These negotiations give much displeasure to our corsairs, who make their fortunes by sailing the seas. But on the other hand we do not see ships arriving with valuable prizes, and even those seized in the last five weeks have been disputed or sued for, with the pretext of their passports.[25]

To al-Gazzal's empathy for Muslim slaves who were not Moroccans we should add the sultan's declared concern, mentioned earlier, for the total elimination of legal slavery among Muslims and Christians. In September 1768 al-Gazzal signed an agreement with the administrator of the Royal Hospital of the Trinitarian Fathers, in the name of the king of Spain and the Dey of Algiers,[26] to general satisfaction on both shores of the Mediterranean:

25 "Corre la voz de que se ajustará una tregua o paz formal entre esta Regencia, y la España, por interposición del Emperador de Marruecos, de donde acaban de llegar dos Ministros Plenipotenciarios, uno para negociar el cange de todos los Cautivos Españoles con los Argelinos, Turcos y Moros detenidos en España, y el otro para proponer á lo menos una suspensión de hostilidades, en caso de que no pueda ajustarse la paz. Estas negociaciones ocasionan bastante disgusto á nuestros Corsarios, acostumbrados á hacer su fortuna corriendo los mares. Por otra parte no se vén entrar embarcaciones con presas de valor, y aun las que se tomaron de cinco semanas á esta parte se disputan ó reclaman, con el pretexto de los Pasaportes": *Gazeta de Madrid*, 4 October 1768. See also Arribas Palau, "Una mediación de Marruecos."

26 *Tratado del ajuste de canje y redención que el Excmo. Amet Elgacel, ministro del Emperador de Marruecos y el Reverendo Padre Predicador Mayor Fray Manuel Rozalen, administrador del Real Hospital de Padres Trinitarios calzados de la provincia de Castilla en España hiciera por orden y decreto de Su Majestad Católica con la Regencia de Argel, entre cautivos argelinos y españoles, con las condiciones siguientes*, signed on 17 September 1768: for the full text see González Arpide, "La expedición de Argel."

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> Word comes from Morocco that since that sovereign is satisfied with the zeal and skill with which Sidi Hamet Elgazel has carried out the various missions placed in his charge, and particularly in his embassy to Spain and his voyage to Algiers to arrange the exchange of Spaniards for Algerians, [the sultan] has again named him his Ambassador to the Ottoman Court.[27]

Between October 1768 and March 1769 1,301 Muslim slaves were freed and exchanged.[28]

This activity continued in the following years. In 1780 115 Muslim captives were returned to the sultan of Morocco,[29] and between 1766 and 1780 at least 2,405 corsairs ("Moorish prizes," *moros de presa*) were set free. The sultan pursued liberty not only for Moroccans but for all Muslims, especially Algerians since their numbers were greatest. At the same time, of course, Spanish slaves in Morocco were liberated.[30]

Al-Gazzal took an interest in many topics aside from his stated objectives, much as al-Gassani had done in an earlier era. He thought that he met descendants of Muslims wherever he went in Spain, especially in Andalusia:

> There is no doubt that the two small cities of Villafranca and Palacios go back to al-Andalus. There we spoke with a man surnamed Blasco, a well-known notary who, because of his great fondness for us, must logically have been a Muslim. He began to give us secret signs and speak in a roundabout fashion because he could not declare openly what the matter was about. He brought a daughter of his who had Arabic features

27 "Escriben de Marruecos, que satisfecho aquel Soberano del zelo y acierto con que Sidi Hamet Elgazel ha desempeñado los varios encargos que ha puesto a su cuidado, y señaladamente en su Embaxada á España, y su viage á Argel para reglar el cange de los Españoles y Argelinos, le ha nombrado nuevamente su Embaxador á la Corte Otomana": *Gazeta de Madrid*, 3 October 1769.

28 Blasco Leante *et al.*, "La administración de la armada española"; González Arpide, "La expedición de Argel"; Bodin, "Une rédemption de captifs musulmans."

29 Arribas Palau, "Argelinos cautivos en España"; Bodin, "Une rédemption."

30 Mouline, "Un ambassadeur rédemptoriste"; Barrio Gozalo, *Esclavos y cautivos*, 146; Ben Driss, "L'impegno umanitario del sultano"; Lourido Díaz, *Marruecos*, 41–84, "La obra redentora del sultán," "La abolición de la esclavitud," and "Hacia la desaparición de la esclavitud"; Arribas Palau, "Un rescate de 600 cautivos" and "El marroquí Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Hadi." Individual ransoms were also arranged: Lalla Fatma bint Muhammad b. Abd al-Rahman al-Sharif, a captive in Malta in the 1790s, wrote twice to Muley Sliman asking to be ransomed together with her husband and a servant: Loukili, "D'une captivité musulmane à l'autre."

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> and looked nothing like the Christians. In the afternoon a group of girls from Utrera came to greet us. They and the people of those two cities were identical in appearance and customs. Their blood was that of the Arabs and their characters opposite to those of the foreigners. Their inclination toward Muslims, their sympathy for them, and their sadness on taking leave were definite proofs that they descended from the Andalusis.

He met descendants of Muslims in eastern Spain as well. In Loja, "there were those who indicated their fondness for Islam in hidden fashion, and those who declared it openly." In Elche people behaved in a similar way: "they did all this in secret, because if anyone declared it openly and did not repent he would be condemned to death."[31] Just as in al-Gassani's case, these demonstrations might have been mere tokens of courtesy and hospitality on the part of the people he met.

Also like his predecessor, al-Gazzal was filled with emotion on seeing the principal Islamic monuments or buildings in the Arab style. While lodged in the Alcázar in Seville he "observed the details of that beautiful edifice, which he continued to study with greater appreciation during his periods of leisure." He felt the same about the Giralda, and in Córdoba he was moved by his first view of the mosque:

> And when we caught sight of the city from an elevation and saw the style of its houses, the loftiness of its minaret, and how the principal mosque, with its great height, stood out from all the other buildings, we felt such sorrow that our souls shriveled within us.

31 "No hay duda de que las dos pequeñas ciudades de Villafranca y Palacios son restos de al-Andalus. Nos entrevistamos allí con un hombre, apellidado Blasco, un ilustre notario que, por la gran inclinación que demostró hacia nosotros, era lógico pensar que fuese musulmán. Comenzó a hacer velados signos y a dar muchos rodeos en el discurso que nos dirigió porque no podía declarar públicamente lo que se encerraba en el asunto. Trajo a una hija suya que tenia rasgos árabes y que en nada se parecía a los rumíes. Por la tarde llegó un grupo de muchacahas de Utrera para saludarnos. Ellas, y la gente de las dos ciudades, eran de igual aspecto y costumbres. Su sangre era de la de los árabes y sus caracteres opuestos a los de los ayamíes. Su inclinación para con los musulmanes, su simpatía hacia ellos y su pesar en el momento de la despedida eran pruebas concluyentes de que eran descendientes de los andalusíes. … [H]abía quien señalaba su inclinación hacia el Islam de forma oculta y quien lo pregonaba abiertamente. … [H]acían todo esto en secreto, puesto que si alguno lo proclamaba en público y no se arrepentía estaba condenado a morir": Paradela Alonso, *El otro laberinto*, 86–87.

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On visiting it they "imagined that the walls and columns of the mosque were greeting us and smiling on us to relieve us of the great sadness we felt," and al-Gazzal kissed them. With great emotion he embraced two marble slabs inscribed with the words "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate," and bathed them with his tears.[32]

Al-Gazzal, like al-Gassani before him, directed many criticisms toward the Spanish society of his time. For him Spain was "the country of impiety" inhabited by "enemies of God," and he engaged in dialectic with Spanish priests as he was visiting the ancient Islamic mosques.[33] He too found women to be too free and Spanish men insufficiently jealous,[34] and he disliked the bullfight.[35] But he admired other things including many aspects of the administration, the economy (such as factories and shipyards), science, and social life.[36]

After al-Gazzal and Jorge Juan had completed their diplomatic task with the signing of the Treaty of 1767, a new era began in which both countries tried to avoid possible conflicts: disagreements such as often arose in trade and diplomatic relations, and clashes between their respective armadas. In Morocco's case it was a corsair fleet, in Spain's a navy armed for war. Attempts were also made to limit any incidents around the Spanish presidios (Ceuta, El Peñón de Vélez de la Gomera, Alhucemas, and Melilla): when local Moroccans attacked, it was understood that the Spaniards could respond with rifle fire but not with cannon. In 1774, however, Sultan Muhammad Ben Abdallah insisted that the peace treaty was valid only at sea and not on land and therefore did not cover the presidios. When he assaulted them[37] Charles III declared a war on Morocco that lasted into 1775.[38]

The new international relationship between the parties was never severed completely, however, and was fully restored with the agreement signed by Count Floridablanca, the first Secretary of State, and the Moroccan ambassador

32 "Y cuando divisamos la ciudad desde un altozano y vimos la edificación de sus casas, la elevación de su alminar y el modo en el que la mezquita aljama, por su gran altura, se distinguía de todos los demás edificios, sentimos en el alma tal pesar que el ánimo se nos encogió. … [L] llegamos a imaginar que los muros y las columnas de la mezquita nos saludaban y nos sonreían para aliviarnos del gran pesar que sentíamos": Paradela Alonso, *El otro laberinto*, 80–82.

33 Paradela Alonso, *El otro laberinto*, 71, 74, 82.

34 Paradela Alonso, *El otro laberinto*, 74, 94–95.

35 Paradela Alonso, *El otro laberinto*, 96–97.

36 Paradela Alonso, *El otro laberinto*, 89–100.

37 Lourido Díaz, "La plaza de Ceuta," "Estrategia militar y diplomática," and "El armamento y la asistencia técnica."

38 Rodríguez Casado, *La política marroquí*, 181–229; Lourido Díaz, *Marruecos y el mundo exterior*, 205–44.

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Ibn Utman in Aranjuez in 1780.[39] Relations improved even more in 1785, when Floridablanca's nephew Francisco de Salinas went as envoy to Morocco and signed a new agreement, principally about commercial matters.[40]

One proof of these improved relations was that in the American War of Independence, in which England and Spain were on opposite sides, Morocco favored the latter country: it ignored English promises to send the Royal Navy to help conquer the Spanish presidios. The sultan went so far as to let the Spanish build a base for their anti-corsair fleet in Tangier that also served to harry English ships in the Strait of Gibraltar. Similar situations obtained in later Anglo-Hispanic conflicts in 1797–1802 and 1804–1808.[41]

When the sultan died in 1790 and his son Muley al-Yazid ascended the throne, a new period of strain between the two countries led to warfare – provoked, in this case, by a Moroccan assault on Ceuta. The rupture was only with Muley al-Yazid himself, because his brothers Muley Hicham and Muley Sliman, who had strength in different areas of the Moroccan Empire and contended for his throne, continued in alliance with Spain.[42]

This conflict ended with the death of al-Yazid in 1792 – an event in which Spanish agents played some part. The new sovereign, Muley Sliman, reestablished cordial relations with Spain, and the improved climate culminated in a new peace treaty in 1799.[43] At that point Morocco became a refuge for many Spaniards who were fleeing from political turmoil at home: the brutal Napoleonic invasion (1808–1814), the liberal Cádiz of the Constitution of 1812, a new absolute monarchy with the return of Ferdinand VII (1814–1820), the three-year liberal interlude (1820–1823), and finally the restoration of the absolutist Old Régime from 1823 onward.[44]

The enormous political and economic difficulties that both countries suffered led to a cooling of their mutual relations, and for a period Spain had

39 Arribas Palau, "La reanudación de las relaciones comerciales" and "El texto árabe del convenio de Aranjuez"; Rodríguez Casado, "La embajada del Talbe Sidi Mohammed" and "Apuntes para una biografía."

40 Arribas Palau, "El texto árabe del arreglo comercial de 1785"; Morales, "La embajada de D. Francisco Salinas y Moñino."

41 Lourido Díaz, *Marruecos y el mundo exterior*, 447–63, and "Relaciones políticas anglo-marroquíes."

42 Carmona Portillo, *Las relaciones hispano-marroquíes*; García Figueras, "El auxilio a Mawlay Hisam."

43 Abitbol, *Histoire du Maroc*, 278–80; Arribas Palau, "El texto árabe del tratado de 1799."

44 Helped by the French military expedition called the "One Hundred Thousand Sons of Saint Louis": Posac Jiménez, "Tánger refugio de los liberales españoles"; Miege, "Les réfugiés politiques à Tanger."

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almost no activity in Morocco except for the struggles there between different groups of Spanish exiles.[45] To make matters worse, embargoes were placed on importing foreign wheat into Spain in 1820 and, with greater efficiency, in 1830.[46] The measures damaged Morocco severely, since its exports of cereals to Spain formed the basis for commercial exchanges between the two countries.

Hispano-Moroccan relations deteriorated drastically with France's seizure of Algiers in 1830 and its eventual conquest and colonization of the whole Regency. The action provoked panic in liberal factions in Spain, which saw themselves hemmed in by the French (who had sent the Hundred Thousand Sons of Saint Louis to crush the liberal government in 1823) now not just in the north but in the south as well. When France defeated the Moroccan army at Isly in 1844, the doors of that empire lay open to them. As a preventive Spain's army occupied the Chafarinas Islands in 1848. The notion arose that Spain's "natural" southern frontier should be at the Atlas Mountains, requiring it either to defend the sovereignty and integrity of the Sharifian empire or simply to conquer it to avoid being encircled by the French. Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century Spain's Morocco policy vacillated between aggression (the African War of 1859–1860 and the Melilla War of 1893) and defense of Morocco's territorial integrity against French and English pressures. The desire to conquer Morocco was tempered by the certainty that the extinction of its empire would work to the advantage of France and probably also of Great Britain.

5.2 Negotiations with the Ottoman Empire and the Regencies

We now turn back in time to speak of Spain's policies toward the other Muslim states in the Mediterranean. The impulse to negotiate was fueled by, among other things, a wish to reduce the number of enemies around the *Mare Nostrum* – something that would help to defend Spain's interests against France and England – and to expand the country's maritime commerce around its eastern and southern shores. Before the eighteenth century was out Spain signed peace treaties with the Ottoman Empire and the Maghrebi Regencies.[47]

45 García Franco, "Orígenes contemporáneos"; Posac Mon, "La difícil neutralidad de Marruecos"; Castell, *La actividad de España en Marruecos*.

46 Martín Corrales, "El patriotismo liberal español contra Marruecos" and *Comercio de Cataluña*, 77.

47 Benafri, "Las relaciones entre España"; Epalza, "Intereses árabes e intereses españoles"; Conrotte, *España y los países musulmanes*; Cantillo, *Tratados, convenios y declaraciones de paz*.

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The intial effort was directed toward a treaty with the Sublime Porte that would then lead to others with the Regencies. The Ottoman Empire also hoped to reduce the number of enemy nations and increase that of allied ones, especially after its battles with the Russian Empire, which between 1768 and 1774 had seized Crimea and destroyed the Ottoman navy.[48] In 1775 the caliph and his grand vizier sent letters to Barcelona proposing a permanent peace between the Spanish and Ottoman empires. Spain's response began in 1777 when Count Floridablanca assumed the secretaryship of state,[49] and the following year Juan Bouligny, a French merchant established in Alicante, sailed for Istanbul with his son Josep to negotiate a treaty that was finally signed in 1782.[50]

That treaty's existence encouraged the Bey of Tripoli to establish peaceful relations with Spain. The negotiations began in 1783 when the Bey sought the mediation of the Moroccan sultan,[51] but in the end his help was not needed: talks proceeded swiftly and a treaty of peace and commerce was signed in 1784,[52] normalizing the relations between the two parties.[53]

Negotiations with the Regency of Algiers, on which Istanbul claimed to have little influence, proved more complicated, but talks had begun at an early date, if only on the subject of exchanging captives. Those exchanges increased just after the War of Spanish Succession. In 1721 the king ordered the chief supply officer of Catalonia to send a tartane, captained by Jean Roger of Marseille, to Algiers with twelve captive Algerians aboard; they were to be exchanged for officers and soldiers of the Regiment of Navarre who were held there. In the end Roger took on "twenty-nine Moorish men, Moorish women, and Turks, who will be used to increase the number of persons exchanged from the regiment of Navarre."[54] The next year, 1722, another "group of Moors [was sent] to effect

48 Bunes, *El Imperio Otomano*; Aksan, *Ottoman Wars, 1700–1870*.

49 Hernández Sau, "Dádivas al estilo oriental", 122, "Merchants Between the Mediterranean Sea," "Gifts Across the Mediterranean Sea," "Juan de Bouligny's Embassy to Constantinople," and "De la infidelidad a la amistad."

50 Beside the references in the previous note see Sánchez Ortega, "Las relaciones hispano-turcas"; Epalza, "Intérêts espagnols et intérêts de la Turquie"; Garrigues, *Un desliz diplomático*; Conrotte, *España y los países musulmanes*, 67–98.

51 Arribas Palau, "La mediación de Marruecos."

52 The text is printed in *Real Cédula de S.M.* (1784) and reproduced in Conrotte, *España y los países musulmanes*, 99–115, 336–46. It is analyzed in Epalza, "El primer tratado de paz hispano-libio" (Arabic version in *Revue d'Histoire Maghrébine*).

53 Vilar, "El Consulado General de España en Trípoli," "Las relaciones de España con Libia," and "El patrimonio del Estado español en Trípoli."

54 The king ordered that the soldiers be placed in quarantine after their return to Barcelona: IMHB, FS, Serie I, leg. 2, fols. 114, 123; 28 March 1721 and 16 April 1721.

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an exchange with individuals of the regiment of Navarre who are detained in that city."[55]

A general exchange of slaves with Algiers that had been agreed to in 1766 did not come to fruition, perhaps because of Algerian suspicion of the peace negotiations between Spain and Morocco. But as we saw in the previous section, the Moroccan sultan sent al-Gazzal to Algiers in 1768 to begin negotiations on a possible treaty with Spain and an exchange of captives. The *Gazeta de Madrid* published the following notice:

> The Dey had resolved to send the consul of the Venetian Republic to the court in Madrid to discuss an exchange of Moorish prisoners for Spanish slaves, and at the same time make peace proposals to the Catholic king. For this purpose that monarch would be sent a number of gifts: fifty Christian slaves with their children, fine horses with rich trappings, lions, tigers, and other wild beasts. The slaves had had their chains struck off and were on the point of embarking when they were suddenly returned to prison, without any notice of the true cause.

Ten months later a second report, with some clarification, appeared:

> There is much displeasure here over the treaty of peace and friendship arranged between Spain and the Emperor of Morocco. A corsair from Salé requested permission last week to erect a new mast on his ship of the line, and was told to appeal to his good friends in Spain. The only permission he received was to repair his ship's hull, and having taken his munitions ashore and requested a piece of wood for the stem, not only was he answered in the same tone but when a certain exclamation escaped him the naval supply officer slapped and beat him, sending the corsair away without his munitions.[56]

55 That ship was the pink *San José* under the Minorcan captain José Ferrer; it flew the flag of England, which oversaw the transport. IMHB, Real Acuerdo, 1, fols. 335–336.

56 "El Dey había resuelto embiar al Consul de la República de Venecia á la Corte de Madrid, para tratar de un cange de prisioneros Moros por los Esclavos Españoles, y hacer al mismo tiempo proposiciones de paz al Rey Católico. Con este motivo se debian embiar a aquel Monarca varios regalos, que habían de consistir en 50 Esclavos Christianos con sus hijos, hermosos caballos con ricos aderezos, leones, tigres y otras bestias feroces. Ya se habían quitado las cadenas á los Esclavos, y estaban á punto de embarcarse, quando repentinamente se les volvió á la prisión, sin que se haya podido penetrar la verdadera causa": *Gazeta de Madrid*, 7 January 1766. … "Aquí ha causado mucho disgusto el tratado de paz y de amistad ajustado entre la España y el Emperador de Marruecos. A un Corsario Saletino que pidió licencia la semana última para poner nuevo mástil a su Navío,

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While the treaty with Algiers did not prosper, we have already seen that al-Gazzal was successful in the prisoner exchange and continued his talks.[57] They resulted in an agreement with the Trinitarians of Algiers, approved by the Spanish monarch and the Dey,[58] that allowed for an almost total exchange of the captives held by both sides.[59]

In parallel to these events, since little progress was being made toward a peace treaty, the monarchy intensified its military pressure to thwart corsair attacks by the Algerians. As a result, Spain improved its navy: beside ships of the line it favored a privateering fleet as an auxiliary to its armada, and those ships caused depredations among the Algerian corsairs. In 1775 a Spanish naval fleet bombarded Algiers, causing some members of the Dey's court to open negotiations with the Spaniards. France, fearing damage to its important trade with the Regency, tried to mediate between the two sides in 1776.[60] These events coincided with the Count of Aranda's ambassadorship in Paris, and he openly favored a change of policy toward Muslims:

> We will negotiate with them as if they were English or French, for reasons of state and the proper motive of our interests; for these are interests that we agree on, and we permit the worship of any god since we are no longer in the ignorant centuries of the Crusades.[61]

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se le respondió que recurriese á sus buenos amigos en España: únicamente obtuvo permiso de carenar su vagel; y habiendo desembarcado sus municiones de guerra y pedido un tablón que necesitaba, no solo se le respondió en el mismo tono, sino que habiéndosele escapado cierta expresión, el Intendente de Marina le dio de bofetadas y palos, despachando al Corsario sin municiones": *Gazeta de Madrid*, 25 November 1766.

57 There were rumors in Algiers of "a truce or formal peace between this Regency and Spain, with the intervention of the Emperor of Morocco." If it did not come about there was talk of a cease-fire that had disturbed the corsairs, since they were unable to take prizes: *Gazeta de Madrid*, 4 October 1768. See also Arribas Palau, "Una mediación de Marruecos." The *Gazeta de Madrid* expressed favor toward al-Gazzal's negotiations on 3 October 1769.

58 *Tratado del ajuste de canje y redención que el Excmo. Amet Elgacel, ministro del Emperador de Marruecos y el Reverendo Padre Predicador Mayor Fray Manuel Rozalen, administrador del Real Hospital de Padres Trinitarios calzados de la provincia de Castilla en España hiciera por orden y decreto de Su Majestad Católica con la Regencia de Argel, entre cautivos argelinos y españoles, con las condiciones siguientes*, signed on 17 September 1768: full text in González Arpide, "La expedición de Argel."

59 Blasco Leante *et al.*, "La administración de la armada"; González Arpide, "La expedición de Argel"; Bodin, "Une rédemption de captifs."

60 Chaillou, "Un projet de négotiation."

61 "Negociaremos con ellos como si fueran ingleses o portugueses, por la razón de Estado, y los justos motivos de nuestros intereses, pues éstos son motivos consentidos, y

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When Count Floridablanca assumed the post of Secretary of State he gave a new impulse to the negotiations: in early 1777 he reported to the king on "the need to establish peace with the Africans, particularly the Algerians." At the same time he warned that "to make peace – whose usefulness I think we cannot doubt in the light of what I have explained – we must attend carefully to how the pact is drawn up."[62] In that year an approach was made to Sidi Hassan, the Algerian *vekaleti* or Minister of the Navy, whom the Spaniards had held in captivity; after being freed he started a campaign in the Regency for an exchange of all slaves.[63] Nothing was achieved, however, because neither country wanted to take the first step in public and errors were made in the negotiations. After that failure the Spanish fleet bombarded Algiers again in 1783 and 1784, and while the assaults were unsuccessful, they probably weakened those Algerian authorities who were wholly opposed to peaceful relations.[64]

Talks continued, however, and after an initial agreement in 1785 failed to gain approval by the Spanish court, a definitive Treaty of Peace and Friendship was signed in 1786.[65] Spain's continued possession of Oran and Mazalquivir, however, poisoned the relations between the two countries to the extent that, without a formal break in relations, Algiers renewed its attacks on both presidios in 1790 and 1791. Spain finally ceded the two enclaves in February 1792, in part because an earthquake had ruined their defenses.[66] The royal decree that ordered them abandoned declared them "of no use whatever to either religion or the state. … [I]ntelligent, experienced, and religious persons well known for their love of my subjects' welfare" recognized that "even before peace was made with the Regency of Algiers, the possession of Oran and Mazalquivir was more harmful than useful to the Monarchy."[67]

Negotiations with the Bey of Tunis were opened in 1786, the year that the treaty of Algiers was signed. While they did not present as many problems as

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permitimos la religión de cada Dios, pues ya no estamos en los ignorantes siglos de las Cruzadas": Rodríguez Casado, *La política marroquí*, v.

62 Terki-Hassaine, *Relaciones políticas*, 166–67.

63 Terki-Hassaine, *Relaciones políticas*, 166–67; Conrotte, *España y los países*, 117–83, 353–70.

64 Hassam, *Les bombardements d'Alger*.

65 Sabater Galindo, "El tratado de paz hispano-argelino"; Epalza, "Algunas consecuencias del tratado"; Terki-Hassaine, *Relaciones políticas*, "Discrepancias en la traducción," "Tratado de paz hispano argelina," and "Nouvelles considérations sur le Traité"; Windler, "La diplomacia y el 'Otro' "; Conrotte, *España y los países*.

66 Terki-Hassaine, "Liberación de Orán y Mazalquivir" and "Problemática cuestión de las posesiones."

67 *Real Cédula de S.M.* (1792).

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in the Algerian case, a Treaty of Peace between the two states was not signed until 1791.[68]

These bilateral agreements established peaceful relations and freedom of shipping and trade between the parties. Additional clauses stipulated how Moroccans, Algerians, Tunisians, Tripolitans, and subjects of the Ottoman Empire were to be treated when they arrived in Spanish ports and cities; that is, they were to receive the same consideration as Spaniards in North African and Ottoman ones. As we have related above, slavery as applied to both Christians and Muslims disappeared with the signing of these treaties; afterward we can speak only of prisoners of war, such as the Moroccans who were seized in 1791 and freed in 1792.[69]

The treaties formed the basis for Spain's expansion of diplomacy in the Muslim Mediterranean: it appointed to each country a consul general and a varying number of vice consuls.[70] In theory, under clauses of reciprocity, Muslim countries could name consuls and vice consuls in Spanish territories, but in fact they did not do so. Only the Ottoman Empire introduced an article that reserved them the right to name a representative to assist Ottoman subjects if necessary. Article 7 stated:

> The Ottoman Sublime Porte, for the tranquillity and security of its subjects and merchants, shall be allowed to establish in His Catholic Majesty's dominions a representative, commonly called a *Shegbender*, to reside in the city of Alicante. And the aforesaid subjects of the Ottoman Sublime Porte shall be respected and privileged in the same manner as those of His Catholic Majesty in the Ottoman Empire.[71]

Spain initiated its consular network in Morocco in 1767, the very year that the Treaty of Peace was signed: the interim consul general was Jorge Patissiati, of

68 Terki-Hassaine, "Mediación argelina"; Jerfel, "Les Soler de Minorque"; Conrotte, *España y los países*, 185–207, 376–87.

69 For the detained Moroccans see Arribas Palau, "Pescadores marroquíes apresados."

70 For an overview see Pradells Nadal, *Diplomacia y comercio*; Ozanam, *Les diplomates espagnols*. For the consuls see Jerfel, "Les Soler de Minorque"; Epalza, "Los Soler menorquines"; Loth, *Arnoldo Soler*.

71 "Será licito a la Sublime Puerta Otomana para la tranquilidad y seguridad de sus súbditos y mercantes el establecer en los dominios de su Majestad católica un procurador, vulgarmente llamado Shegbender, para residir en la ciudad de Alicante, y los mencionados súbditos de la sublime puerta otomana serán respetados y privilegiados de la misma manera que lo serán los de su Majestad católica en el imperio otomano": Conrotte, *España y los países*, 318.

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Greek origin and already the vice consul for Holland. But the permanent post was given almost immediately to Tomás Bremond, a negotiator of French origin with ties to Alicante and Cartagena: he occupied it in Larache until 1774. His successor as consul general in Tangier was Juan Manuel González Salmón, a merchant from Santander (1783–1799), followed by his brother Antonio (1799–1810); the latter, originally a secretary, became first vice consul in Tangier and later consul general. Blas Mendizábal was the next to occupy that post (1810–1816). The vice consuls in Tangier and Tetouan were respectively Jorge Patissiati (1767–1774) and Francisco Pacheco (1767–1774). Others were, in Tangier, Luis Goublot (1802–1808); in Larache, José de la Cruz (1802) and Juan Campuzano (1802–1808); in Salé, Juan Campuzano (1802); in Mogador, Gabriel Gavaró, a Majorcan who had spent many years as a captive in the emperor's court (1767–1774 and 1785–1790). The latter alternated with Pedro Suchitá (1770–1782) and Antonio Rodríguez Sánchez (1782–1802).[72]

The successive Spanish consuls in Algiers were Miguel Larrea Salcedo (1794–1802) and Pedro Ortiz de Zugasti (1803–1809). In Oran, the vice consuls Juan Garrigó (1789–1791) and José Higuero (1796–1808). In Bône, Bartolomé Escudero (1792–1799), Juan Vigo (1800–1807), and Agustín Xiclona (1807–1814). In Tunis, Manuel Ventura Buzarán (1792–1799), Ignacio Buzarán (1799), Luis Castillo (1801–1803), Juan Francisco Fabre (1801–1803), and Arnoldo Soler (1804–1808). In Tripoli, Jaime Soler (1800–1801) and José Moraes (1801–1809).[73] In the Levant the consuls were N. Francischi in Smyrna (1786–1799), Francisco Creus Soler in Smyrna and Alexandria (1789–1815), Carlos Smith in Aleppo (1785-?), and Miria Micri in Athens (1789–1799).[74]

Before concluding this section we should note that Spanish negotiations for biliteral treaties with authorities in Muslim countries left a great deal to be desired. It has been claimed with some truth that Spain's relations with Muslim lands in the eighteenth century were placed on a secular basis only at a late date,[75] so that peace was not effectively established until the end of the 1700s. But we believe that this view needs modification.

It has also been affirmed, again accurately, that Spain lacked professionalism in its diplomatic negotiations with these countries, and that responsibility

72 Pradells Nadal, *Diplomacia y comercio*, 632–51; Ozanam, *Les diplomates espagnols*; Arribas Palau, "Juan Manuel González Salmón" and "El ceutí Francisco Pacheco."

73 Pradells Nadal, *Diplomacia y comercio*, 632–51; Ozanam, *Les diplomates espagnols*; Gafsi-Slama and Epalza, "Texto sobre la llegada del cónsul general."

74 Pradells Nadal, *Diplomacia y comercio*, 632–51; Ozanam, *Les diplomates espagnols*; Hernández Sau, "Juan de Bouligny's Embassy" and "De la infidelidad a la amistad."

75 Windler, "La diplomacia y el 'Otro' " and "De l'idée de croisade à l'acceptation."

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often fell on individuals who were unprepared and even reckless: G. de Souza, the Count of Expilly, A. Basellini, J. de Mazarredo, F. Seguí, and J. Bouligny are among those cited in this regard. There is also truth to the claim that Spain's diplomatic network in the Maghreb and the Ottoman Empire was weakened by its reliance on certain families that placed their own interests above those of the state: one of those was the Soler clan, scattered as consuls around Tunis, Tripoli, and the Ottoman Empire.[76] Without a doubt pressure from these oligarchic groups sometimes stood in the way of sensible action, and some talks were assigned to persons who were so ill prepared or unworthy of confidence that their negotiations stumbled. Future research might take up the question of whether there was any consistency in the manner of designating ambassadors, envoys, consuls, and vice consuls given the resources available at the time.

There was some pragmatism, however, in the naming of consuls and vice consuls in Muslim countries. The early ones were often merchants who had some degree of knowledge and prestige in their countries of destination: one of these was J.M. González Salmón, perhaps the most distinguished diplomat sent to any Muslim country at this period. Two others, both of French origin, were T. Bremond (sent to Morocco) and J. Bouligny (assigned to the Ottoman Empire). Members of the Soler family of Minorca drew on their experiences as subjects of England on their assignments to Tunis, Tripoli, Egypt, and the Ottoman Empire. Even some former slaves who had forged close relationships with their former owners came to play important roles at the North African courts: two sent to Morocco were P. Umbert, who had been secretary to the sultan, and G. Gavaró. We have seen how Spanish priests and friars played active roles in Morocco, both during the negotiations for peace treaties and in their maintenance afterward. The correspondence of Fathers B. Girón, J. Boltas, and others who led the Catholic establishments in Marrakesh and Meknes – the principal courts of the sultans of Morocco – reveals that they generally acted for reasons of state, not of religion. Any religious benefits were meant simply to help Christians living in those two cities, whether enslaved or free.

Recruitment of such diplomats and unofficial agents does not seem to have been so careless after all. It took place in the context of rivalry with Great Britain and France, the two powers that controlled most commerce with the Maghreb and the Ottoman Levant and did everything possible to impede Hispano-Muslim negotiations.[77] Even so, some of Spain's consuls

76 Windler, "De l'idée de croisade."

77 Terki-Hassaine, *Relaciones políticas*, 171–76; Pradell Nadal, *Diplomacia y comercio*; Epalza, "Intérêts espagnols et intérêts de la Turquie" and "Intereses árabes e intereses españoles."

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were of French origin and others had clear sympathies with the English. While no thorough study has yet been made, there seems no doubt about the success of the brothers J.M. and A. González Salmón as consuls in Tangier, and the same can be said of the Solers in Tunis, Tripoli, and the Ottoman Empire. Though we have cited publications on these figures, they still await definitive studies.

We should also recall that the Spanish court turned to mediation by the Moroccans, Algerians, and Tunisians during its attempts to reach accords with North African countries,[78] while acting as an intermediary in turn when Morocco began to seek peace negotiations with European nations.[79]

5.3 A Surge in Spanish–Muslim Trade

The gradual process of signing treaties between Spain and North African and Ottoman rulers brought about an increase in trade between the two sides. In these exchanges Spain's imports of wheat and barley dominated, as they had in the previous centuries. There has been research on this trade in relation to both the North African countries and the Ottoman Levant.[80]

Morocco provides the clearest case: the volume of trade between that country and Spain increased steadily between 1767 and 1814. Two principal products were involved. The first was grain for human and animal consumption (wheat and barley, respectively) that left Morocco's Atlantic ports,[81] especially Dar al-Beida (Casablanca),[82] Mogador,[83] and Safi. Grain from Morocco fed the principal cities of the Andalusian coast like Cádiz and Málaga, as well as Melilla, Ceuta, Alicante, Barcelona, Majorca, and the Canaries. Its chief buyer was the Spanish state, to supply its infantry and navy as well as its garrisons in the North African presidios, and other important purchasers were charitable foundations and institutions. At times of poor harvests in Spain and the resulting

78 Terki-Hassaine, "Mediación argelina"; Arribas Palau, "La mediación de Marruecos."

79 Arribas Palau, "La mediación de Marruecos," "La accesión de Fernando IV," and "Una mediación de Marruecos entre España y Argel."

80 Martín Corrales, "Comercio en la frontera," "La saca de plata americana," "The Silk Trade," "El comercio de la seda," "Exportación del vino catalán," "El comerç de Catalunya," and "Il comercio della Catalogna."

81 Lourido Díaz, "El comercio del trigo" and "Los intercambios mercantiles"; Arribas Palau, "Datos sobre el comercio"; Ruiz Orsatti, *Relaciones hispano-marroquíes*.

82 Arribas Palau, "Reclamaciones del marqués de Viale," "Cartas del Sultán Mawlay al-Yazid," and "Establecimiento de una casa comercial."

83 Martín Corrales, "Relaciones de España con Marruecos."

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high prices, the cheapness and ready availability of Moroccan wheat made it a necessity. At the same time, Spain's ability to import massive shipments from Morocco kept the price of European grain low. Though the topic needs further study, we assume that national and local authorities could manage lean years as long as they had easy, low-cost access to Moroccan wheat. Spain, throughout our period, formed the natural market for any surpluses of wheat, barley, and livestock from Morocco.

Other important imports beside grain were livestock (especially oxen), dried peas and beans, oranges, and chickens; these were loaded at the ports of Tangier, Larache, and Tetouan. Wax, hides, and textiles came continually from all those ports as well.[84] There was so much light traffic between ports in northern Morocco and those on the coasts of Cádiz and Málaga that it hardly appears in the records, and its volume is hard to assess. When the ambassador from the Sublime Porte, Vaçif Efendi, was in Spain in 1787–1788 he observed that Spain's dependence on imports of food from Morocco was

> the reason that the Spanish court pays so much deference to the government in Fez. The latter obtains, in exchange for the cereals it sells at high prices, ingots of gold and silver that it later sends to Spain to be minted into coins.[85]

Although he was mistaken about the price of Moroccan wheat, which was actually much cheaper than wheat from elsewhere, the same observation could be applied to Spanish trade relations with the other North African countries and the Ottoman Empire.

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84 Arribas Palau, "Una partida de cera"; Posac Mon, "Las relaciones comerciales entre Tánger y Tarifa"; García Figueras, "Un intento no culminado."

85 Paradela Alonso, *El otro laberinto*, 102–03. In Meynard's account, "Tous les trois ans l'Espagne envoie dans les mines du Nouveau Monde cinq ou six millions de travailleurs; mais le plus grand nombre succombe sous l'influence de ce climat meurtrier. Aussi la population diminue de jour en jour, les bras manquent à l'agriculture, et c'est à l'Afrique que ce pays demande une grande partie de sa subsistence. C'est pour cette même raison que la cour d'Espagne use de tant de ménagements envers le souverain de Fez. Ce dernier, en échange des grains qu'il vend à des prix élevés, reçoit de l'or et de l'argent en lingots; il les fait convertir en monnaies par le gouvernement espagnol, auquel il envoie à cet effet la matrice portant l'exergue de l'avers et du revers; puis il fait venir les espèces dans son pays, évitant ainsi les frais de fabrication. Le fait que je rapporte est bien connu à Madrid": Meynard, "Ambassade le l'historien Vaçif Efendi," 520–21. Hundreds of thousands of the sultan's gold bars were deposited in Cádiz, then minted into Moroccan coins in Madrid: Arribas Palau, "Barras de oro del sultán." Ruiz-Orsatti, *Relaciones hispano-marroquíes*.

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Spain's most important export to Morocco was silver piasters,[86] though there were also luxury goods destined for the elites.[87] The Spanish ports most active in trade with Morocco were Cádiz,[88] Barcelona,[89] Ceuta,[90] and those of the Canary Islands,[91] though many others participated as well.

Trade with the Regency of Algiers followed similar lines, and again wheat and barley were the principal products. A great deal of grain was exported from Oran as well, together with a variety of other goods.[92] Spanish coral fishermen also worked along the Algerian coast.[93] Spain's largest export to Algiers was silver, just as it was to Morocco. The port of Algiers played an important role in this trade because the Spanish consul resided there, and his signature certified that shipments were legal and that there was no plague in the Regency at the time. Oran (which Algiers repossessed in 1792), Bône, and other ports were also active export centers.[94]

Trade with the Regency of Tunis was much like that with Morocco and Algiers, with a somewhat greater variety of exported goods, principally cereals and dried beans; these were paid for with Spain's renowned silver pieces from America. The busiest Tunisian ports were Tunis, Bizerte, Sousse, and Sfax.[95] The Regency of Tripoli, on the other hand, conducted little trade with Spain.[96]

Commercial activity with the Ottoman Empire was significant, and centered almost entirely on continual importation of wheat (somewhat less of barley). While there was always wheat grown in lands ruled by the Ottomans,

86 Cano Borrego, "La circulación de la moneda española"; Martín Corrales, "La saca de plata americana."

87 Koehler, "Ce que l'économie privée importait."

88 Farouk, "Aperçu du trafic du port de Mogador."

89 Martín Corrales, "El comercio de Cataluña con Marruecos"; Arribas Palau, "Una reclamación marroquí."

90 Arribas Palau, "Gestiones de la Junta de Abastos."

91 Santana Pérez and Santana Pérez, *La puerta afortunada*; Arribas Palau, "El canario Pascual Rodríguez" and "Notas sobre el abastecimiento de granos"; Martín Corrales, "Atraso tecnológico de la pesca"; Bethencourt Massieu, "La pesca en la costa de África."

92 Terki-Hassaine, *Relaciones políticas y comerciales*; Martín Corrales, "Intercambios comerciales entre Málaga y Argel"; Vilar Ramírez, "Relaciones diplomáticas y comerciales," "Los judíos de Argel," and "Relaciones comerciales hispano-argelinas."

93 Martín Corrales, "La pesca española en el Magreb" and "Los coraleros catalanes en el litoral argelino."

94 Terki-Hassaine, *Relaciones políticas y comerciales*; Martín Corrales, "Intercambios comerciales entre Málaga y Argel."

95 Martín Corrales, "Comercio de Túnez con Cataluña" and "Relaciones comerciales entre la Regencia de Túnez y Cataluña."

96 Martín Corrales, "El comerç de Catalunya" and "Il comercio della Catalogna."

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most imported wheat came ultimately from Russian Crimea.[97] Other products from the Levant such as cotton and drugs usually did not arrive by a direct route but passed first through Marseille and Livorno.[98] Spanish exports to Ottoman ports consisted fundamentally of consignments of American silver.[99]

Attempts were made to encourage exports of manufactured items from Spain and its American colonies, including textiles (silks and woolen caps) and wines, to North Africa and the Levant, but they did not achieve the hoped-for success.[100]

Most maritime commerce between Muslim and European countries had been carried out in European ships; but we have seen how the Spanish flag flew in the Ottoman Levant only in the first half of the sixteenth century, the 1580s and 1590s, and the first few years of the 1600s. Throughout the Early Modern age Spain received direct shipping from Maghrebi ports, but with certain limitations. Most trade between European and Muslim lands occurred in vessels that flew the French, English, or other flags.

All this changed once there were peaceful relations between Spaniards and Muslims and trade increased as a result. Little by little Spanish ships took over the lion's share of maritime commerce between the two shores of the Mediterranean, eventually acquiring full control of direct shipping between North African ports and the Iberian Peninsula and plying the waters of the eastern Mediterranean once more.

More surprising was the appearance in Spanish ports, even in its American colonies, of ships flying the flags of Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, and the Ottoman Empire – in the latter case they were polacres with Greek captains. Because of Spain's wars with France (1793–1795 and 1808–1814) and Great Britain (1779–1783, 1797–1802, and 1804–1808) its trade declined in this period, especially while the English were blockading its coasts. But those same conflicts increased its trade with neutral parties: vessels of non-belligerent nations brought all sorts of necessary goods from North Africa and the Levant, especially wheat and barley, into Spanish ports. As neutral countries Morocco, Algeria, and Tunis provided many ships that allowed commerce between Spain and North Africa

97 Martín Corrales, "Capitaines et navires gréco-ottomans," "Greek-Ottoman Captains," "La flota greco-otomana en Cádiz," "El comercio de Cataluña con el Levante Otomano," and "Cereales y capitanes greco-otomanos."

98 Martínez Shaw, "Entre Oriente y Occidente."

99 Franch Benavent, "El fomento con el Levante mediterráneo"; Martín Corrales, "Una oportunitat perduda per Barcelona."

100 Martín Corrales, "The Silk Trade," "El comercio de la seda," and "Exportación del vino catalán"; Palacio Atard, "Intento de penetración en el mercado musulmán."

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as well as coastal trade among ports in Spain itself.[101] They even sailed as far as the American colonies, particularly ships flying the Ottoman flag that traded in Río de la Plata.[102]

At this turbulent period a short-lived North African merchant marine emerged, though sometimes involving Spanish vessels sailing with passports from Morocco or Algiers. This traffic meant that more North African and Levantine captains, sailors, and merchants disembarked in Spanish ports – especially from Barcelona to Málaga on the Mediterranean and Cádiz on the Atlantic, but they also ventured to Galicia in the northwest and to the northern coast along the Bay of Biscay.

5.4 The Treaty of Peace, the Gift Economy, Local Custom, and the Market

When Christian and Muslim countries established peaceful relations through capitulations and treaties, each side understood the agreements in its own way. The Muslim powers designated all Christian lands as *dar al-harb*, "the house of war," as opposed to *dar al-Islam*: they believed in a divine right that denied legitimacy to any juridical order except their own. In Islamic lands the law (*sharia*, with *fiqh* as its form of jurisprudence) gave Muslims a monopoly of power over protected minority communities, which enjoyed a form of legitimacy and internal autonomy but always in a subordinate status. Christians could live there as long as they recognized Islamic rule and obtained safe-conducts for travel, though temporary truces or peace agreements were possible. The Ottoman Porte conceived of its capitulations to France and England in the sixteenth century, and to the Low Countries early in the seventeenth, as unilateral promises of security, even though that contradicted the underlying principle of reciprocity that for the Europeans was a *droit des gens* or Law of Nations. The Ottomans saw themselves as making temporary and voluntary concessions based on the *aman* or safe-conduct, which would have to be renewed whenever a new sovereign ascended the throne. They considered European consuls and other representatives residing in the Empire, who were actually laymen, as heads of religious communities who were granted the privilege of conducting their internal affairs. The European nations that imposed those

101 Martín Corrales, "La flotte marocaine."

102 Martín Corrales, "Capitaines et navires gréco-ottomans" and "Greek-Ottoman Captains"; Marichal, "El comercio neutral"; Malamud Rikles, "El comercio de Buenos Aires."

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capitulations were forced to accept the status of "protected minorities" at least until the start of the eighteenth century, as long as the Ottoman Empire could still present itself as a great power.

Alongside this subordinate position, European representatives to the Levant enjoyed significant economic and mercantile advantages. One was almost complete control of the Ottomans' and Regencies' external and maritime trade, which was consigned essentially to French, English, and Dutch ships.[103] Politically, they were allies of the Sublime Porte in its confrontations with the Spanish Hapsburgs; militarily and economically, their merchant ships were exempt from attack by Muslim corsairs.

Christians came out of the casuist tradition of the rights of persons, which regulated their interactions with non-Europeans and non-Christians, among them Muslims. The principle of natural justice presupposed certain universal norms that should be shared by all; these should be subject to arbitration by tribunals agreed on by both sides. These notions formed the basis for a system of international law based on reciprocity; yet during the Enlightenment it excluded dealings with "uncivilized" persons, meaning in effect all non-Europeans (with the exception of North Americans).[104]

We should therefore understand the capitulations as the development of specific political and juridical practices that included Christian princes and sultans within a common diplomatic space. Their periodic renovation allowed envoys to propose or demand concessions on the sultan's part when legal disagreements needed to be resolved. Juridical practice was thus gradually adapted to the specific needs of European merchants. In short, each side brought its particular concept of law to bear, to the extent that its power allowed. It is no surprise that, as the Ottoman Empire declined and French and English hegemony increased, the capitulations became instruments of the Sublime Porte's dependency.[105] As the power of the Muslim states sank and that of the Europeans rose, contact between their respective legal systems gave authority to their agents to interact. European consuls, merchants, and sailors in lands of Islam, in particular, could reach agreements based on their own codes and values in given situations, whenever mutual understanding and interest made it possible.

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103 Christians could live in Islamic lands so long as they acknowledged the dominion of Islam, and therefore European consuls were seen more as *dhimmis*, members of protected Christian communities, than as diplomatic representatives of a nation-state. Our Section 5.4. is essentially based on Windler, *La diplomatie*.

104 Pagden, *European Encounters* and *Señores de todo el mundo*.

105 Windler, *La diplomatie*, 220–22.

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The Muslim states wavered between initial hostility and a pragmatic search for legal guarantees. Meanwhile, Europeans established in Istanbul and Levantine ports tried continually to arrive at common norms that would ensure peaceful interchanges. Gradually, therefore, thanks to individual and collective initiatives, European law was systematically inserted into a plural diplomatic order, obeying the practical need to organize coexistence in the Mediterranean. C. Windler has advised that, given the profound divergence between the two legal systems, it is best to analyze "the juridical spaces that are created through continuous practice."[106]

In effect, European consuls in their daily practice "established structures of domination, defined spaces for action, and conditioned processes of exclusion." They contributed to molding Orientalist discourses that they then used to explain the difficulty or inefficacy of their activities. They themselves called those discourses into question, since they were being imposed on the complex reality in which they moved, their identities needing constant redefinition:

> [Law] was created and recreated through diplomatic exchanges. The imaginary of a "barbaric Barbary" hid a multiplicity of contacts – occasions for conflicts but also for the resolution of those conflicts, and for creating personal ties that blurred the dichotomy "Europeans-Maghrebis."[107]

Until now studies of relations between Europeans and Muslims in this regard have dealt only with cities and ports in Islamic lands, neglecting interrelations among tradesmen and Muslim envoys on European soil.

In the Maghreb from the seventeenth century onward, treaties of peace and commerce led gradually to a system of contractual and customary law that combined norms of both Muslim and European origin. Agreements were always based on a unilateral obligation by the parties according to their respective laws:

> Maghrebis and Europeans, in their contacts, respected a foundation of common rules hallowed by treaties and usage, which Frenchmen of the time – consuls, dragomans (interpreters), and bureaucrats, first of the

106 Here I follow Windler, who in turn draws on S. Ceruti, F. Barth, and others: Windler, *La diplomatie*, 214–15.

107 "[Le droit] était crée et recrée à travers les échanges diplomatiques. L'imaginaire de la 'Barbarie barbare' dissimulait la multiplicité des contacts – occasions de conflits, mais aussi de la résolution de ces conflits et de la création de liens personnels qui brouillaient la dichotomie Européens-Maghrébins": Windler, *La diplomatie*, 244.

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> Navy and then of Foreign Affairs – interpreted as their particular legal system.[108]

The Regencies of Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli made true treaties with France, "sealed and ratified by both parties as subjects of one Muslim-Christian law." Their duration was not tied to a single prince's reign; they were signed as if in perpetuity, a violation in principle of the advice of Muslim jurists and men of religion, though they did accord with Islamic law in their promise of mutual security. In case of conflict the Regencies would accept only the Turkish version, not recognizing any legal system except their own.[109]

In the end, negotiation and communication between Maghrebis and Europeans had to take account of not only the texts of signed treaties but also the principles, usages, and local customs of each side: "Treaties and usage delimited a shared juridical field, a space of relationships and transactions."[110] As the case of France and Tunis demonstrates, it was impossible to impose every article in a given treaty unilaterally.[111]

On the Spanish side it was always possible to sign treaties with Muslim princes: in the Introduction we mentioned those ratified with the rulers of North Africa, from Morocco to Egypt, between 1492 and 1574. When the Hapsburgs and Osmanlis first began arranging truces in the early 1580s Hispano-Ottoman relations were not peaceful but neither were they bellicose, except for encounters between Spanish ships and corsairs from the Regencies. Still, no other treaties were signed beside that of 1767 with Morocco, the one country that the Ottomans never occupied. I will therefore focus here on relations with the rest of the Maghreb, where Ottoman power was more nominal than actual. The treaties signed between 1767 and 1791 ended a period of mutual hostility between Spaniards and Maghrebis that interfered with communications and trade, although commercial activity never ceased. In this new era it became urgently necessary to resolve issues that had led to conflict in the past: in particular, how to deal with cultural diversity and avoid dangerous misunderstandings. The situation required a pragmatic search for legal security

108 "Maghébins et Européens respectaient, dans leurs contacts, un fonds de règles communes, consacrées par les traités et l'usage, que les practiciens français de l'époque -consuls, drogmans (interprètes), commis de bureaux de la Marine, puis des Affaires étrangères- interprétaient comme un droit particulier": Windler, *La diplomatie*, 16.

109 Windler, *La diplomatie*, 224–25.

110 Windler, *La diplomatie*, 16.

111 Windler, *La diplomatie*, chap. 2.

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through negotiations, to ensure mutual respect for whatever specific norms were agreed upon.

At the time of the 1767 treaty with Morocco, each side's concept of its relationship to the other had changed significantly, as we suggested at the beginning of this section. Since the previous century Morocco had been developing a doctrine of the sultan's legitimacy in all religious matters; from that position he could recognize the legitimacy of non-Muslim rulers as long as they posed no threat to Islam.[112] On both sides, of course, forces opposed to negotiating and pacting with the infidel applied whatever pressure they could; but it was not they who prevented any treaties from being signed prior to the eighteenth century.

In 1767 the sultan was able to accept the principles of reciprocity and lasting peace: "Peace shall be absolute at sea and on land, established with the most mutual and true amity between the two sovereigns and their respective vassals." The other articles, which dealt chiefly with navigation, commerce, and subjects' travels in the lands of the other party, were imprecise; to ratify the 1767 accord and solve problems that had developed over the years, the countries signed two new agreements in 1780 and 1785 and a new treaty in 1799.[113] But the letter of the treaties was not always applied strictly, since Spain had to allow for customary law in North Africa, especially Morocco. The sultan, as not only a political but also a religious leader, had to provide for the welfare of his subjects. That meant, among other things, ensuring that a sufficient supply of food would be available at reasonable prices, so the sultan had to control prices for the common good, both when basic grains were abundant and when they were scarce. In the period 1777–1783 the sultan drew on the royal treasury to ease his subjects' difficulties – assisting those who lacked resources, exempting farmers from taxes, and offering loans on generous terms to merchants who could then buy wheat in Cádiz and Lisbon and resell it at normal prices.[114]

We believe that the Moroccan case was one of a "moral economy," though E.P. Thompson suggested modifications and nuances to that term.[115] When wheat was scarce and large price increases were rumored, the sultan and the religious establishment would play the "paternalist" role, guaranteeing that

112 Windler, *La diplomatie*, 15; he relies on Dakhlia, *Le divan des rois*.

113 For all these agreements and others signed with Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli, and the Ottoman Empire see Cantillo, *Tratados, convenios*; quotation at 505.

114 Abitbol, *Histoire*, 257.

115 Thompson, *Customs in Common*, especially the articles "The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century," 185–258, and "The Moral Economy Reviewed," 259–351.

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the people could obtain the grain they needed. The population's only recourse was to defend their customary right to reasonable prices; that did not involve purely commercial considerations, and the market did not always have the last word. We know relatively little about the role played by the market, nor about the behavior of tribe members who were in imminent danger of famine. But it is important to note that the sultan himself was the chief commercial agent for exporting wheat, based on the stocks collected as taxes and stored in royal silos.[116] On several occasions religious authorities denied Spanish merchants' demands for wheat or livestock, complaining that their export raised prices to the point where Moroccans could not afford them, and sometimes the sultan would prohibit their leaving the country. Even without a specific ban the people sometimes reacted with violence, blocking roads and impeding the arrival of grain at the ports.[117]

Ideology also entered into play. Spain refused to supply arms and military equipment to Morocco, but the ban was not always observed: many exceptions were made, especially for material needed to repair or arm Moroccan corsair ships. When the sultan had to defend a decision to export wheat even in a time of scarcity, he would argue to the religious establishment that the grain would be paid for with arms and munitions that could then be turned against the infidels.[118] C. Windler has shown how in French-Tunisian relations the most important consideration in the end was that both parties could save face.

Another crucial element was the practice of gift exchange, which the Moroccan sultan employed to obtain his subjects' allegiance or submission.[119] The gift – which might consist of a privilege or form of protection – created a debt of gratitude on the part of its receiver or client, who had to prove deserving of it. And although it was given freely, the client incurred an obligation to his patron and had to offer a counter-gift. While the interval in time between gift

116 For the wheat trade see Lourido Díaz, *Marruecos y el mundo*, 414–19.

117 Not coincidentally, prohibitions on exporting wheat were almost always issued in or after October, as happened in 1771 and 1772: Lourido Díaz, *Marruecos y el mundo*, 416. In 1784 the Spanish consul in Tangier warned the Secretariat of State that free exports of wheat from Casablanca might not continue much longer: "the people of this country are not very happy with this privilege, and some Moors have spoken to the Sovereign about the lack [of food] all along this coast from Tetouan to Salé, [saying] that it would be better to fill this urgent need with the wheat that leaves from Casablanca rather than to let the Christians take it": J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, 14 October 1784, AHN, Estado, leg. 4317.

118 Lourido Díaz, *Marruecos*, 419–24.

119 For the role of the gift in Muslim societies in general and Morocco in particular see Saadani, *Le don au Maghreb*; Benabdelali, *Le don et l'anti-économique*; Bourquia, "Don et théatralité"; Maunier, *Recherches sur les échanges rituels*.

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and counter-gift could make them appear as disinterested and generous acts, they were in fact perceived as binding obligations.[120]

The sultan also used the gift in his relations with European countries, especially with their consuls based in Tangier.[121] Here many misunderstandings arose, as the sultan's apparently disinterested generosity clashed with his European interlocutors' "economic" or accountancy-based rationality. Spanish consuls hewed to the treaties' stipulations about fees to be paid on various exported products, and their freedom to extract from Morocco, without hindrance, all the products they wanted. The sultan usually employed the gift exchange – which conditions the relationship between giver and receiver – to gain the Europeans' good will and force them to respond with counter-gifts.

A good example is the chain of gifts and counter-gifts between the sultan and the Spanish, as related by Spain's consul general in Tangier, Juan Manuel González Salmón. He wrote first about services performed by Spaniards and went on to explain the privileges granted by the sultan. It is a long account (though it concerns only the 1780s) but one worth quoting in full:

> [Spain's] services and blandishments were compensated by the Sultan (aside from what he did for us during the war with the English, when he opened the port of Tangier to us and allowed our sentinels on his coast) with the three years of free trade that he gave the nation between [17]81 and [17]83 for exporting all kinds of fruits, sheep, and cattle from the ports of Larache, Tangier, and Tetouan free of duties. In those three years, what his customs-house lost just in the oxen and fowl exported to supply our army in Gibraltar and our blockade squadron amounted to many thousands of pesos. Beside the Canary Islanders that His Moroccan Majesty rescued from the savage Moors, his intercession in [17]83 saved the the wife and daughter of the governor of Mazalquivir as well as an officer of the Brabant Regiment and two soldiers. In [17]85 he again allowed Spaniards to extract freely from those three ports all kinds of fowl, fresh and dried fruits, firewood, and charcoal; ships did not have to pay anchorage fees, from which he is estimated to have lost fifteen to twenty thousand duros a year. In addition, since the year [17]88 we have enjoyed, in those three ports, a reduction in fees of two duros per head of cattle, ten

120 Mauss, *The Gift*; Windler, *La diplomatie*, 170.

121 I will not discuss here the exchanges of gifts between the sultan, princes, governors, and other Moroccan officials on the one hand and Spanish consuls, ambassadors, envoys, and merchants on the other, nor similar ones involving Spain and the Regencies of Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli.

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reales de vellón per head of sheep, and five [reales] per fanega of dried peas compared to what other nations pay, plus an additional two per cent less for introducing European goods into every port in Morocco: because Spaniards and Moors, who are treated alike in this, pay ten and all the rest pay twelve. At the end of [17]85 the port of Mogador began allowing Spaniards to load wheat, paying sixteen reales de vellón per fanega while all others were charged twenty-four; though the privilege was not enjoyed for long, several shipments were made to Cádiz. After that grace period, at my request, permission was given from the same port for the Canary Islands, though only one shipment of four thousand fanegas was made because wheat reached the islands from other sources and more from Morocco was not needed. Also in late [17]85 that prince ceded exclusively to Spain the right to export grain from the ports of Rabat and Darbeyda [Casablanca] (paying a duty of sixteen reales per fanega). From the former they loaded about twenty thousand, but then the permission was revoked because of conflicts between its governor and customs officials; from the latter there has been continuous and abundant exportation both before and after the Spanish consulate was established there. Ships there are exempt from anchorage fees, and were they to be charged about a hundred duros, as they are in Mogador, this sum alone would amount to sixteen to eighteen thousand pesos – money that is saved and retained in the Kingdom.[122]

122 "Estos servicios y agasajos los ha recompensado aquel Soberano (prescindiendo de los que nos hizo en tiempo de la guerra con los Yngleses franqueándonos el Puerto de Tanger para el Apostadero, y costa para Vigias) con los tres años de franquicia desde 81 hasta 83 que concedió a la nación para extraer pr los Puertos de Larache, Tanger, y Tetuan, todo genero de frutos, ganado lanar, y Bacuno libre de derechos, que solo lo que perdió de recibir su Aduana en los Bueyes, y Aves que se sacaron para proveer el Exercito del Campo de Gibraltar y Esquadra del Bloqueo en dichos tres años importaron muchos miles de pesos: Ademas de los Españoles Canarios que S.M.M. a sacado de poder de los Moros Salvages, se rescataron de Argel por su intercesión el año de 83 la muger del Governador de Mazalquivir, su hija, un oficial del Reximiento de Bravante, y dos soldados. El año de 85 concedio también la gracia por los tres mencionados Puertos para que los españoles saquen libremente todo genero de Aves, frutas secas, y verdes, leña y carbón; y que las embarcaciones no paguen anclaje, que se regula pierde de recivir por esta franquicia anualmente de 15 a 20 mil duros: A esto se agrega que desde dicho año de 88 se goza en los mismos tres Puertos la rebaja de derechos de dos duros en cada caveza de ganado vacuno, 10 reales de vellón en la de lanar, 5 Ydem en cada fanega de legumbres con respecto a lo que pagan las demás Naciones, y un 2 % menos que estas en la introducción de las mercancías de Europa pr todos los Puertos de Marruecos, porque los Españoles y los Moros, que en esto corren con igualdad, pagan un 10 y los demás 12. A últimos de 85 se concedio la gracia por el Puerto de Mogador para que los Españoles embarcasen trigo

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We must remember that all these privileges came from the sultan's initiative, as the Spanish consul acknowledged in writing of the monopoly on exporting wheat from Casablanca: "it is a proposal born of the sultan himself, who expresses his best wishes for putting it into practice."[123] He went on to enumerate the Spanish Crown's counter-gifts to the sultan:

> In [17]82 a gift was made to him that went to Tangier by order of Count O'Reilly, who was governor of Cádiz at the time, of no great import; a good felucca was built for him at about that time, and one of his frigates was repaired. In [17]84 he was allowed a merchant ship for conveying gunpowder to Constantinople. In [17]85 Don Francisco Salinas y Moñino went to his court as Extraordinary Envoy and Minister Plenipotentiary to offer his compliments to His Majesty and take him a magnificent present from the King our master. In [17]86 we repaired two of his frigates in Cádiz and one in Algeciras. In [17]87 in Cádiz, at the expense of the royal treasury, several doors and windows were made for him out of ebony with fine inlay. These are all the significant expenses of the Crown in the latest period of peace, together with the two warships that at His Majesty's request were sent to Constantinople and the Syrian coast; although there have been others, they were so small as to be not worth mentioning.[124]

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pagando el derecho de 16 rs. vn. por cada fanega, y a los demás se les exigia 24 que aunque no se disfrutó por mucho tiempo se hicieron algunas expediciones para Cadiz: Por el mismo Puerto, después de concluida esta gracia se volvió a conceder a mi solicitud para las Yslas Canarias, que tampoco se hizo mas que una expedición de 4 mil fanegas por que acudió a dichas Yslas trigo de otros varios parages y no se necesitó llevar mas de Marruecos. Tambien a últimos de 85 cedió aquel Principe a la España exclusivamente los Puertos de Rebat y Darbeida para extraer granos (pagando el derecho de 16 rs de saca por fanega) Por el primero embarcaron como unas 20 mil y después se revocó el permiso por disensiones que tuvo entre aquel Governador y dependientes de Aduana, y en el segundo, antes de establecer la Casa Española que hay allí, y después, se ha hecho una extracccion seguida, y numerosa, donde también las embarcaciones estan libres de anclaje, y si les exigiera a razón de 100 duros, que cobran en Mogador, montaria solo este renglón la cantidad de 16 a 18 mil Pesos (que siempre es dinero que se ahorra y queda en el Reyno)":J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Madrid, 9 October 1789, AHN, Estado, leg. 4321. Undoubtedly the most advantageous concession to Spain was the exclusive right to export wheat from Casablanca: Rodríguez Casado, *La política marroquí*, 354–59.

123 J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, 23 December 1785, AHN, Estado, leg. 4317.

124 "El año de 82 se le hizo un regalo que fue a Tanger por dirección del conde de O'Reilly a la sazon Governador de Cadiz, de corta consideración; se le construyó una buena Falua por aquel tiempo, y se le reparó una Fragata. El 84 se le facilitó una embarcación mercante para llevar polvora a Constantinopla. El 85 pasó a aquella Corte Dn. Francisco Salinas y Moñino con calidad de Embiado Extraordinario y Ministro Plenipotenciario para cumplimentar a S.M. y llevarle de parte del Rey Nro. Señor un magnifico regalo. El 86 se le

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While there is no mention here of a cash accounting, we can see the close relationship between the gift and the counter-gift.

Spain's secretaries of state, consuls, and other authorities involved in relations with Morocco realized the significance of the sultan's gifts and the need to respond to them with equivalent items or services. They satisfied these obligations in a variety of ways: repairing Moroccan ships in the yards at Cádiz and Cartagena, supplying vessels that conveyed the sultan's envoys to their destinations, making gifts of items that the sultan had ordered from Cádiz, and other similar gestures.

At first the Spaniards thought that the literal framework of the treaties had to be respected scrupulously by both parties; but by accepting the sultan's gifts to them – like the exclusive right to export wheat through Casablanca – they realized that matters were more complicated than that. They were also obliged to respect local customs in Morocco, and soon realized that the letter of the treaties could be obeyed only in part and so long as no serious political or economic problems arose between the parties. Consular representatives in Morocco thus embarked on a long, complex process of improvised adaptation to local laws and customs. They emerged from this experience in a fairly strong position – contrary to what has been believed, and even though scholarship has largely ignored them or considered their actions deficient. The issue needs further study and we shall not develop it further here, except for the aspect that interests us most: its repercussions on the activities of Moroccans in Spain. We shall also not concern ourselves with gift exchange,[125] which soon became institutionalized but made a greater impact on Spanish policy toward Morocco than on Moroccan policy toward Spain.

What we do propose to analyze, especially in the next two chapters, is how Muslims who traveled to Spain for different reasons learned the rules of the game that operated on Spanish soil – rules that were defined in the language of treaties but were also tempered by local customs, although to a lesser degree than in Morocco. We shall pay special attention to the fact that Moroccan customs crossed the Strait of Gibraltar, even if only partially and occasionally. One reason this was possible was that Moroccans operated essentially

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compusieron en Cadiz otras dos Fragatas, y una en Aljeciras. El 87 se le hicieron también en Cadiz a expensas de la Real Hacienda unas quantas Puertas y ventanas de Caoba con embutidos primorosos, que son todos los gastos de consideración que ha ocasionado a la Corona en esta ultima Paz, con los que hayan hecho los dos buques de guerra que a solicitud de S.M. fueron a Constantinopla y Costa de Syria, porque aunque ha habido algunos otros no merece la atención por su pequeñez": J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Madrid, 9 October 1789, AHN, Estado, leg. 4321.

125 The general word for "gift" in Arabic is *hiba*, in Morocco *hadiyya*.

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with face-to-face, oral contacts; they had no consuls or commercial agents in Spanish ports. The literal language of the treaties placed their entire burden on Spanish consuls general in Tangier, who had to act in "the juridical spaces created through practice," that is, in the gaps between European law and Moroccan custom.

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To this point it does not seem that Spanish-Moroccan bilateral relations (roughly similar to Spanish-Maghrebi ones in general) were very different from the ones that France and England maintained with North African countries – always bearing in mind that Spain's power was weaker, and that it could not compete with those two nations on an equal footing or make similar demands on Morocco. For that very reason it had to lean more heavily on consensus, persuasion, and insistence on the common interests of the two countries.

Another issue is whether Spanish policy toward Muslim countries was either mistaken or inconsistent, and whether Spain's ambassadors and negotiatiors in charge of the treaties with Morocco, Algeria, Tunis, Tripoli, and the Ottoman Empire were well chosen. Some were unquestionably better than others, but in the end peaceful relations proved lasting. There were few important conflicts with those countries: only with Morocco (wars in 1774–1775 and 1791–1792, the African War in 1859–1860) and Algeria (in the 1820s and 1830s over unpaid debts). There were far fewer clashes with Tunis and none at all with Tripoli and the Ottoman Empire.

Spain's climate of good relations with Morocco contrasted with the pressure exerted there by English and French agents and diplomats. The Moroccan sultan ignored English pledges to help him conquer Ceuta and other Spanish presidios, and even gave the Spanish navy a foothold in Tangier while it was blockading Gibraltar. Morocco took Spain's side against France, especially after the outbreak of the French Revolution, when Spain played to the utmost the card of a common struggle against the French, those enemies of religion.[126] When Napoleon's troops invaded the Iberian Peninsula, the sultan again turned a deaf ear to French promises of aid in conquering Spain's North African presidios. Morocco hastened to facilitate the treaties that Spain signed with Algiers and Tunis, and Algiers performed the same service for the Spanish monarchy and Tunis; Tripoli mediated between Spain and Algiers. Spain served as intermediary between Morocco and Malta, Naples, and the Two Sicilies. These

126 Abitbol, *Histoire*, 276–78; Arribas Palau, "Marruecos de la muerte de Mawlay al-Yazid" and "La ayuda prestada a España."

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examples should be sufficient proof that Spain did not deal with North Africa in the spirit of crusade or jihad, as has often been alleged. Those Muslim countries would gain by bringing more countries into the play of friendly rivals, rather than by abandoning the field to England and France; this posture served to mitigate their hegemony somewhat.

It is true that we must pay attention to whether articles of the treaties of peace and commerce were obeyed or not; to the degree of reciprocity in exchanges of gifts and counter-gifts, and their timeliness; and to the degree of respect shown for the other party's local customs. In Chapters 6 and 7 we will see that some unfortunate incidents were provoked by Moroccan envoys, emissaries, and ship captains. While we will not consider conflicts between Spaniards and Moroccans in the Sharifian Empire, we can mention here that they were significantly reduced – a conclusion contrary to that of many historians, at least before the present time.

Nevertheless, the almost century-long period of peaceful Hispano-Moroccan relations from 1767 to 1859 deteriorated as the nineteenth century advanced. Both countries suffered economic, social, and political reverses at that time, and the decay of their mutual relations contributed to sinking the two countries even further in decadence and weakness. Spain joined the European colonizing nations – though through a back door – and Morocco the ranks of the colonized, while the rest of the North African regencies suffered a similar fate.

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CHAPTER 6

Problems in Applying the Treaties: Ambassadors and Envoys

After the treaties initiated a period of peaceful relations and newly strengthened bilateral agreements, commercial exchanges increased and larger numbers of Muslims began to arrive in the Iberian Peninsula. As we shall see in the following chapters, ambassadors, special envoys, ships' captains, sailors, merchants, exiles, travelers, converts, and adventurers visited Spanish territory, sometimes remaining for long periods and even dying there.

We shall speak first of the ambassadors, envoys, and ships' captains (*arraeces*).[1] Spanish authorities actually created every possible delay and obstacle to their attempts to reach the monarchy's domains. The Secretariat of State sent a stream of instructions along those lines to its various consuls general who served in the Maghreb. There were two principal reasons for this policy. The first was to avoid unpleasant incidents during the ambassadors' sojourns in Spain: it was essential to preserve Hispano-Muslim understanding in general and Hispano-Moroccan amity in particular. The second was the heavy drain that the embassies made on the royal treasury,[2] making it desirable to reduce their visits to the Spanish court to a minimum.[3] Likewise the authorities strove

1 I include the *arraeces* who headed embassies and came as delegates from the sultan and his circle. In this chapter I will discuss them as such, though their mission is not always precisely known. The next chapter will deal with those who simply arrived as captains of warships.

2 The situation in France was similar: "The Ministry and consuls tried to avoid missions by Maghrebi envoys in France. This attitude cannot be explained entirely by financial considerations, that is, by the wish to avoid the need to pay the envoys and assume the other expenses that a mission from Barbary incurred. The motive, in reality, was to control communications and channel them through the consuls. For the same reason, ministry and consuls agreed in refusing to recognize the Bey's reciprocal right to install a consul in Marseille" ("Ministère et consuls essayaient d'éviter les missions d'envoyés maghrébins en France. Cette attitude ne s'explique pas uniquemente par des considérations d'ordre financier, c'est-à-dire par la volonté d'éviter la nécessité de défrayer les envoyés et d'assumer les autres dépenses qu'entraînait une mission barbaresque. Il s'agissait en effet de contrôler les communications et de les canaliser à travers les consuls. Pour la même raison, ministère et consuls étaient d'accord sur le refus de reconnaître le droit de réciprocité du bey d'installer un cónsul à Marseille"): Windler, *La diplomatie*, 163. For the Turkish case see Mehmed Effendi, *Le paradis*, 28–30.

3 These hesitations applied even to the embassy by Muhammad Ibn Utman al-Miknasi in 1789. A draft letter from the Secretariat of State to Count O'Reilly, military governor of Cádiz, expresses doubts about the ambassador's status and recommends reducing the expenses of

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to send as few delegations as possible to the Maghrebi countries and the Levant, reserving them for times when there was a genuine need to maintain good relations.

Only a few Muslim ambassadors were sent to the Spanish court: aside from al-Gazzal, they were his fellow Moroccan Muhammad Ibn Utman and the Turk Ahmet Vasif Effendi. The two Moroccans were not problematic: they fulfilled the duties of their office and were received with the proper respect in Spain. Ahmet Vassif Effendi, however, adopted a harsh attitude, though the difficulties he presented were not grave ones.

A much larger group were the ambassadors, chiefly Moroccans, who paused in Spanish cities or ports on their way to or from their destinations in other countries. And more still were North African envoys or delegates, most of whom were sent by their sovereigns to purchase specific merchandise.

Some of these ambassadors, envoys, and captains in transit became involved in incidents that, while not really serious, illustrate the nature of Hispano-Moroccan relations. We will understand the cases better if we remember our discussion from Chapter 5, especially of the exchange of gifts and counter-gifts. The sultan of Morocco granted broad privileges to Spaniards (as subjects of the Spanish monarch) believing that they ought to reciprocate with requested services and favors (called in Spanish diplomatic correspondence *finezas*, "delicate attentions"). As a strategy, he tended to offer a country – Spain, in this case – favorable conditions for trade that actually lessened his own intake of customs duties. An extreme example was his giving Spain the monopoly on the export of wheat from Dar al-Beida (Casablanca), as well as various licenses to export amounts of wheat without paying duty on them. The Secretary of State and the Spanish consul in Morocco, aware of the sultan's thinking, provided some of the services and products he demanded directly, or had them paid for by commercial firms like Patrón and its partners or the Five Guilds (*Cinco*

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his visit as far as possible: "Although the King of Morocco has told the King [of Spain] that he has given the aforementioned Moor the rank of Ambassador, he may not actually hold it, and [the king] may have used the name of Ambassador as a generic description; for Moroccans, unlike Europeans, do not make such a specific distinction among the different titles for public Ministers" ("Aunque el Rey de Marruecos ha avisado al Rey que ha dado el carácter de Embaxador al mencionado Moro, es posible que no le tenga, y se haya servido del nombre de Embaxador como de una denominación genérica, pues no hazen los Marroquíes tan especifica distincion, como los Europeos, de las diversas representaciones de los Ministros publicos"). O'Reilly is told to organize the envoy's journey to Madrid while keeping costs to a minimum, although not to "depart from what decency demands": to Count O'Reilly, 26 October 1779, AHN, Estado, Leg. 5819.

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Gremios Mayores) of Madrid, which held the monopoly on exporting wheat from Dar al-Beida.[4]

It is important to know that administrative posts in the Moroccan state were usually unpaid; their holders were expected to profit in the course of carrying out their duties. Naturally this situation created problems, especially when the sultan sent his trusted secretaries, *alcaides*, and captains to negotiate in Spanish ports. He expected Spain (or any other country involved) to finance their missions: to charter the ship, provide board and lodging, etc. Sometimes the envoys were not carrying enough ready cash to purchase what the sultan had ordered. When Moroccan corsair ships or warships docked in Spanish ports they assumed they would be issued water and food, or have their vessels repaired at Spain's expense. The Muslim delegates expected that a Spaniard in authority such as the consul in Tangier, the governor of Cádiz, the Secretary of State, or a local official would fulfill the sultan's requests without further payment.

There were many cases of abuses by ambassadors and envoys. They took advantage of the expectations inherent in the gift/counter-gift exchange – with its built-in time lag – and of the "rights of man" described in the previous chapter. Ethnic and cultural differences also played a role, though not a decisive one. In many such cases the Muslims claimed ignorance of local Spanish laws and customs in order to avoid paying for services, customs duties, and debts. In the following sections we shall recount some of these cases in detail. It did not help matters when some of the sultan's envoys demanded deference at a higher rank than the one they held, for which they were accused of lacking in scruples.[5]

Spaniards realized what was happening, but usually preferred to pay the price so as to continue enjoying the privileges that the sultan granted them in Morocco. The incidents I have identified are largely similar and can be said to follow the same pattern.

Still, these practices created unease among authorities such as the Secretary of State and in the ports frequented by Moroccan envoys and captains. The court ordered officials in Cádiz, Cartagena, Málaga, and other cities to provide the minimum assistance necessary and have the ships depart as quickly as possible, fearing that disagreements might imperil the good relations between the two states.

4 Rodríguez Casado, *La política marroquí*, 354–59; Lourido Díaz, "El comercio del trigo."

5 Some scholars, to explain the frequent incidents and justify the Spanish monarchy's mistrust, maintain that the Moroccan ambassadors and envoys were poorly chosen: Martínez, "El Tratado de Paz de 1767." But the main cause of the incidents appears to lie elsewhere.

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In all the cases we study it is clear that everyone in the Spanish government – Secretaries of State, governors of cities and regions, and consuls general – did not want incidents involving ambassadors, envoys, captains, and Moroccan notables to disturb the friendly relations that existed between Spain and Morocco in particular, and Spain and the Muslim world in general. The authorities tended to tolerate the exaggerated demands of some envoys, while at the same time trying to prevent complaints about those individuals from reaching the ears of the sultan, who would have meted out severe punishment. It was hoped that the guilty parties would then look more favorably on Spain's policy toward Morocco. In fact the opposite effect could occur: knowledge that certain Moroccan envoys enjoyed an indulgence they did not deserve created an incentive for further bad behavior. The number of incidents was not large, however, at least according to the documents at our disposal. Spanish-Moroccan relations in particular, and Spanish-Maghrebi ones in general, must not have been as complicated and full of friction as histories of the period have assumed.

6.1 Muslim Ambassadors at the Spanish Court

Only one figure really interests us here: Muhammad Ibn Utman, who led missions to Spain in 1780 and 1791–1792. But we also consider Muhammad al-Dalimi, sent in 1792 by Mulay Hisam while he was contesting the throne of Sultan Muley Yazid, and Vasif Effendi, who arrived in 1787. Other envoys, as mentioned above, merely stopped in Spain in the course of their travels to various European countries or the Ottoman Levant.

6.1.1 *Muhammad Ibn Utman of Morocco* (*1780 and 1791*)

Muhammad Ibn Utman was, without a doubt, the Moroccan politician most respected by the Spanish authorities in the last third of the eighteenth century. Several studies have been published on his political activity in Morocco and his diplomatic missions to Europe and the Ottoman Empire.[6]

A son of the pasha of Taroudant, Ibn Utman learned basic Spanish from Franciscan friars and Spanish slaves. He formed a friendship with Jorge Patissiati, who was interim consul general in 1767 and later Spain's vice consul in Tangier; he was also acquainted with Francisco Pacheco, another Spanish

6 Between 1781 and 1785 he served as his country's ambassador to Malta, Naples, and the Ottoman Empire: Freller, " 'The Shining on the Moon' "; Arribas Palau, "Rescate de cautivos musulmanes en Malta" and "Muhammad ibn Utman designado gobernador."

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vice consul, and with Father Boltas of the Catholic mission in Meknes. In 1779 the Moroccan emperor called him his "faithful and esteemed secretary."[7] The Polish writer Jean Potocki, who saw him often in Madrid, considered him "one of the wisest men that Mohammedanism has produced, and the only one of whom I have heard nothing but praise from his countrymen."[8]

Ibn Utman's first embassy to Spain, in 1779–1780, had the aim of negotiating the *Convenio* or agreement signed in that year that ratified and completed the terms of the Treaty of Peace of 1767, while ending the crisis provoked by the war of 1774–1775. He was also charged with freeing the largest possible number of Muslim slaves.

He disembarked at Cádiz in December 1779 with a retinue of twenty-six persons that included Sidi Mohamed Buinat, who had held high posts in the Moroccan army; Talbe Cali, of Turkish origin, an adviser to the ambassador on the strength of his broad political experience ("he assures us that he has been in the service of the King of Morocco for many years"); and Layse el Suet acting as interpreter ("who, they say, is the same one who accompanied al-Gazzal"). Another member may have been Ali Biris. The delegation brought six Maltese captives who were to be granted their freedom by the king of Spain.[9] During a three-day stay in Cádiz the party visited places of interest and viewed dramatic performances staged in their honor. On 23 December the embassy arrived in Seville in five carriages, two buggies, and a wagon, was housed in the Alcázar, and later departed for Córdoba.

After the Moroccans' arrival in Madrid on 12 January 1780, negotiations began on the articles of the proposed agreement. Their Spanish interlocutor was the Secretary of State, Count Floridablanca. The document, in Arabic and Spanish, was signed on 30 May in Aranjuez, and Ibn Utman was able to visit El Escorial and La Granja.

The ambassador began his homeward journey in early June, stopping for two days in Toledo. In Villarrobledo most of the population came out to greet him, a festival was organized, and chocolate and sweets were served; Albacete provided a similar welcome. There was a dance in his honor in La Gineta, and another one evening in a convent of nuns in Elche. During a three-day visit to

7 Rodríguez Casado, "Apuntes para una biografía."

8 Potocki, *Viaje al Imperio de Marruecos*, 11.

9 The governor of Ceuta reported that the entourage included, beside those named, "twelve servants and six captive Maltese": Domingo de Salzedo, military governor of Ceuta, to Count Floridablanca, Ceuta, 13 November 1779. The Count of Xerena, governor of Cádiz, informed the Secretariat of State on 19 November 1779 that the group was made up of twenty-six persons: AHN, Estado, Leg. 5819.

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Murcia Ibn Utman visited factories where silk and gunpowder were made as well as public areas of the city; he also bought the freedom of two captive Muslim women for one hundred pesos. At a dance, the ambassador observed that "you might find a man sitting down while his wife or daughter danced with a stranger." In Cartagena, where he was also warmly welcomed, he visited the captives in the arsenal and distributed ten *quintales* of silver coins sent by the sultan of Morocco.[10] As a kind of gift Charles III offered the sultan about thirty Algerian, Tunisian, and Turkish captives, and Utman obtained the freedom of twenty or twenty-five more who were too old or ill to serve; to these he was able to add fifty-five more whom he identified as Moroccan. In all, 113 freed slaves embarked in the Neapolitan brigantine *El Rey de las Dos Sicilias* under Captain Francisco Xavier Pillastro, which sailed on 10 July and arrived in Ceuta three days later. The group had been sent off with a month's supply of food.

In the meantime Ibn Utman left Cartagena by land, making a stop in Fuente Álamo where the governor's daughters performed music for him. He was welcomed in Totana and Lorca as well; in the latter town he declined an invitation to spend the night, but was delayed while the women sang and danced in his honor. Reaching Granada on 16 July he remained there for several days, then went on to Jerez for another two.

He embarked from the port of Tarifa on 1 August and reached Ceuta at 11 in the morning of the same day. After more than a month there he set out again, bearing letters with instructions from the sultan, on 6 September. Charles III wrote to Muhammad Ben Abdallah praising his ambassador:

> Finally, I must tell you that your ambassador, since his arrival in Spain and especially at my court, has displayed such sensible, virtuous, and frank personal conduct, in his own household and in service to his mission, that he has proved worthy of my favor; and he deserves to remain in your good graces, which he had already earned when you named him to such an honored post.[11]

10 Cartagena's city council records show that he arrived in the city on 19 June and was received with the ceremony appropriate to his rank. He visited the Muslim captives, gave them financial aid, and asked that every Moroccan held in the arsenal be turned over to him: Martínez Rizo, *Fechas y fechos*, 262. Ibn Utman specified that the funds he brought should be "distributed among the Moors who are captives in Spain": Domingo de Salzedo, military governor of Ceuta, to Count Floridablanca, Ceuta, 13 November 1779: AHN, Estado, Leg. 5819.

11 "Debo deciros, por fin, que Vuestro Embaxador ha observado desde su arribo a España, y singularmente en mi Corte, una conducta tan cuerda, virtuosa y franca en su persona, en su casa y en el servicio de su ministerio, que se ha hecho digno de mi favor y merece que

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These cannot have been empty words. The Secretariat of State wrote to José Boltas, head of the Catholic mission in Meknes, that "Al Talbe Ben-Otoman met and addressed the king with the greatest respect, praise, and generosity, and has shown every merit in his fine qualities, probity, and talent."[12] The priest answered confirming that the sultan was very pleased with

> the great deference that his envoy Ben-Otman offered to our Catholic king and all his royal family. Since he received the letters from his minister, [the sultan] has not ceased to praise and applaud the fine qualities of his friend Charles (this is his style) and to think of the great love that he has always felt for him.[13]

Ibn Utman's second mission to Spain began in late 1791 and continued into 1792. It seems that King Charles IV himself had sought him as a mediator after al-Yazid had attacked Ceuta and relations between Morocco and Spain had deteriorated. Ibn Utman reached Ceuta on 20 December 1791 with a retinue of fifteen that included a secretary, an interpreter, stewards, servers, cooks, musicians, and three slaves. They sailed on 23 December on the frigate *Soledad*, reached Cartagena four days later, and set out for Madrid on 3 January. The ambassador's charge was to avoid a declaration of war between Spain and Morocco, whose relations had suffered enormously after Muhammad Ben Abdallah died and his son Muley al-Yazid succeeded him. The new sultan also had to defend his throne against his brothers.

In spite of Ibn Utman's excellent relations with the Spanish court, and his many efforts during this unexpectedly long stay in Spain, his peace mission was unsuccessful. He left Madrid for Cádiz on 18 August and the next day Charles IV declared war on Muley al-Yazid. Messengers sent after the ambassador found him in Ocaña, and he was urged to stay there for fear the sultan would blame

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vos le continuéis el que ya lograba cuando le nombrasteis para tan honroso cargo": Arribas Palau, "El paso de un embajador"; Elamri, "The Elixir for the Redemption of Captives"; Bokbot, "El Sultán Mohamed III y su embajador"; Torres-Fontes Suárez, *Viajes de extranjeros*, esp. the section "M.B. Utman al Miknasi. Al-Iksir fi fakak al asir," 515–30; Rodríguez Casado, *La política marroquí*, esp. Chap. 3, "La Embajada de Sidi Mohamed Ben Otoman y el convenio de 1780," 285–306.

12 Letter from the palace of El Pardo to José Boltas, 20 March 1780: AHN, Estado, 4313.

13 "…[L]os distinguidos honores, que ha debido su embiado Ben-Otman a Nuestro Catholico Rey, y toda su Familia Real. Desde que recibió las cartas de su dicho Ministro no ha cessado de elogiar y aplaudir las bellas prendas de su amigo Carlos (este es su estylo) y ponderar el grande amor, que siempre le ha tenido": José Boltas to Count Floridablanca, Marrakesh, 26 March 1780.

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him for not preventing the declaration. Not only had he lost the sultan's confidence, but it was rumored that he had converted to Christianity. Remaining behind in Ocaña with five members of his retinue, he sent the others on to Cádiz to take ship for Morocco; as the war dragged on he was invited back to Madrid in October, though as a private citizen and not an ambassador. He received an allowance and was visited regularly by a doctor. Finally on 4 April of the following year, when word reached Madrid of Muley al-Yazid's death, Ibn Utman left for Cádiz and embarked for Tetouan on 7 May.[14]

Spanish authorities praised Ibn Utman for his humanity, well demonstrated by his intercessions for two Spaniards condemned to die in Spain. As he passed through Cádiz in December 1779, the father of a soldier condemned to death for desertion pleaded with him to help save his son's life; he did so, and the son's sentence was commuted to ten years' service in a North African presidio. A few months later, in Cartagena, he interceded in the case of another condemned man, an *hidalgo* and silversmith who, after ten years in prison, was to be garroted for minting false coins. After the accused wrote to Ibn Utman the ambassador pleaded the man's case and achieved the same commutation as before.[15]

The Moroccan envoy always favored Spain over England: he influenced the expulsion of the English from Tangier in 1780 during the war between the two countries. He also facilitated the concession to the firm of Campana, Patrón and Rizo of exclusive rights to export wheat from Dar al-Beida.[16]

Like al-Gassani and al-Gazzal before him, Ibn Utman met individuals who claimed to descend from the Muslims of Spain. In Bailén, he recalled, "the governor's representative and his sister approached us; their told us of their ancestry and said they descended from Muslims."[17] He saw traces of the Muslims in the Andalusian countryside ("the imprint of the past is obvious here") and in Córdoba and Toledo, cities that he thought remained the same as when "the Muslims lived in them."[18] He viewed with emotion the Islamic monuments of Córdoba, where he stayed several days; in the Alcázar of Seville he showed keen interest in its ornamental Arabic inscriptions; he visited the Alhambra

14 Arribas Palau, "El viaje del embajador marroquí," "Un embajador marroquí," "El embajador marroquí Muhammad b. Utman," "El paso de un embajador marroquí por tierras de Murcia," "Datos relativos a la actuación," and "La estancia en España de Muhammad Ibn Utman."

15 Arribas Palau, "Dos condenados a muerte indultados."

16 Rodríguez Casado, "Apuntes para una biografía."

17 Paradela Alonso, *El otro laberinto*, 88, and "El Madrid de los embajadores musulmanes."

18 Paradela Alonso, *El otro laberinto*, 77–78, 88, and "El Madrid de los embajadores."

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in Granada and monuments in Toledo. He had to withdraw from a visit to the great mosque of Córdoba because such a large crowd had come to see him, but a nighttime tour by candlelight was specially arranged.[19]

Ibn Utman, like his predecessors, interjected condemnations of the Christians, saying, "May God destroy them!" and "May God cleanse the land of them!". He demonized friars in particular: "May God eliminate them and cleanse the land of them!".[20] He engaged in dialectic with some of the priests that he met.[21]

But at the same time he appreciated many modern features of the Iberian Peninsula: he praised the local agriculture, highway system, efficient administration, and the scientific knowledge and experiments that were shown him in Madrid and Cádiz. Throughout his travels he visited factories, among them those of silk and gunpowder in Murcia, of tobacco in Seville, and the mint in the same city, and he considered Madrid a fine urban space.[22]

Again like earlier envoys from Morocco, Ibn Utman tried to recover Arabic books from the library at El Escorial and to free Muslim captives. On seeing the library he reported: "In a great cabinet, perfectly kept and very clean, they have placed books of the Muslims – may God have mercy on them! – that have fallen into the hands of the infidels. … There are one thousand eight hundred volumes." He examined a few of the Arabic manuscripts and seems to have requested some of them; though he received several as gifts, those did not come from El Escorial but from some other collection.[23] As we saw, he was able to free and return to Morocco over one hundred captive Muslims.[24] Ibn Utman died in Morocco in 1799 during an epidemic of plague.

6.1.2 *An Unacknowledged Ambassador, Muhammad Al-Dalimi of Morocco (1792)*

On 31 May 1792 a French polacre, the *Marie Thérèse*, reached Cádiz from Mogador bearing Muhammad al-Dalimi, his secretary and interpreter Pedro Umbert, and twelve more members of his retinue. Al-Dalimi came to Spain

19 Paradela Alonso, *El otro laberinto*, 83, 88, and "El Madrid."

20 In the mosque of Córdoba he lamented all the chapels that the Christians had built inside it: Paradela Alonso, *El otro laberinto*, 81, 90, and "El Madrid." Boudchar, "España vista por un embajador marroquí."

21 Paradela Alonso, *El otro laberinto*, 81–84, 88, and "El Madrid."

22 His remarks on the mint in Seville may have influenced the sultan's decision to have Moroccan coins struck there: Elamri, *The Elixir*, 23; Tazi, "Cádiz en el viaje de Muhammad Ibn Utman"; Paradela Alonso, *El otro laberinto*, 90, 98–99; Boudchar, "España vista por un embajador."

23 Paradela Alonso, *El otro laberinto*, 69–70.

24 Paradela Alonso, *El otro laberinto*, 62.

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as ambassador from Muley Hisam, one of the pretenders to the throne of Morocco then held by al-Yazid. His destination was Madrid, but the local health authorities held the group in quarantine for fifteen days. The city governor, Joaquín Fonsdeviela, following instructions from the Secretariat of State, informed the Moroccans that the Spanish monarchy had a policy of strict neutrality in the struggle that set Sultan Muley al-Yazid against the three brothers who vied for his throne: Muley Hisam, Muley Muslama, and Muley Sliman. As a result no envoy from any of the four rival siblings or "princes" could be received or recognized.[25] Therefore Al-Dalimi had no status as an ambassador; though he was well treated and allowed to disembark and stay in Cádiz as a private citizen, he was warned that he would not be allowed to travel to Madrid.

Muley Sliman, who finally captured the throne, was angry; knowing the Spanish policy of neutrality he had refrained from sending his own envoy to Spain, and assumed that al-Dalimi had been received there with ambassadorial rank. While al-Dalimi behaved correctly, the members of his entourage did not: Spanish authorities accused them of "spending wastefully" and acting with impertinence. To limit the cost of their stay – which included the days in quarantine – they were assigned a daily sum of fourteen *pesos fuertes* in addition to their housing, a male servant, and the care of the ambassador's two horses. Al-Dalimi himself merited a supply of wine and a balcony from which to view the bullfight. Two Spanish interpreters, José de la Cruz and Gabriel Gavaró, assisted the delegation.

It appears that al-Dalimi's chief mission was to obtain economic support for Muley Hisam, one of the pretenders to the throne. But it is possible that he had really been sent by Hisam's brother Muley Abd al-Salam, who wished to persuade a reputable doctor from Cádiz to travel to Morocco to treat him for cataracts. The envoy was also charged with making several purchases.

In the end the governor of Cádiz chartered a French brigantine of one hundred twenty tons, *Le Réflexif* under Captain Mathieu La Fevure, for the delegation's return journey, and the ship sailed for Mogador on 30 July. The cost was one thousand pesos for the round trip, one hundred against possible damages, and forty *reales* as a supplement. Al-Dalimi (who had visited other European countries and spoke some Spanish) received a gift valued at 9,155 reales and nine *maravedís*, as well as provisions for twenty days. The total cost to

25 The brothers began to contend for the throne after Muley al-Yazid's death in February 1792. Muley Hisam was proclaimed ruler in Marrakesh, Safi, and Mogador, Muley Muslama in Tangier and its hinterland, and Muley Sliman in Fez and Meknes: Arribas Palau, "Embajadas marroquíes a España" and "Nuevos datos sobre la embajada de Muhammad al-Dalimi."

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the treasury of al-Dalimi's stay in Spain came to 56,663 reales and seventeen maravedís.[26]

6.1.3 *The Ottoman Ambassador Vasif Effendi* (*Madrid, 1787–1788*)

In July 1787 the court at Istanbul sent Ahmet Vasif Effendi as ambassador to Spain, and he arrived in Barcelona in August. His mission was to secure peaceful relations between the two empires, promote economic ties, and probably also to relieve the pressure that Spain was exerting on the Ottomans to further its friendly connections with the Maghrebi regencies. We have the report or *Sefâretnâme* that the ambassador was required to submit on his return: it was supposed to describe the host country with special attention to its political administration, military strength, and economic activity in agriculture, industry, and commerce. These reports were taken into account when, in the early nineteenth century, the Ottoman Empire undertook modernizing reforms or *tanzimat*.[27]

Vasif reached Barcelona at the head of a suite of forty-five persons.[28] Since he was a diplomat accredited to important foreign missions and an official historian, the tone he used in informing his government is rather surprising. His text could not have proved very useful, because he presented his mission as a series of disputes with Spanish authorities and bureaucrats;[29] but in his own opinion, naturally enough, the result was a triumph for himself and therefore for the person of the caliph.

Vasif's report was intended for the caliph, the grand vizier, and other imperial authorities, but his mission does not seem to have achieved much to

26 Arribas Palau, "Nuevos datos sobre la embajada" and *Una embajada marroquí*.

27 I have relied on Meynard's French translation, "Ambassade de l'historien Vaçif Efendi," and the partial Spanish version by Onalp, "La crónica de Ahmet Vasif Effendi." They differ particularly in that the second moderates Vasif Effendi's tone, making Meynard's more reliable. I have also consulted Jurado Aceituno, "A propósito de Vâsif Effendi"; Paradela Alonso, *El otro laberinto*, 100–03; Conrotte, *España y los países*, 89–91; and Matar, "Spain Through Arab Eyes."

28 He arrived on 25 July in the French corvette *Elisabeth* under Captain Gaspar Fardeloux, after a twenty-five-day journey from Istanbul: IMHB, FS, Serie V, fols. 74–78, dated 28 July, 1 August, and 15 August 1787. A broadsheet published in Valencia the same year described him as "tall and stout, with olive skin and a heavy beard; affable, and about forty-five years of age." It listed the political and diplomatic posts he had held in his country. His delegation included a secretary, two dragomans, and a treasurer, the rest being servants: Burguete, *Relación Nueva*.

29 According to Meynard he produced "a simple report written in haste, in that tone of disdainful superiority that the Ottomans affected in their relations with Europe": "Ambassade," 505.

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boast about. Hispano-Ottoman relations were cemented more effectively by the presence in Spanish ports of Greek ships flying the caliph's flag that came loaded with wheat from the Black Sea and the Greek islands.[30] Further, when Vasif Effendi reached Barcelona the Spanish monarchy had already signed peace treaties with the regencies of Tripoli (1784) and Algiers (1786). In Vasif's account it was the Spanish king who enunciated the chief purpose of his mission: to obtain full protection for the subjects of both empires during their travels for business or other matters.[31]

Vasif therefore stressed the difficulties he met during his mission. He was probably aware of its slight importance, which corresponded to the Spanish embassy to the Ottoman court in 1784 that had been scarcely more than a courtesy visit.[32] The only modest success he could present to his superiors was his belief that Spaniards would have to accept Ottoman supremacy, however symbolically. He had described the caliph to Charles III as "the noblest king on earth: the illustrious, elevated, powerful, generous Emperor, my benefactor and master His Highness Sultan Abdul-Hamid-Khan," while referring to his Spanish counterpart as "the noble and distinguished king of Spain" – who, moreover, was an old man whose trembling hand could not hold the ambassador's letter of credentials, with "a nervous tremor that the letter's solemnity increased even more."[33]

Vasif's report, as we have observed, devolved into a tale of the conflicts or incidents he suffered from the Spanish authorities and, in his own opinion, emerged from in triumph for himself and the Ottoman cause. On two occasions he threatened to return home without having completed his mission. On his arrival in Barcelona he was informed that, after news of plague in several Levantine and Maghrebi ports, the nation's Supreme Board of Health had ordered a quarantine in the lazzaretto of Mahón for all ships proceeding from those cities.[34] The ambassador was carrying a letter from Spain's Minister Plenipotentiary in Istanbul that exempted him from the quarantine or at least allowed him to serve it in Barcelona, but the minister was not entitled to make

30 Martín Corrales, "Capitaines et navires gréco-ottomanes" and "Greek-Ottoman Captains."

31 The king supposedly told him, "I hope that from now on the subjects and negotiators of our respective States will enjoy complete security": Meynard, "Ambassade," 513–14.

32 González Castrillo, *El viaje de Gabriel Aristizábal*.

33 He also thought that Count Floridablanca, the Secretary of State or Prime Minister, loved flattery and was "much inclined to adulation": Meynard, "Ambassade," 513, 516.

34 For sanitary measures taken in the port of Barcelona throughout the eighteenth century, and during the arrival of this ambassador in particular, see Martín Corrales, *Comercio de Cataluña*, 152–53.

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that decision.[35] After a lengthy argument Vasif told the local board of health that if he could not serve the quarantine in Barcelona "I have decided to return home after destroying the gifts I was bringing."[36] Faced with this attitude the board of health, after receiving royal authorization,[37] allowed him to serve out the period in the Catalan capital.[38]

On a second occasion Vasif argued with the chancellor and the master of ceremonies ("an Armenian born in Jerusalem whose perversity is unmatched") over whether or not he should offer gifts to the most important figures at court, including the princes and the Prime Minister. At one point in the tense encounter he again threatened to leave the country: " 'Well then,' I cried, 'please give the orders for my immediate departure!'."[39]

A simple reading of the ambassador's report makes clear that he exerted pressure; after describing the various incidents involved he pronounced himself satisfied for having prevailed. On his threat to depart if his retinue could not serve the quarantine in Barcelona, he declared that "this won over their resistance." He also boasted of his refusal to offer gifts to anyone except the Spanish monarch, while describing the ones that he did distribute to officials in Barcelona, Valencia, La Granja, Madrid, and Cartagena.[40]

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35 Port authorities in Barcelona informed the city's board of health that they could not accept the petition of the "Ambassador of the Sublime Porte" to spend the quarantine in Barcelona, since he was required to proceed to Mahón: Josep Barberi y Vila to Junta de Sanidad, 26 July 1787: IMHB, FS, Serie I, leg. 18, fol. 109. They proposed that the envoy be addressed "in the most correct, decorous, and urbane terms, so that His Excellency may be persuaded to take this step for the strong reasons that are presented to him, rather than by force or violence."

36 Meynard, "Ambassade," 507.

37 Count Floridablanca as Secretary of State and Pedro Rodríguez de Campomanes, an influential member of the government, were informed in good time of the ambassador's arrival, according to correspondence with the *Capitán General* of Catalonia: IMHB, FS, Serie VII, leg. 4, fols. 112–14, dated 3, 8, 14, and 18 August 1787. Also Serie VIII, leg. 1, fols. 283, 291–92, 25 July and 14 August 1787.

38 He was allowed to remain with only his ten most essential followers, while the rest left for Mahón to serve out the quarantine there. Orders were issued to provide him with every necessity (tents, pavilions, food, and refreshments) to maintain his dignity during the quarantine period: José Barberí y Vila to the board of helath (*Junta de Sanidad del Ayuntamiento*), 26 and 27 July 1787, IMHB, FS, leg. 18, fols. 109, 111, 113; likewise fol. 112, Baron Linde to Junta de Sanidad, 27 July 1787. In his honor a commission, made up of important members of the city council and the Royal Magistrates' Court of Catalonia, agreed to reduce his quarantine by five days: José Barberí y Vila to Junta de Sanidad, 21 August 1787, fol. 129.

39 Nonetheless he distributed gifts in Barcelona, Valencia, Madrid, and Cartagena: Meynard, "Ambassade," 515.

40 Meynard, "Ambassade"; Burguete, *Relación Nueva*.

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Vasif presents other incidents as victories of his own or on behalf of his sovereign. After mounting a protest he managed to be classed as an ambassador extraordinary, rather than as the second-class one that he actually admitted to be, boasting of having persuaded the Spanish court that "personally I enjoyed a considerable rank at the Sublime Porte." He adds that European ambassadors at the court regarded him with envy.[41] He also balked at the Spanish protocol of waiting on the Secretary of State before meeting the king, and while he finally accepted, "it will be done incognito."[42]

Vasif expressed his anger on other occasions. In Valencia he presented the viceroy with a "richly adorned" purse and received two bottles of olive oil in exchange, causing him to describe Spaniards as sordid and stingy. He judged his lodgings at La Granja to be insufficient for his retinue.[43] He complained that his expenses in Spain were not fully reimbursed, noting that the Ottoman government financed the visits of Spanish ambassadors to Istanbul in full.[44] He founded all his complaints on the arrogance and ignorance of Spaniards, who were unaware of Ottoman diplomatic practices – the only ones that should be followed, in his opinion.[45]

Even Vasif admits that his comments are at odds with the signs of respect offered to him during his mission. The king granted him two audiences, and the Secretary of State met with him four times. The Captain General of Valencia invited him to supper after asking him to send over his own cooks.

The ambassador's report offers little information about the reality of Spain. It stresses the great excitement generated by his passage through different Spanish cities, an attempt to endow his mission with greater prestige. Of his thirty-two days in Barcelona he spent twenty-seven in quarantine in the lazzaretto,[46] where he recalls the expectation that surrounded his presence there

41 He would not accept being treated "on a footing of equality with the envoys of other powers": Meynard, "Ambassade," 511, 514. In Barcelona and Valencia, "because he did not hold the rank of Ambassador, and was not a Pasha, he received no royal artillery salute or escort of guards flying the flag, and was given only the honors prescribed for a Lieutenant General, without any greater distinction": Bruguete, *Relación Nueva*.

42 Meynard, "Ambassade," 510.

43 On the character of Spaniards: "One may judge by this treatment alone the sordid and avaricious nature of Spaniards." On his lodging: "It could scarcely contain the members of the mission and the gifts": Meynard, "Ambassade," 509–10.

44 Meynard, "Ambassade," 510, 520.

45 "[T]he haughty character of the Spanish and their ignorance of the Imperial government's customs." Elsewhere in the report he refers to "the arrogant and presumptuous nature of Spaniards." He had explained to the Spanish master of ceremonies that European norms were invalid for the Ottoman caliph: Meynard, "Ambassade," 514–15.

46 Burguete, *Relación Nueva*.

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("the fence around it was weighed down by a crowd that greeted us from afar"), a curiosity that reached its height when the Ottomans moved into the city. So thick was the press that a fifteen-minute journey stretched to five hours: "Although the lazzaretto is no more than a quarter of an hour's walk from the town, it took us almost five hours to make the journey, so great was the crowd along our way." Something similar occurred in Valencia: "the crowd that blocked our passage as we made our way to our lodging was so thick that the soldiers could barely open a path for us through the people." The ambassador, to satisfy all their curiosity, "has eaten where everyone can see him, and has gone out several times in complete openness to view the shipyards, theaters, and other sights."[47] In La Granja likewise, "the crowd, drawn by curiosity, pressed with friendly astonishment along the path of the cortege." It grew as they grew closer to the king's quarters:

> I cannot attempt to describe the gathering of people that this spectacle drew to our route. Five or six rows of spectators crowded onto the balconies, and I have been assured that windows were rented out at one hundred piastres. Carriages and coaches filled with the curious were stopped along the streets and made our passage slower and more difficult.[48]

In Madrid, interest centered on observing the ambassador at mealtimes.[49] Vasif complained that the music played for him at noble houses in Madrid was "unbearable," though he seems to have enjoyed a fandango he heard in Barcelona. The musicians in his own train, however, pleased their audiences. In Barcelona he had "one of his musicians sing a good aria in Arabic, which he did, it being well received by all"; in Valencia he offered a concert of Turkish music with a band "composed of two flutes, a tambourine, a marine trumpet, and a violin; then a Turk sang some verses in Arabic." In Madrid "the musicians and singers who accompanied the mission had a great success."[50]

Vasif says little about the state of the Spanish administration, army, or economy, matters that would have been useful for his own country. His account of

47 Burguete, *Relación Nueva*; Meynard, "Ambassade," 508–09.

48 "[J]e renonce à descrire le concours de peuple que ce spectacle avait réuni sur notre passage. Cinq ou six rangées de spectateurs se pressaient sur les balcons, et l'on m'a affirmé que des fenêtres avaient été louées cent piastres. Des voitures, des chariots encombrés de curieux stationnaient dans les rues, et rendaient notre marche plus lente et plus difficile." The king's children were also eager to see Vasif: Meynard, "Ambassade," 511–12, 514.

49 "An innumerable mob came to meet me, especially during meals; our customs seemed to surprise them very much": Meynard, "Ambassade," 511.

50 Burguete, *Relación Nueva*; Meynard, "Ambassade," 518.

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the military academy in Segovia is brief, though he does remark on its classrooms equipped with mathematical instruments, maps, charts, and other items. He notes that in the royal cloth factory in Segovia he saw splendid textiles, while the mint lay in ruins. He also comments favorably on what he saw of the transportation system.[51]

The ambassador makes an interesting assessment of commercial relations between Spain and North Africa; in spite of a few errors it is largely accurate, as well as proof of the pragmatism that reigned at the time in the country's contacts with Muslim countries. We quoted above his remark on Spain's need for imports of food from North Africa in exchange for gold and silver; that explained the monarch's respectful treatment of the sultan of Morocco, who sent precious metals obtained in that trade to be minted into coins in the Peninsula.[52]

Vasif shows little emotion concerning Spain's Muslim past, mentioning only that Segovia retained many traces of it.[53] In a visit to El Escorial and its library of Islamic manuscripts, however, he displayed greater concern and regret:

> When the Spaniards triumphed over the Arabs they gathered all the Islamic books and placed them in two rooms of this monastery. A fire consumed one of these collections, which numbered twelve thousand volumes. The remaining one includes about five thousand volumes and I was offered its printed catalogue. European works occupy the lower level, while the Muslim books are ranged on the upper one. Among them I saw, not without strong regret, several ancient copies of the Quran and a considerable number of works related to jurisprudence, theology, and traditions.[54]

Vasif's limitations as an ambassador and his effort to enhance his reputation with his superiors show most clearly in his opinions about the Spanish-Algerian

51 Meynard, "Ambassade," 517.

52 Paradela Alonso, *El otro laberinto*, 102–03; Meynard, "Ambassade," 512.

53 Meynard, "Ambassade," 517.

54 "Quand les Espagnols triompherent des Arabes, ils réunirent tous les livres musulmans et les placèrent dans deux salles de ce monastère. L'incendie dévora l'une de ces collections, qui renfermait douze mille volumes. Celle qui existe encore compte environ cinq mille volumes, dont le catalogue imprimé me fût offert. Les ouvrages européens occupent l'étage inférieur, et à l'étage superieur sont rangés les livres musulmans, parmi lesquels je vis, non sans de vifs regrets, plusieures copies anciennes du Coran, et un nombre considérable d'ouvrages relatifs à la jurisprudence, à la théologie et aux traditions": Meynard, "Ambassade," 518.

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peace treaty of 1786. He reported with disdain that while Spain had been generous to the Dey, supplying Algeria's arsenals with military equipment and ransoming twelve hundred Spanish captives at a thousand reales a head (even paying for those who had died during the negotiations), Algeria had given in exchange only three horses, two lions, and a few ostriches. The Dey, "to show his contempt even further," had handed the animals over to the Spanish consul in Algiers so that Spain would have to pay for their transport to the Peninsula. Vasif declares that Spain emerged more humiliated than any other Christian power: "One can judge by these examples with what humility [Spain] abases itself, more than all the other infidel governments, before the pious disdain of the Algerians."[55] Obviously, this attitude did not leave much scope for the Spanish government to discuss with the Ottoman ambassador its relations with the Regency of Algiers. It is further proof that Vasif's embassy should be considered as almost a visit of courtesy without any concrete objective.

After an eight-month stay in Spain – we do not know what he did toward the end of that time – Vasif embarked in Cartagena on 1 April 1788 in the frigate *Santa Rosa* under Captain Federico Gravina, who conveyed him back to Istanbul. In May of that year Juan de Bouligny told Count Floridablanca that Vasif Effendi had been "very grateful and satisfied about the treatment and attention he received during the sea voyage," adding that "until now he has not ceased to praise the benignity, generosity, and magnificence of His Majesty and our Court in attentive and grateful terms, assuring me that Spain is a great power and an intimate friend of the Porte."[56] As we already know, he changed his mind when he put pen to paper. We have a translated letter from the ambassador in which he acknowledges his good treatment by the captain of the Spanish frigate that took him to Constantinople and describes the Spanish court as "our friend":

> Having been sent by order of the Sublime Porte as an ambassador to the West, by a similar order I now return. I have assured the court of this through the bearer of this [letter], the brigadier and commander in the service of the court of Spain who is our friend, named Don Felipe López Carrizosa. I cannot fail to say in his praise that we have been treated on all occasions with the greatest distinction; with unquestionable proofs they have always shown us much more than we could have expected; and we are most happy with the commander and his officers. And that he

55 Meynard, "Ambassade," 521–22.

56 Gravina, *Descripción de Constantinopla*, 36.

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may show our satisfaction on his return to Spain, we have given him this letter.[57]

6.2 Muslim Ambassadors Who Passed through Spain

As we noted at the beginning of this chapter, there were other ambassadors who stopped over at Spanish ports during journeys to or from the courts to which their sovereigns had sent them. Most of our information concerns Moroccans, a testament to the good state of Spanish-Moroccan relations, but this group also includes Algerians, Tunisians, Tripolitans, and Ottomans. Further research will surely identify even more than those we discuss here. It is difficult to establish to what extent they were true ambassadors sent on particular missions, or simply persons who, with the pretext of a pilgrimage to Mecca, were bearing gifts for the caliph in Constantinople or on some similar journey.

Some of these men reached Madrid, where none of them was received officially although almost all sought to be. The objectives of their journeys were various European capitals, although some were bound for Istanbul and other points in the Islamic world. Most of them were conveyed free of charge to and from their destinations in Spanish warships, the rest traveling in private vessels that were also financed by the Royal Treasury.[58]

Paying the cost of transporting and maintaining ambassadors to a court was a common practice in Europe, North Africa, and the Ottoman Empire, and was often extended to diplomats who were merely in transit in ports of those countries. We wish to stress here that most of the envoys who stopped in Spanish ports took advantage of the ambiguities inherent in international diplomatic norms, the texts of the Treaties of Peace and Friendship, and local customs and usages to gain extra financial support for their missions. They would argue

57 "Haviendo sido embiado pr orden de la Sublime Puerta en calidad de embajador al Occidente por orden de la misma deviendo regresar, lo he verificado a esta corte con el portador de la presente que es el Brigadier y comandante a el servicio de la Corte de España nuestra Amiga, llamado dn. Felipe Lopez Carrizosa. No puedo dejar de decir en su elogio, sino que hemos sido tratados en todas ocasiones con las mayores distinciones, y con pruebas nada equivocas que nos han demostrado en todo tiempo mucho mas de lo que podíamos esperar; y estamos mui contentos del sr. Comandante y oficiales; y para que manifieste a su regreso a España nuestra satisfaccion le hemos dado la presente carta": letter conveyed by the Ottoman court to Spain's dragoman in Constantinople, dated 12 April 1788, AHN, Estado, leg. 4316.

58 I will not discuss here those who were transported by third parties, in warships or private vessels.

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openly, or at least suggest, that their governments did not provide them with sufficient funds, forcing them to rely on their private resources. They were able to exploit the concern of successive Spanish governments for obtaining favorable interlocutors in their relations with Morocco, and the same was true to a greater or lesser extent of ambassadors from other Muslim countries. These individuals, aware of their usefulness in defending Spain's interests in their respective homelands, did not hesitate to request generous grants and loans in exchange for future favors in their countries of origin. While some fulfilled their promises to further Spain's causes, others did nothing of the kind, and resented not having received the respect they thought was due to them.

6.2.1 *Moroccan Ambassadors in Search of Free Passage*

The largest contingent of ambassadors who stopped over in Spain were Moroccans sent on diplomatic missions by their sultan. This should not surprise in view of the conditions of navigation at the time and Spain's strategic location for Moroccan travelers in ships of their own country or others.[59] The ruler usually asked Spain's consul general in his country to charter a ship to take an ambassador to his eventual destination. These orders, as translated by the consul's interpreters or those of the court, are couched in an imperative tone – sometimes treating the consul as a slave, sometimes as a friend – that never admits willingness on the sultan's part to assume the costs of the voyage. We should view this attitude by the ruler or his ministers and governors as reflecting the privileges and benefits that the Spanish enjoyed: exemption from, or reduction of, customs duties on the export of Moroccan products; commercial advantages such as the monopoly on exporting wheat from Dar al-Beida, etc. For the sultan (and for some Spanish authorities, as documents show) free voyages were a kind of payment for these concessions, the counter-gift that matched the original gift.[60]

The port city of Cádiz played an important role in these arrangements, since many of the persons we are about to describe passed through it on their outward or homeward journeys.[61] The whole area of the Bay of Cádiz was

59 Among many possible examples is that of the Moroccan corsair frigate assigned to carry Ambassador Sid Mahamet Ben Abdeljadi to Malta in 1781. Tangier's governor asked the Spanish consul in his city to recommend the ambassador to authorities in Málaga in case the ship had to dock there: Juan Manuel González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Tangier, 27 March 1781, AHN, Estado, leg. 4314.

60 Recall the reciprocity of gifts and counter-gifts between the sovereigns of Morocco and Spain mentioned in section 4 of Chapter 5: J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, 9 October 1789, AHN, Estado, leg. 4321.

61 I will speak only of embassies that are formally documented, although we infer that many other cases could be cited. A large number of the sultan's many embassies were headed

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important to Hispano-Moroccan relations, especially in the realms of trade and diplomacy.[62]

6.2.1.1 Sid Brahim al-Mansur (1774)

We do not know if he is the same man who appeared in Cartagena in 1767 bearing the title of Admiral; only that in 1774 he was supposed to embark in Tetouan on a mission to the French court. From Tetouan he would proceed to Algeciras where he and his retinue would disembark and then travel to France by land, but we do not know if that journey was ever made.[63]

6.2.1.2 Tahir Fannis (1777–1778)

Tahir Fannis, or Sidi Tahir Ben Abdalhaqq Fannis, was an *alcaide* and also commander of the Moroccan artillery; he led several embassies to countries and capitals including London (1773), Paris (1777–1778), and Istanbul (1788).[64] On his mission to the French capital he passed through at least one Spanish port. Although the sources are not entirely reliable, everything indicates that the ship taking him to Marseille stopped in Barcelona in November 1777. The city's governor ordered port officials to provide "everything that the ambassador may need in the way of provisions," while taking the usual precautions as to health; the ship took on twelve casks of water and "twenty ordinary wooden planks."[65]

In August 1780 Fennis was sent to Cádiz, in an unknown rank or position; he arrived aboard the Moroccan frigate *La Maymuna* of fourteen guns under Captain Ali Sabuny. The statement by the Spanish authorities that "he comes with orders from his sovereign to carry out certain commissions given to him orally" is corroborated by a letter from the sultan: "the matters that he will convey in person to you from us, having to do with our commissions." He was

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by a relatively small group of *alcaides* and captains, but I limit myself to those I can document.

62 Martín Corrales, "Le commerce de la bahie de Cadix," "El comercio de la bahía de Cádiz," and "El comercio de Cataluña con Marruecos."

63 Isidro Romero Berganza, Spain's vice consul in Salé, to Marquis of Grimaldi: Salé, 5 September 1774, AHN, Estado, leg. 4312.

64 His name is variously transliterated as Tahar Fennich, Tahar Fannis, Tahir Fannis, and other forms. See Arribas Palau, "Al Tahir Fannis en Cádiz"; Caillé, "Les naufragés de la Louise."

65 The port captain reported that the ship had arrived from Gibraltar in the afternoon of 5 November: "The ambassador of the Emperor of Morocco who arrived this afternoon, [with] the French captain Estevan Lambert in his brigantine coming from Gibraltar, requests the provisions described in the attached paper, which is what he needs for now": Onofre Segura to Marquis of Lliò, 5 November 1777, IMHB, Fons de Sanitat, Serie X, legajo 8; Caillé, "Les naufragés de la Louise."

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accompanied by eleven family members, a gentleman friend, two secretaries, an interpreter, a chamberlain, two pages, a cook with his assistant, a drum major, and a doorman. The Bourbon treasury paid for the retinue's expenses and lodging during its stay in Cádiz. Antonio de Gálvez, the city treasurer, reported to its governor, Count O'Reilly, that the payments were necessary "since I know the character of that Moorish prince and his vassals, and how convenient it is in today's critical circumstances [the war between Spain and England] to keep them happy."[66]

One of Fannis's commissions was to hear the petition of some Maltese who had been seized out of a Ragusan ship by a Moroccan frigate. He was also to acquire wheat, which was scarce in Morocco at the time. In Cádiz he was allowed three hundred *fanegas* of three different grades of wheat, which were shipped in the frigate to Salé the following month. On 1 October Gálvez informed O'Reilly that "I have not received an order to collect payment for the three hundred fanegas of wheat that I sent to the emperor as samples following the instructions in your letter, for which he was so grateful, doubtless because he took them for a gift."[67] The governor wrote in turn to the Secretary of State, explaining that such situations were frequent: "as it often happens that Moors sent by His Moroccan Majesty arrive at this port, I cannot help reminding Your Excellency that you should inform me of what is best to be done."[68]

Fannis returned to Tangier on 7 November in a brigantine that bore a gift for the sultan of Morocco. He left behind his secretary and four other Moroccans in the house assigned to them, thus incurring more expenses for the Spaniards. The governor explained to the Secretary of State why it was best to pay them:

> I am always concerned that the Moor Taher-Fenix or another chosen by the king for his commissions will return to this port, and Your Excellency will decide if in this case a daily sum should be provided to support him decently or if he must support himself; and I must tell Your Excellency that when Taher Fenix came he told Lieutenant-Colonel Don Antonio de Gálvez that he had brought no money of his own. We expect that any

66 My fundamental source is Arribas Palau, "Al Tahir Fannis en Cádiz": he consulted the documents on the case found in *legajos* 4315 and 5806 of the Estado section of AHN. The quotation from the letter from Antonio de Gálvez to Count O'Reilly, 16 September 1780, is in AHN, Estado, leg. 4315.

67 Antonio de Gálvez to Count O'Reilly, Cádiz, 16 September 1780, AHN, Estado, leg. 4315.

68 Count O'Reilly to Count Floridablanca, 17 October 1780, AHN, Estado, leg. 4315.

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> other who comes on the king's behalf will say the same and assume that his expenses will be paid.[69]

The king ordered payment of the expenses Fannis had incurred. Meanwhile, Gálvez reported that he had arranged for the remaining members of Fannis's retinue to leave the city:

> I have their agreement to carry it out [the return to Tangier] at the earliest sign of good weather, for which I have ready a felucca among those that I charter. And I will ensure that in the future there will be no more costs than those necessary ones Your Excellency commands.[70]

The Secretary of State approved the plan, notifying the governor of Cádiz that he should end "the habit that [Moroccans] may be acquiring" of arriving in a Spanish port and staying there without any motive except to enjoy "the comforts and support" they received from the public treasury. He added that "it is not the same to spend on a prince's ambassador as on a private citizen who comes to discharge a few errands of a purely commercial nature." He instructed the governor to "see how you may rid yourself politely" of the Moroccans who had stayed behind in Cádiz, suggesting to them that, "since they had received all the attention they could expect from the government in facilities for their business, they should take care of their own maintenance." Still, Floridablanca thought it better "to assign each of them a reasonable daily amount than to let them spend freely according to their whims."[71]

Governor O'Reilly "insinuated" to the Moroccans still in Cádiz "that they should seize such a good occasion to see their sovereign, who would disapprove of their remaining here without any pressing reason." He agreed with the

69 "[S]iempre recelo que se restituirá a esta plaza el moro Taher-Fenix u otro que elixa el Rey para sus encargos y V.E. resolverá si, en este caso, se le ha de señalar algún diario para su decente manutención o si se dexará que lo costee por si; debiendo yo decir a V.E. que, quando vino Taher Fenix, manifestó al teniente coronel don Antonio de Galvez no haver traido dinero suio, es de recelar que qualquiera otro que venga por comisión del Rey dirá lo mismo, esperando que se le hará el gasto": Count O'Reilly to Count Floridablanca, 14 November 1780, AHN, Estado, leg. 4315.

70 "[T]engo consentidos en que la efectúen al primer buen tiempo que se presente, para lo que les tengo prevenido un falucho de los de rentas de mi mando, y procuraré con buen modo el que en lo subsesivo no se hagan mas gastos que los que V.E. mande y sean precisos": Gálvez to Count Floridablanca, 5 December 1780, AHN, Estado, leg. 4315, caja 1.

71 Floridablanca to Count O'Reilly, San Lorenzo [El Escorial], 28 November 1780, AHN, Estado, leg. 4315, caja 1.

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Secretary of State "that it would be easiest to follow the rule of treating them with welcome and favor in their business, while allowing them to pay their own way"; otherwise the visitors would abuse their privilege "and then feel more entitled to the custom and be more offended when it was taken away."[72]

Faced with this situation, Fannis told the governor of Cádiz in November that the Emperor had ordered the departure of the Moroccans who had no more reason to remain in the city:

> There are many Muslims in Cádiz who have no merchandise, because the former governor here, Wald Ballah, would authorize anyone who wished to travel to Christian lands to do so, and in this he was not right. And today our lord has ordered the Muslims who are living among you to return, and has commanded al-Prubi and the governor here not to authorize travel to Christian lands except to those who own property and are of good reputation, and who will bear letters from them to you so that no error is committed. For my lord does not wish anyone to deceive such as to cause losses to a Spaniard by a Muslim or to a Muslim by a Spaniard, so that their mutual relations can remain correct.

Specifically, Fannis stated that Moroccans traveling to Cádiz would have to show a permit from the governor of Tangier or from Muhammad al-Prubi, who oversaw the Moroccan customs posts of Tetouan and Tangier.[73]

Fannis described accurately what had happened with various ambassadors, envoys, and emissaries: on arrival they would declare that the sultan had given them no funds to purchase the goods he had sent them to Cádiz to obtain. No doubt this was true, but it forced the Spanish authorities to provide the goods for free, as gifts, while at the same time paying for the expenses of the envoys' stays in Spain. The Spanish preferred to "keep the Moroccans happy," but these

72 O'Reilly to Count Floridablanca, Cádiz, 5 December 1780, AHN, Estado, leg. 4315, caja 1.

73 "[E]n Cádiz hay numerosos musulmanes que no tienen mercancías, porque el governador que había aquí, que era Wald Ballah, a todo el que deseaba pasar a tierra de cristianos, se lo autorizaba, y en esto no era justo. Y nuestro señor ha ordenado hoy que los musulmanes que hay junto a vosotros regresen; y ha ordenado a al-Prubi y al governador que hay aquí que no autorice el paso a tierra de cristianos sino a quien posea bienes y tenga buena reputación, el cual llevará cartas para ti de ellos para que no ocurra ninguna falta, porque mi señor no quiere que nadie engañe causando pérdidas a un español junto a un musulmán ni a un musulmán junto al español a fin de que el trato entre ellos se mantenga correcto": Arribas Palau, "Al Tahir Fannis." Tahir Fennis wrote in Arabic to Governor O'Reilly of Cádiz on 25 November 1780: translation in AHN, Estado, leg. 4315, caja 1.

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repeated and costly abuses explain why by 1780 they had decided to set some limits.

Fannis may have been one of two Moroccan ambassadors who were returning from a mission to Istanbul in October 1783. Sidi Abd Ali and Abd-Ardé Ferric arrived in Cartagena on 22 October aboard a polacre from Ragusa, proceeding from Istanbul with stops in Chios and Tunis. Their retinue consisted of twelve persons. After taking on water and wood they sailed for Tangier the next day.[74]

Fannis reappears in Spanish sources when a new mission took him to Istanbul in 1788. This time he traveled in the Spanish frigate *Santa Cecilia* under Captain Felipe López Carrizosa. José Moreno, who in 1790 published an account of an earlier voyage to the Ottoman capital in 1784, added an appendix about that of 1788:

> The steady friendship of our late king [Charles III] with King Mohamet Ben-Abdalla of Morocco and Fez was displayed with notable actions. One of them, not the last, was when the Moorish sovereign in late 1787 requested two warships from Spain to return to Constantinople a Turkish ambassador and a minister who were then in his domains, and also to convey another ambassador from His Moroccan Majesty with his gifts for the Great Lord.

In February of that year the Spanish frigate embarked Fannis in Tangier together with an Ottoman ambassador and minister about whom I will speak later; the retinue numbered seventy-four persons in all. They sailed to Cartagena where they were joined by the brigantine *Ardilla*, and in April both warships departed for Istanbul. Both ambassadors left written thanks for the good treatment they received from both ships' captains. The expedition tried to fulfill another desire of the sultan's: to stop in Alexandria to pick up his son, Prince Muley Abdelmelek, who would be on his way home to Morocco after making the pilgrimage to Mecca. It did not succeed because the prince did not appear, but the sovereign appreciated the gesture.[75]

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74 The polacre was the *Virgen de Gracia* under Captain Nicolas Papi: Martínez Rizo, *Fechas y fechos*, 2:205.

75 "La constante amistad del Rey Padre con Mohamet Ben-Abdallá, Rey de Marruecos y de Fez, se mostró con obras señaladas. Una, no la última, fue quando el Soberano Moro, á fines de 1787, pidió á la España dos buques de guerra para volver a Constantinopla un Embaxador y un Ministro Turcos, que se hallaban en sus dominios; y llevar también otro Embaxador de S.M. Marroquí con sus regalos al Gran Señor": Moreno, *Viage á Constantinopla*, Appendix xxv-xxvi; González Castrillo, *El viaje de Gabriel Aristizábal*, 81.

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6.2.1.3 Muhammad b. Abd al-Malik (1782–1783)

The governor of Tangier, Muhammad b. Abd al-Malik, presents another good example of how Moroccan ambassadors took advantage of Spanish help in their missions to other countries. In 1782 the Moroccan emperor named him ambassador to Naples, Tuscany, and Vienna. Abd al-Malik then asked his friend Juan Manuel González Salmón to charter two ships on his behalf: both were from neutral countries, Venice and Sweden respectively, and had arrived in Tangier in June. On receiving the contracts the ambassador argued that he could not be expected to pay them in the light of services he had rendered to Spain (which was true), and because the sultan had not provided him with funds. González Salmón replied that his embassy did not concern Spain at all, and that he should not have waited until the last minute to make his demands. The sum of the two charters for a four-month period came to 5,691 pesos fuertes, and the governor claimed he would have to sell his jewelry to pay that amount. González Salmón wrote to Count Floridablanca as Secretary of State suggesting that the ambassador be granted three thousand pesos fuertes, half in advance and half at the end of the mission.[76] The ports of Málaga, Cartagena, Alicante, and Barcelona were alerted that the embassy might stop there, to avoid inconveniences to the ship and its passengers even though they might have to serve a quarantine. The Spanish ambassador to Tuscany was ordered to welcome the Moroccan ambassador and give him introductions. Abd el-Malik left Tangier on 18 September 1782 accompanied by twenty-seven Moroccan Muslims and two Jews; they paused in Almería (23 September) and Alicante (3 to 7 October), where they were properly housed. The ambassador gave the governor of Alicante a note expressing his satisfaction, stating:

> I certify that on my arrival in this harbor I have been complimented, greeted, received, and attended with all decency, promptness, and abundance of what has been offered for my lodging and maintenance and that of all my retinue, without reserve or stint, in rooms, waiting at table, beds, and all else touching on what is proper to my station, as well as in the prompt supplying of requests for provisions for continuing our voyage, in what concerns meats, fowl, bread, greens, fruit, and other foods; also

76 The incident is abundantly documented. J.M. González Salmón, the Spanish consul with whom Abd el-Malik discussed his finances, wrote that "it is no fault of ours that the king his master is stingy even with his own vassals": Tangier, 16 July 1782. Abd al-Malik wrote to Count Floridablanca from Tuscany that he had received the sum agreed upon, "a kind act for which God will reward you": Abd al-Malik to Count Floridablanca, 17 September 1782, AHN, Estado, leg. 4314.

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> what concerns barley, straw, wood, and other utensils and necessities for the care and maintenance of twenty horses and the building of their stalls – all without having spent from my treasury any amount in payment of the above and all else that has been provided.

The governor of Alicante added that the ambassador had also been given sugar, spices, chocolate, gunpowder, and other items. After completing their mission the ambassador and his suite returned to Alicante on 9 August 1783, aboard the Ragusan polacre *La Felicidad* under Captain Miguel Lupi. Again they spent several days ashore, lodged and welcomed as before, and did not sail until 12 August. The ambassador's first stay in Alicante cost 1,241 libras, seventeen sueldos, and nine dineros in local currency; the second, 446 libras, five sueldos, and eight dineros. Together they came to almost thirty thousand reales de vellón, which were reimbursed to the city by the Royal Treasury. On 20 August the embassy docked at Tangier, and once Abd el-Malik had regained his post as governor he made several demands on the Spanish consul, who told the Secretary of State that it was best to satisfy him and keep him "entirely devoted to us."[77] Finally, in May 1784 the governor was informed that Spain would grant him another forty thousand reales, for which he gave thanks.[78] Meanwhile Abd el-Malik tried unsuccessfully to be reimbursed by his own sovereign, but returned from an audience at court unhappy:

> He did not come back very satisfied, for it seems [the sultan] does not want to repay him for any of the costs of his embassy to Vienna; this has made him angry and eager to find some money.[79]

77 J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Tangier, 5 September 1783, AHN, Estado, leg. 4317.

78 "Certifico que a mi arribo a esta bahía he sido cumplimentado, saludado, recibido y agasajado con toda decencia, prontitud y abundancia de quanto se ha ofrecido para mi alojamiento y manutención y de toda mi comitiva, sin reserva alguna, ni escasés, así en la habitazion como en la asistencia de la mesa, camas y demas respectivo al decoro de mi carácter, como en el apronto y servicio de quanto se ha pedido de prevenciones para la continuacion de mi viaje, tanto por lo tocante a carnes, aves, pan, verduras, frutas y otros viveres, quanto por lo perteneciente a sevada, paja, leña y otros utensilios y menesteres para el conreo y conservación de veinte caballos y composición de sus estancias, sin haber librado de mi Thesorería cantidad alguna para el pago de lo referido y demas que se ha suministrado": Arribas Palau, "Un embajador marroquí en Alicante."

79 "No viene mui satisfecho, porque parece no le ha querido pasar ningún gasto de los ocasiones en su Embaxada a Viena y esto lo trahe digustado y con muchas ganas de recoger dinero": J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, 27 March 1784, AHN, Estado, leg. 4317.

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Clearly, Spain assumed significant costs for an embassy unrelated to its own affairs, in order to remain in the good graces of the governor of Tangier. The governor, in turn, did not hesitate to trade the favors he had offered for free charters and soujourns in Spanish ports.

6.2.1.4 Hach Ben Mohamet (1782–1783)

In 1782 Hach Ben Mohamet embarked in the English frigate *La Colom* (so called in the Spanish source: *The Dove*?) on an embassy to the court in London from the Moroccan sultan, but his vessel was seized by Spanish ships of the line and taken into Cádiz. The Moroccan was detained (though "treated decently"), accused of being a spy and of serving as an expert on English ships when they were being pursued along the southern coast of Portugal by the English. The Secretary of State sent an order to the Spanish consul in Tangier and Father José Boltas:

> Both of you must complain to His Moroccan Majesty that this man has come as a spy and ally of the English, and make him understand that the man should be punished as he deserves.[80]

By January 1783 the Secretariat of State had taken a fresh interest in his situation.[81] An undated, unsigned memo noted that the ambassador "at this time is at the home of the acting commander of La Carraca, where he is treated with deference until it is decided what to do with him." In April of that year the governor of Cádiz wrote to Count Floridablanca that because "the Moor Haggi Ben Hamet has frequent bouts of madness, or pretends to," he had been confined incommunicado in the castle of Santa Catalina.[82] In June 1783 Count Floridablanca wrote to the governor of Tangier that

80 "…se quexen ambos a S. M. M. de que este hombre viniese por espia y practico de los Yngleses y hagan entender a S. M. M. que el Rey espera lo haga castigar como merece." Ben Mohamet had touched at Cádiz in December 1781 on a journey to Marseille "for private business." The Spanish doubted in principle that the Moroccan sultan had really sent him to England, but two of his letters that came to light proved that his trip to the British Isles was an official one: Count Floridablanca to J.M. González Salmón, San Ildefonso, 18 October and 1 November 1782, AHN, Estado, leg. 4316.

81 He also appears as Haggi Ben Jamet and Ben Hamet. Draft of a letter from El Pardo to Juan Manuel González Salmón, Spain's consul general in Morocco, 21 January 1783; shortly afterward the consul referred to him in a letter to Count Floridablanca. Both documents are in AHN, Estado, leg. 4317.

82 Count O'Reilly, governor of Cádiz, to Count Floridablanca, Cádiz, 29 April 1793. AHN, Estado, 5809–5810, Exp. 19.

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> the king, who so values the friendship and person of His Moroccan Majesty, has graciously ordered that the Moor Haggi Ben Jamet be placed at liberty or sent to Tangier at your disposal. He was imprisoned in Cádiz because his statements and papers confirmed our information that he was a very suspicious figure for us, having come from London during the war with important messages for the British Cabinet.

That same month he was turned over to the governor of Tangier, though Spain asked that he be spared the death penalty.[83] But Ben Mohamet met a tragic end. Perhaps because of the madness that was detected in Cádiz, he proclaimed in public that Mohammed was not the true Prophet, on which the sultan of Morocco ordered

> that while he was alive his tongue, feet, and hands be cut off, and then four explosives be placed on his head and chest, a sentence that was carried out at once. … He was given this death for having spoken too freely to the king, and after His Majesty had told him to declare publicly that Mohammed was the true Prophet and the messenger of God, he refused to do so; because of which the sovereign resolved to take his life in the manner described. He then commanded eight Jews to bury the body in the cemetery of the Hebrews, saying that he was like one of them and not a Mohammedan. And though it was claimed that he was entirely mad, that did not allow the unhappy man to avoid suffering an unfortunate death, nor did he have to give the slightest information about his mission, false or true, to London, for he was not questioned about that point.

The Spanish authorities never learned the reason for Ben Mohamet's embassy to London.[84]

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83 "[E] el Rey que tanto aprecia la amistad, y persona de S. M. M. ha condescendido en que se ponga libertad u se pase a Tanger a la disposición de V.S. al Moro Haggi Ben Jamet, que estaba detenido en Cadiz, de resultas de haberse confirmado con sus declaraciones, y papeles las noticias de que se tenían de ser hombre muy sospechoso para nosotros habiendo venido de Londres durante la guerra con comisiones importantes al Gabinete Britanico": Count Floridablanca to J.M. González Salmón, Aranjuez, 6 June 1783, AHN, Estado, leg. 4316. González Salmón had earlier reported that he had ordered the Moroccan embarked on the xebec *San Lino*, "which will surrender him as I am assured he will be received": letter to Count Floridablanca, Tangier, 4 April 1783, AHN, Estado, leg. 4317.

84 "…[Q]ue le cortasen vivo la Lengua, pies y manos, y después le echasen a mano quatro Bombas sobre la Caveza y el Pecho, cuia sentencia se executó inmediatamente…Se le ha dado dicha muerte por haber hablado al Rey con demasiada libertad, y haviendole dicho S.M. declarase en publico como Mahoma era verdadero Profeta y enviado por Dios, no

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6.2.1.5 Sid Amar Ben Ayà (1783)

In June 1783 the sultan of Morocco named Sid Amar Ben Ayà his ambassador to the States General of Holland, ordering him "to embark for Cádiz, where the consul of Holland resides." There he "swiftly" found a ship to carry him to his destination. Ben Ayà took ship in Tangier on a Spanish felucca bound for Cádiz, with a suite of sixteen persons and their belongings.[85]

6.2.1.6 Muhammad b. al-Hadi al-Hafi (1784–1789)

The envoy known as Sidi Abdelladi, Hadj Abdelladi, or Abdeladi Selaoui was dispatched to Malta on several occasions (1769, 1781, 1784, and 1789), charged with helping Muslim slaves there and ransoming as many as possible. On his first two missions he must have touched at Spanish ports, though I have not yet found the documentation.[86] In 1784 he asked the Spanish consul in Tangier, González Salmón, to alert Spanish ports in case his Moroccan frigate should stop over in any of them. He embarked for Barcelona with five companions in May 1784 in a Ragusan ship. Off Cape Licata in Sicily they crossed with the Spanish warship *El Triunfante* commanded by Gabriel de Aristizábal, which was carrying two envoys of the Moroccan sultan, Allal al-Awdi and Qaddur

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lo quiso hacer; en vista de lo qual resolvió el Soberano se le quitase la vida en los términos expresados, y después mandó llamar á ocho judíos, para que se le diese sepultura al Cadaver en el Simenterio de dichos Ebreos diciendo S.M. que era como uno de ellos, y no Mahometano; y aun que se asegura que se hallaba enteramente demente, no le valió al infeliz para que dexase de sufrir una desastrada muerte, ni tubo que dar el menor descargo en punto á la comisión que llevó fingida, o verdadera, á la Corte de Londres, pues no se le tocó sobre este punto." On the letter's cover is written: "Cruel death that His Moroccan Majesty has decreed for the Moor Haggi Ben Jamet, who was captured by our men in the English frigate *El Colón*, and was detained in Cádiz (as a result of having traveled to London with a commission from the King of Morocco during the war)": J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, 27 March 1784, AHN, Estado, leg. 4317. There are references to someone whom the sources call "the Moor Haggi Ben Jmet, who is detained in Cádiz," who had a commission and passed through Sanlúcar de Barrameda, but he does not appear to be the same man, since the dates fall after Ben Mohamet's execution: J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, 27 June 1783, AHN, Estado, leg. 4317.

85 J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Tangier, 4 June and 14 July 1783, AHN, Estado, leg. 4317. Some of his baggage had to be conveyed in a different ship that was chartered for eighty duros: J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Tangier, 24 July 1783, AHN, Estado, leg. 4317.

86 In March 1783 he asked the Spanish consul in Tangier to recommend him in case he stopped in Málaga on his way to Malta: "The ambassador himself and the Commander of Artillery of this port have asked me for a recommendation in case there is a stopover in Málaga." The consul wrote to the Count of Xerena asking him to attend, "preferably, others of his nation": J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Tangier, 27 March 1781, AHN, Estado, leg. 4314.

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al-Awdi, to Istanbul; al-Hafi transferred to that ship to travel with them to the Ottoman capital.[87] On his return in late 1786 he landed in Barcelona and went on to Madrid:

> During his stay in Barcelona he has shown very polite and flattering behavior and the same has occurred here. Therefore, since he hinted that he was short of money and asked for the loan of a sum to be repaid on his return to Rabat, on order of His Majesty he has been given twelve thousand reales de vellón. He has left a receipt for it, which I send to you to have in your keeping.

The receipt stated in Arabic:

> In acknowledgment of the debt of him who writes it, Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Hadi al-Hafi, six hundred Spanish pesos fuertes to the Count of Floridablanca, which he shall pay to the Spanish consul in Tangier.

Al-Hadi, worried that rumors might circulate about his doings on Malta, asked protection from the king of Spain; that ruler wrote to the sultan praising the Moroccan's dealings on the island and assuring him that his delay in Spain had been caused by illness.[88]

He reached Tangier in March and departed later that month for Marrakesh, bearing a letter from the Spanish monarch to the sultan. The consul recommended him to the "Minister Effendy"[89] while reminding him of his debt incurred in Spain, though he doubted it would be paid:

> I gave him a hint about the six hundred pesos fuertes that, by arrangement with Your Excellency and by order of His Majesty, we loaned him in Madrid; and he suggested that either after seeing the king his master or after returning home to Rabat he would be in possession of that sum. I doubt that is so, because I have heard, as I told Your Excellency in my

87 González Castrillo, *El viaje*, 81.

88 Count Floridablanca to J.M. González Salmón, El Pardo, 26 January 1787. Letter from the king of Spain to the sultan of Morocco, dated in El Pardo on 26 January 1787. The Moroccan's receipt dated 13 January 1787: AHN, Estado, leg. 4316. El Pardo to J.M. González Salmón, 16 and 26 January 1787, AHN, Estado, leg. 4319.

89 He hoped to have the sultan act "while ignoring any negative report he may have received about the conduct of Ben-Abdelhadi as to his dealings in Malta and the lengthy time he has spent on this commission": J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Tangier, 12 March 1787, AHN, Estado, leg. 4319.

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> letter No. 53, that he is very short of funds; and lately I learned that he incurred other debts in Spain, with the Venetian Ambassador in Madrid and with certain individuals in Cádiz, which makes it unlikely he can repay them all. Therefore I ask you if I should proceed against this Moor in some way in case he delays his repayment of those six hundred duros.[90]

Al-Hadi emerged successful from his audience with the sultan and returned to Tangier, where he turned over to the Spanish consul a Canary Island sailor who had been arrested for smuggling wax in Mogador. As a result the order came from Madrid "not to press this individual for the twelve thousand reales that were lent him here by order of the king our master, but rather to wait for him to repay them honestly."[91]

In May 1788 al-Hafi was in Tangier, about to embark on another embassy; he asked the European consuls there to charter him a ship for Cádiz, but was denied. He therefore went to Tetouan and boarded a Ragusan ship bound for Malta.[92]

6.2.1.7 Allal al-Awdi and Qaddur al-Awdi (1784)

These two *alcaides* and uncles of the sultan went on pilgrimage to Mecca in 1783, and the sultan took advantage of their journey to send a fine gift to the caliph in Istanbul. He also charged them with stopping in Malta to reimburse

90 "[L]e insinué algo sobre los Seiscientos Pesos fuertes que por disposición de V. E. y de orden de S. M. se le prestaron en esa Corte y me ofreció, que bien después que vea al rey, su Amo, o regresando á su Cassa de Rebat, dispondrá el abono de esta cantidad. Aun dudo lo compla asi porque tengo noticia como he dicho a V.E. en mi Carta nº 53 se halla mui limitado de facultades, y últimamente he sabido que ha contrahido otras deudas en España, con el Embaxador de Venecia en essa Corte, y algunos sujetos en Cadiz, lo que precisamente hace mas difícil la satisfacción de todas, y asi deseo saber de V. E. si he de tomar algun recurso contra este Moro en caso que retarde el pago de los citados Seiscientos Duros." He arrived in early March on a Ragusan ship: J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Tangier, 12 March 1787. The Secretariat of State understood that the debt would not be paid: Aranjuez to J.M. González Salmón, 15 May 1787, AHN, Estado, leg. 4319. In April the consul took up the matter again: "I greatly doubt that this Moor will replay the twelve thousand reales de vellón that His Majesty ordered and Your Excellency arranged for him to be loaned in Madrid; for according to my information he is a ruined man who does not even have food to eat in his house in Rabat": J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, 16 April 1787. In May the sultan was still demanding to see his ambassador, who had not yet appeared before him: translated letter from the sultan to J.M. González Salmón, 22 Ma7 1787, AHN, Estado, leg. 4319.

91 J. M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Tangier, 30 June and 10 July 1787, AHN, Estado, leg. 4319.

92 On his missions see Arribas Palau, "El marroquí Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Hadi."

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several Maltese who years before had been seized out of a Ragusan ship; their recompense was 383 bags of wax that weighed 509 quintales.[93] They sailed in November of that year from Tangier with a large retinue in a felucca of the Spanish monarch under Officer Rentas's command, bound for Cádiz; but "they were not very satisfied with the felucca, for they had expected a vessel of a higher rate to fetch them."[94] In Cádiz they collected the sum that the sultan had deposited there for a failed rescue of Muslim slaves in Malta.[95] They were among the few ambassadors who, having stopped at a Spanish port, were actually able to reach Madrid, as Floridablanca told the Spanish consul in Tangier:

> These two Moroccan *alcaydes* did not travel straight from Cádiz to Cartagena, as the king had instructed; though this was suggested to them they would not agree to it, insisting in traveling to the court. They duly arrived here and have been treated with all proper distinction: the king granted them an audience and received them in the kindest way, assigning them a daily sum for their sustenance, a carriage from the royal stables, and a comfortable house.[96]

From the capital they proceeded to Cartagena, arriving in February 1784.[97] Great efforts were made to give them comfortable accomodation:

> The king had ordered that they be welcomed and treated according to their rank, so that the commandant of the Department found great

93 Arribas Palau, "Sobre seis malteses."

94 They appear in the sources also as Al.lel and Caddor El Udiy: J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Tangier, 19 November 1783, AHN, Estado, leg. 4317. Also as Ali-el-Kador and Ben Hudy: Martínez Rizo, *Fechas y fechos*, 1:57.

95 Arribas Palau, "Rescate de cautivos musulmanes en Malta."

96 "Estos dos Alcaydes Marroquíes no pasaron en derechura de Cádiz a Cartagena como el Rey había dispuesto. En efecto aunque se les hizo esta insinuación no convinieron ello insistiendo en pasar a la Corte. Han llegado pues a ella, y han sido tratados con toda distinción, haviendoles admitido el Rey a una audiencia, recibiéndoles con el mayor agasajo, y habiéndoseles señalado un diario para su manutención, un coche de las Reales Caballerizas y una casa acomodada": Count Floridablanca to J.M. González Salmón, 29 December 1783, AHN, Estado, leg. 4316.

97 On their arrival in Cartagena on 4 February they are called Ali-el-Kador and Ben Hudy, relatives of the king of Morocco: Martínez Rizo, *Fechas y fechos*, 1:57. They wrote two letters from Cartagena that in the opinion of the translator Miguel Casiri "are not translated because they contain nothing of interest for the court … these two letters are in very poor handwriting and are almost illegible": note by Casiri appended to the letter from J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Tangier, 11 March 1784, AHN, Estado, leg. 4317.

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> difficulty in locating a lodging for them; but fortunately Don Juan Antonio Torreblanca, the administrator of salt and tobacco, was absent on leave and the ambassadors were put up in his house, which was spacious and comfortable. The ambassadors had with them a suite of fifteen persons. On their journey from Madrid to this city they spent twenty-five thousand reales charged to the state, plus forty-five thousand in their eighty days in Cartagena. They were carrying more than two million reales as a gift for the sultan.[98]

The Moroccans were not satisfied, however, because all their requests were not granted: "The commandant of the Department, though he had orders from the king to welcome the ambassadors, thought that what they asked was excessive and denied them, leaving them very unhappy":

> In spite of having incurred expenses from the state of seventy thousand reales between their journey from Madrid and their stay in Cartagena, and having been provided for their voyage to Constantinople with four sugarloaves, two quintales of white biscuit, four large baskets of oranges and lemons, six dozen hens, six sheep, twenty-four varas of blue fabric of Spanish make, eight lengths of gray fabric and ten of fine Brittany linen, they also requested seven varas of red fabric, seven of *media* [?] of the same, one pound of gold thread, ten varas of crimson damask, and thirty-six of velvet of different colors. … To the gifts that the squadron was taking to the caliph from His Majesty were added in Cartagena four ships' captains and ten Turks who had been slaves in this arsenal.[99]

98 "Estaba mandado por el rey que se les agasajara y tratara con arreglo á su rango, con cuyo motivo el comandante general del Departamento se vió en el mayor apuro en buscarles alojamiento; pero afortunadamente se hallaba ausente con licencia el administrador de las sales y tabacos D. Juan Antonio Torreblanca, y fueron alojados los embajadores en la casa de éste que era espaciosa y cómoda. Dichos embajadores llevaban consigo una comitiva compuesta de 15 personas. En el viaje de Madrid á esta ciudad hicieron de gasto por cuenta del estado 25.000 reales, y 45.000 en los 80 días que permanecieron en Cartagena. Llevaban de regalo para el sultán mas de dos millones de reales": Martínez Rizo, *Fechas y fechos*, 4 February 1784, 1:57.

99 "No obstante haber hecho de gastos por cuenta del Estado 70.000 reales entre su viaje desde Madrid y estancia en Cartagena y haberlos provisto de viaje á Constantinopla de 4 pilones de azúcar, 2 quintales de galleta blanca, 4 serones de naranjas y limones, 6 docenas de gallinas, 6 carneros, 24 varas de paño azul de fábricas españolas, 8 piezas de medio color y 10 de Bretaña, pidieron aun 7 varas de grana, 7 de media id, una libre de hilo de oro, 10 varas de damasco carmesí y 36 de terciopelo de diferentes colores. … A los regalos que la escuadra llevaba al gran señor de parte de S.M. se añadió en Cartagena 4 arraezes

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The two men finally left the city for Istanbul in May 1784, sailing in a fleet of Spanish warships under the command of Gabriel de Aristizábal.[100]

As happened with most of the Moroccan envoys who passed through Spain, the letters that these two sent during their journey to the governor in Tangier reached him through Spanish authorities, who were thus informed of the content of the correspondence.[101] The man who had interpreted for the two men returned to Tangier:

> The Moorish interpreter who went with the *Alcaydes* Al-le and Caddor el Uddy has arrived in this [city] from Cartagena; he comes proclaiming the fine treatment they received in that court, as in the other places that they passed through.[102]

6.2.1.8 Muhammad b. Abd Allah al-Zuwayin (1789–1790)

This brother-in-law and right-hand man of Muhammad Ben Abdallah, known to Spaniards as Mohamed Essuin, took advantage of an embassy to Istanbul to make the pilgrimage to Mecca with members of his family.[103] He returned from the Ottoman capital in the Spanish war frigate *La Soledad*, which took him to Cádiz; he was afraid of not being received by the new Moroccan Sultan Muley al-Yazid.[104] He was dissuaded from traveling to Madrid, so as not

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y 10 turcos que estaban esclavos en este arsenal": Martínez Rizo, *Fechas y fechos*, 24 April 1784, 1:175.

100 Consisting of the ships of the line *Triunfante* and *San Pascual*, the frigate *Santa Clotilde*, and the brigantine *Infante*: González Castrillo, *El viaje*.

101 J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Tangier, 27 July 1784, AHN, Estado, leg. 4317.

102 "Ha llegado a Esta de la de Cartagena el Ynterprete Moro que fue con los alcaydes Al-le y Caddor el Uddy, quien se viene haciendo lengua del buen trato que se les ha dado en essa Corte, como por los demás sitios que han transitado": J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Tangier, 13 May 1784, AHN, Estado, leg. 4317.

103 The ambassador was accompanied by "a retinue of twenty-four and nine women, five of whom are Georgians he brought from Constantinople, apparently at the request of the late King of Morocco": Count Floridablanca to J.M. González Salmón, 15 June 1790, AHN, Estado, leg. 4316. He sailed for Rabat "with his wives and retinue" in a ship belonging to the commercial house of Benito Patrón, which held the monopoly on exporting grain from Dar al-Beida: J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, 13 July 1790, AHN, Estado, leg. 4313.

104 Aranjuez to J.M. González Salmón, 6 July 1790. The Spanish consul worried that the ambassador's delay in Cádiz might cause him problems with the new Moroccan monarch: "It would be unfair if Essuin, to excuse himself, laid the blame on us; [we urged him to stay] only to do him a favor and fulfil his wishes": J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Tangier, 19 July 1790, AHN, Estado, leg. 4313.

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to arouse further doubts. After a few days he was given passage to Tangier in a different Spanish frigate.[105] Consul Juan Manuel González Salmón presented the following bill, at a rate of five hundred reales per day:[106]

TABLE 4 Expenses incurred by Essuin in Cádiz, 5 June-9 July 1790

Item	Reales	Maravedís
Maintenance	17,500	
Food	2,990	24
Payments to Bigga	3,530	
Provisions for return journey	7,057	32
Lodging	1,665	
TOTAL EXPENSES	32,743	22

The seventeen thousand five hundred reales or 875 pesos fuertes were paid by Guillermo Coronata, a diplomatic agent and merchant.[107] To the sum above must be added another hundred pesos fuertes paid to the ship's captain and first mate, so the total reached 35,283 reales and twenty-two maravedís. Essuin was not satisfied, and according to Consul J.M. González Salmón asked several times that the daily sum assigned to him be raised.[108]

105 J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Tangier, 10 and 13 July 1790, AHN, Estado, leg. 4313.

106 His maintenance consisted of payments of five hundred reales a day for thirty-five days, adding up to 17,500 reales or the equivalent of 875 pesos fuertes. Guillermo Coronata supplied him with food for another 2,990 reales and 24 maravedís. His supplies included oranges, wax, lemons, raisins, cherries, walnuts, candied pumpkin, syrup, *horchata* [a drink extracted from tiger nuts], coffee, sugarloaves from Hamburg, semirefined sugar, Seville olives, Flemish lard, six sheep, one calf, chairs from Holland, and a new bed with mosquito netting. The rent for the house Essuin occupied came to 1,665 reales and his provisions for the journey from Cádiz to Rabat, 7,065 reales. The Moroccan Bigga was paid 176 pesos fuertes and 10 reales on Essuin's instructions. In addition, Captain Hamsaly and the interpreter were paid 2,540 reales: J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, 13 July 1790, AHN, Estado, leg. 4313.

107 He was a Genoese in service to Spain, as shown by several payments he received from the Spanish government in the last decade of the eighteenth century.

108 J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, 13 July 1790, AHN, Estado, leg. 4313.

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As we already mentioned in this chapter, Spain assumed such costs in the hope that those who benefited would become defenders of Spanish interests in Morocco. As the consul general in Tangier put it,

> That Moor departed very happy, and promising to give proof of his gratitude in promoting affairs of ours with his sovereign, because of the special care I took to favor him throughout his residence here. I even gave a dance for him that pleased him very much, for the brilliance of those who attended and because he had never imagined that the ladies of Spain could act in such a delicate and friendly manner. In short, I am persuaded that the thirty-five days he spent in this [city] will prove very useful in leading him to form a better image of the Spanish nation than the one he held up to now.[109]

Spain's hopes were thoroughly dashed, however. Al-Zuwayin fell out of favor with the new Sultan al-Yazid (1790–1792), who ordered him executed; one of his hands was cut off and nailed to the door of the Spanish consul's house in Tangier. This incident, together with the attacks on Ceuta, was one of the Spanish Crown's chief motives for declaring war on al-Yazid.[110]

6.2.1.9 Assan Aga Giritri (1791)

In April 1791 the Spanish consul in Tunis, Manuel Ventura Buzarán, landed in Barcelona accompanied by Assan Aga Giritri, who claimed to be the ambassador from the Sublime Porte to the sultan of Morocco; his son and four other persons came with him. Buzarán requested a ship at royal expense to convey them to Morocco, but the Captain General of Catalonia refused

> because I have received no order about it, and considering the fact that the envoy's business bears no relation to our court and is unconnected to its political affairs. And I told him that he would receive the help needed

109 "Dicho Moro ha ido sumamente gustoso y prometiendo dar pruebas de su gratitud en los asuntos que nos pueda servir al lado de su Soberano por el particular esmero que he tenido en obsequiarle todo el tiempo de su mansión aquí, pues hasta le di un Baile que le agradó mucho, por el concurso tan lucido que hubo, y porque nunca se había figurado que las Señoras de España tuviesen un trato tan fino y amable, en fin me persuado de que los 35 dias que ha estado en esta servirán de mucho, para que forme de la Nacion Española mejor idea que ha tenido hasta ahora": J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, 13 July 1790, AHN, Estado, leg. 4313.

110 Carmona Portillo, *Las relaciones hispano-marroquíes*.

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> to allow him to embark, and passage if the envoy paid for it with his own money, or if Buzarán assumed responsibility.

Assan Aga protested, believing that Buzarán had assured the Bey of Tunis that he would convey him to Tangier or Tetouan. He began a long and bitter dispute with Buzarán:

> [Assan Aga] claimed that by order of the Bey of Tunis, [Buzarán] had committed himself to convey him with his retinue until they reached Tangier or Tetouan. And Buzarán denied such an obligation, as we conclude from Witness Statement No. 1, which I include so that Your Excellency may learn of the efforts I ordered made in the matter. I also report that in consequence it was suggested to the Mohammedan that without withdrawing his claim against Buzarán (about which he was given a witnessed copy) he could engage a vessel for his journey on his own; and he promised to do so without delay, for which he has already tried to arrange it with a French captain who was about to leave this port.[111]

At Floridablanca's urging the Captain General agreed to transport Assan Aga to Morocco at the expense of the Royal Treasury, then notified both sides in the dispute of "the king's beneficence." Later he ordered that the ship in question set sail, but was ignored because the French captain had to "fill his cargo hold along the way." Another ship was sought to transport "the Ottomans":

> When [the envoys] learned of the king's decision to convey them to Morocco at his expense, they then demanded that [the Spanish] should also

111 "…[P]or carecer de Orden que me lo previniere, y con reflexión á ser negocio el del enviado sin relación alguna con nuestra Corte, é inconexo enteramente con sus asuntos Politicos, y le manifesté que tendría los auxilios conducentes á facilitar su embarco y pasage pagándolo el enviado de su dinero, ó tomándolo Buzarán a su Cargo." "…[P]retendiendo aquel que con intervención del [B]ey de Tunez se havia obligado este a hazerle transportar con su Comitiva hasta ponerlos en Tanger, ó Tetuan, y negando Buzarán semejante obligación según resulta del Testimonio Nº 1 que incluyo para que V.E. se halle instruido de las diligencias que mandé practicar en su razon, haciendo también presente, que en virtud se intimó al Mahometano que sin perjuicio de reclamar su derecho contra Buzaran (para lo qual se le dio copia testimoniada que pidió) diligensiase embarcación con que hir a su destino por su cuenta, y prometió executarlo sin demora a cuio fin trató ya de ajustar con un Capitan Frances que devia salir en breve de este Puerto." On 16 April 1791 Count de Lacy wrote to Count Floridablanca, "Assen Aga was a Turk, Assen Aga and his family, Morocco, 1791. A commissioned Turk recommended by the Bey of Tunis who became an agent or consul of Morocco in Candia": AHN, Estado, leg. 5803, Exp. 52 (54).

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> pay for the cost of their lodging and board in one of the inns of this city. They presented a very inflated bill from the innkeeper, which I did not accept for lack of an order authorizing me to pay their expenses; nor did Buzarán, who was in charge of transportation costs, wish to attend to the demand of the inn's people. We decided that the bill for the inn was due to them alone, and therefore he went to the Turks' lodging to tell them that their conveyance to Morocco was already ordered by the king and he was able to pay only that, and no other expense.[112]

At this point Vicente Bronza, who administered the Porte's commercial affairs in Barcelona,[113] intervened in defense of Assan Aga, giving rise to tense exchanges with Buzarán:

> The Mohammedans took the case as an insult and offense to their personal character and also to one entrusted with Turkey's commercial affairs. And they presented me with the complaint that goes at the head of the documents included in Witness Statement No. 2, demanding immediate satisfaction from me; and if not they would send an express to the court to obtain it and remain here until they received a reply.

The Captain General, faced with an affair he considered "serious" and because the monarch had questioned Buzarán's role, decided that the latter fell outside his jurisdiction. Determined that the conflict should not escalate, he agreed to all of Assan Aga Giritri's demands, believing that his remaining in Barcelona would only generate even greater costs:

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112 "Sabedores estos de la resolución del Rey, para que se les condujese a Marruecos de su cuenta, entraron en la pretensión de que se les pagase también el coste de la detención, y subsistencia en esta Plaza en una de sus Fondas, presentando la cuenta del Fondero mui subida, en que no creí deber tomar parte careciendo de orden que me autorizase al abono de gastos, ni Buzarán encargado de los del transporte quiso prestarse a la solicitud de los de la Fonda, fundamos en que la suya se ceñia solamente á aquellos, y en este concepto pasó a la Posada de los Turcos a manifestarles que su conducción á Marruecos era ya mandada costear de cuenta del Rey, y la que unicamente havia facultades de pagar, y no otro gasto."

113 As we stated in the Introduction, we shall not discuss the ambassadors, envoys, consuls, or other non-Muslim subjects sent by caliphs, sultans, deys, or beys to Spanish soil. We shall do so only to the extent that they appear related to Muslim subjects in the problems that the latter encountered or created.

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> [Because] retaining the Turks in this port would cause increased expense, new difficulties that would delay their departure, and perhaps greater harm through daily incidents, I called them into my presence. And when several observations I made to them – that the offense was to Bronza, not to their character; that Buzarán was not my subject, so they must appeal to the king to decide the case – proved useless in changing their minds, I proposed that we would gather summary information about the case, tell them the conclusions, provide a ship to transport them to Morocco, and pay the costs of their residence in this city, all at His Majesty's expense, if they would take ship for their destination without further delay.

The supposed ambassador appeared satisfied, so the Catalan captain Josep Valenty was engaged to take them to Tetouan or Tangier in his pink *San Francisco de Paula*, which was

> of more than usual capaciousness, with six cabins for the respective accomodation of the envoy, his son, and the four members of his suite … plus their maintenance in decent style with the provisions that the captain pledged to take on.

In spite of this agreement, however, the Captain General reported that Assan Aga tried to obtain even greater benefits from the situation:

> The Turks have tried again to have us cancel [the agreement], give them the ten thousand reales promised to Captain Josef Valenty, and let them find their own ship. But refusing such an improper and self-interested request, I have determined that they should embark this evening in the ship already prepared, which will set sail for its destination tonight without fail; for which I have warned the Turks in advance and made the necessary arrangements.

The Captain General attributed much of the problem to the machinations of the commercial representative Vicente Bronza and a Venetian captain and interpreter named Juan Morin who worked with him. Both had behaved badly in the past: in the suspicious shipwreck of the polacre *La Gasparina* off Cadaqués in January 1787, during which some Jews who had sailed in it from Algiers were robbed:

> Both are bad men and have influenced the Turks by always being near them and sharing their table. And since Your Excellency may take

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> measures against Bronza based on the reports you requested and I have provided, I am of a mind to take them also against Morin and order him out of this city, if the information I am seeking about his conduct gives sufficient reason to do so.[114]

The Captain General, however, believed that the greatest responsibility fell on Buzarán and his "thoughtlessness":

> For he brought the Turks to this port, making a detour from the normal direction of their journey and route; and probably, as can be inferred from the insistence and demands of the Ottomans, he offered them aid that could not and should not be given and was not within the power of agents who are independent of the business of our government.

114 "Los Mahometanos tomaron el caso en clase de agravio y ofensa a su carácter como hecha en su presencia, y a un encargado de los Negocios de Turquia, y me presentaron el Recurso que bá por Caveza de las diligencias comprehendidas en dicho Testimonio de nº 2 pidiendome pronta satisfaccion, y si no que despacharían expreso a la Corte para conseguirla, permaneciendo hasta su respuesta." "…[L]a mayor detención de los turcos en esta Plaza originaria dispendios mas crecidos, nuevas dificultades que atrasasen su salida, y quizás perjuicios de mayor monta por las ocurrencias del dia, los hice comparecer en mi presencia, y después de haver sido inutiles para que cediesen de su pretensión varias reflexiones que les hize, sobre que el agravio, si lo hubo, fue á Bronza, y no a su Carácter, y que Buzarán no era Subdito mio, y que por consecuencia era indispensable acudir al Rey para la decisión del caso, entré a proponerles que se reciviría Ynformacion sucinta del hecho, se les daría testimonio de su resultancia, se les havilitaria Barco para su transporte a Marruecos, y se les pagarían los gastos de su mansión en esta ciudad todo de cuenta de S.M. embarcándose luego para su destino sin mas espera." "…[D]e mas que regular capacidad y con seis camarotes para el correspondiente alojamiento del enviado, de su Hijo, y de los quatro de su Comitiva … inclusa la manutención con la decencia que manifiestan las provisiones á que se ha obligado el Patron." "[S]e ha intentado nuevamente por los Turcos que se anulase, y se les dejase libertad de buscar Barco por si, entregándoseles los Diez mil reales en que estaba ajustado el Patron Josef Valenty, pero despreciando solicitud tan impropia e interesada, hé resuelto que embarcándose oy en el Buque que está dispuesto, se haga esta noche á la Vela sin falta para su destino, para lo qual hé hecho avisar con tiempo á los Turcos, y estan dadas las providencias necesarias." "Ambos sujetos son malos y los que han influido á los Turcos, estando siempre a su inmediación, y aprovechando su Mesa, y siendo verosímil que V.E. por los informes que me pidió, y he dado, tome providencia sobre Bronza, estoy en animo de tomarla Yo igualmente con Morin, mandándole salir de esta Ciudad, si las averiguaciones que estoy determinado á hacer acerca de su conducta dan suficiente motivo a egecutarlo." In particular, he accused Morin of the "suspicious shipwreck that occurred in the month of January 1787, off the coast of Cadaqués, of the polacre *La Gasparina* of which he was captain, and of the robbery committed on it of some Hebrews who were aboard, coming from Algiers": Count de Lacy to Count Floridablanca, Barcelona, 16 April 1791, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803, Exp. 52 (54).

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He concluded his report by arguing that he had acted as he did because the affair, by its nature and circumstances, was one

> that I cannot view with indifference and leave to chance, so as not to compromise the political alliances that the crown has formed, and not to endanger the effects of those being negotiated now.[115]

He therefore hoped that his management of the affair would be approved and that he would be compensated for the 16,948 reales de vellón and 20 maravedís that he had spent on maintenance and charters. His petition received a favorable reply.[116]

Manuel Ventura Buzarán, for his part, gave a statement before the king's notary in Barcelona that contained his own version of the events:

> The Bey of Tunis and his Prime Minister, when I was about to leave that kingdom, requested that, since His Majesty's courier xebec was empty of cargo and I would be sailing in it, passage be arranged if it were not inconvenient for the Turks Assen Aga Vekil, consul of the Emperor of Morocco in Candia, a son of his, and six servants, who were going to Morocco to kiss the hand of the new Emperor. Their petition was granted in order to please them, though they have caused great difficulty. When it was asked what should be done with those Turks once we arrived in the Peninsula, the Prime Minister replied categorically that their passage was requested only as far as my intended port, but that from there on they must plan to assume their own expenses until they arrived at their destination.

115 "…[Q]ue trajo a los turcos á esta Plaza, desviándolos de la regular dirección de su viage y ruta, y que probablemente, según se infiere del empeño y solicitud de los Otomanos, les facilitaría auxilios que no podía, ni devia, ni correspondían a unos Comisionados independientes en su cargo de los negocios de nuestro Gobierno." "[N]o he podido mirar con indiferencia y abandonar a la suerte, a fin de no comprometer los enlaces políticos que tiene contraídos la corona, y no aventurar los efectos de los que se tratan en el dia": Count de Lacy to Count Floridablanca, Barcelona, 16 April 1791, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803, Exp. 52 (54).

116 "An account of the costs that the Turks Assen Aga and family incurred in the inn called El Escudo de Francia between 23 March and 16 April. They were 646 libras and one real de ardite, equivalent to 6,948 reales and 20 maravedís de vellón": a receipt from the innkeeper, Santos Sascali, for that sum, Barcelona, 16 April 1791. The remaining costs came from chartering the ship from Captain Josef Valenty, who was to provide Asan Aga and his company with food: Barcelona, 14 April 1791. The bill was to be presented to the Admiral: draft to the Count of Lerena, Aranjuez, 29 May 1791, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803, Exp. 52 (54).

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He added that the Bey of Tunis had given him a sum equal to 230 pesos fuertes for his expenses, of which he had not spent any. On arriving in Barcelona the Turks thanked him for his services ("they gave me many thanks for the attentions and favors") and began searching for a ship to take them to some Andalusian port, so as to continue to Morocco from there,

> paying the charter fee and any expenses involved. But after having landed they changed their whole way of thinking, for not only does it annoy them to pay a charter for Málaga or Algeciras but they want us to charter a vessel at His Majesty's expense to go directly to Mogador, and to cover all their costs already incurred and those they will need to pay until they reach their destination. I have told them many times that I am not authorized to grant them what they ask; they think that I do not want to do it, and keep insisting on their request. Their obstinacy has put me in the position of turning to Your Excellency so that in view of what I have explained Your Excellency may kindly take the measures you think most convenient.[117]

Assan Aga Giritry presented a report that offered his version in turn, introducing himself as "Azanaga Giritry, ambassador of the Great Lord." He added that he had left Istanbul on a Ragusan ship, chartered "at a certain amount per month," carrying a *firman* for the Bey of Tunis. He presented the firman to the

117 "El Bey de Tunez y su primer Ministro pidieron por favor quando yo estaba por salir de aquel Reyno que pues el Jabeque Correo de Su Magestad estaba en lastre, y que yo debía venir en el, se facilitasse el Pasage, si no incomodaba, a los Turcos Assen Aga Vekil, ó Consul del Emperador de Marruecos en Candia, a un Hijo suyo, y seis criados, que iban a Marruecos á besar la mano al nuevo Emperador; Se adherió a su solicitud por complacerlos, aunque han incomodado muchissimo, y haviendoseles preguntado que se debería hazer con los dichos Turcos quando llegásemos a esta Peninsula, respondió cathegoricamente el primer Ministro, que solo pedían se les diesse el Pasage hasta el Puerto donde yo llegase, pero que de allí adelante era menester que pensasen ellos en hazer sus gastos hasta llegar a su Destino." "…[P]agando el flete y gastos que se les ofrecieren, pero después de haver venido a tierra ha[n] cambiado todo su modo de pensar pues no solo no les acomoda el pagar el flete para pasar á Malaga ó Algeciras, sino que quieren que se les flete un Bastimento por cuenta de su Magestad para hir en derechura á Mogador y que se les paguen todos los gastos hechos, y los que necesiten hazer hasta llegar a su Destino; les he dicho repetidas vezes, que no tengo facultad para concederles lo que solicitan; crehen que yo no quiero hacerlo, é insisten siempre en su pretensión; Su obstinación me ha puesto en la precisión de recurrir a V. Exª para que en vista de lo espuesto, se sirva V. Exª tomar la providencia que tuviese por mas conveniente": Félix Alberto Nogues, royal and public notary in Barcelona, witnesses the declaration of Manuel Ventura Buzarán, Barcelona, 29 May 1791, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803, 52 (54).

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Bey, but was bearing another for the "Emperor of Marocho [*sic*]"; since it was winter and the roads were bad he he had decided to travel to that country by sea. The Tunisian ruler then decided to send him in a Spanish vessel, docked at Bizerte, that was preparing to take the Spanish consul, Ventura Buzarán, to Cádiz; since it would be crossing the Strait it could let him off at Tetouan or Tangier. Assan Aga accepted the offer, requesting that

> he be given a document promising that it should be done; but he was told that he would not need it, especially since the abovenamed secretary would be aboard. And this was why the petitioner declined to accept another ship of greater quality and comfort that was in Bizerte and which the secretary had offered him, [pledging to] pay the charter fee besides, because he did not wish to depart from what the Bey of Tunis had decided. He embarked, and seven days later the ship reached the port of Majorca, where they served the quarantine, after which the journey continued in the direction of Gibraltar. And on the third day, when they were windward of the island of Ibiza, the secretary told him that the wind was contrary and that, being unable to continue the journey, they must come to this port of Barcelona. He added that he would help [Assan Aga] to find a ship in this port, from which he would be able to continue traveling to his destination.

Two days after they reached Barcelona, Ventura Buzarán announced that he had found a ship but that Assan Aga would have to pay to charter it. The Turk did not agree and asked for a document to witness the decision, but Buzarán declined to give it. Asan Aga argued that he should "give proof to the Great Lord of the detour he had suffered in his voyage and the delay in fulfilling his duty, and also to undertake as soon as possible the continuation of his journey to Morocco." He therefore asked the Captain General himself to provide a document that would explain why the ship had docked in Barcelona instead of taking him to Cádiz.[118]

118 "...[S]e le hiziese un papel de obligación de practicarse assi, y se le fue respondido que no lo necesitaba mayormente hallándose a bordo el Secretario referido, y este fue el motivo porque el Suplicante dejo de aceptar otra embarcación de mejor porte y comodidad que se hallaba en Biserta, y le ofrecia el Secretario pagando también los fletes, pues no quiso separarse de lo dispuesto por el Bey de Tunez. Se embarcó, y a los siete días llegó la embarcación al Puerto de Mallorca, donde se hizo la quarentena, después de la qual se emprendió otra vez el viage, tomando el rumbo hacia á Gibraltar, y el tercero dia hallándose en el Sobrevento de la Ysla de Iviza le dixo el Secretario que el viento era contrario, y que no pudiendo proseguirse el viage era preciso venir a este Puerto de

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At this juncture the political and military governor of Cádiz, Gerónimo Simón Mothezuma y Ahumada y Salcedo, opened an investigation on the assumption that Assan Aga was "the Ambassador of the Great Lord" or "ambassador extraordinary from the Great Lord to the Emperor of Morocco." It was decided that he should be assisted by Vicente Bronza, "Consul of the Ottoman Porte in this city, whom he presented as his interpreter," and by the Venetian Juan Morin. Morin translated "the Spanish language to the Italian one, which the Ambassador uses and understands, or to his countryman," while also rendering it "into the popular and native language of the Turkish ambassador, after a long conversation."[119]

Assan Aga presented another statement insisting that Buzarán should charter him a ship or, if not, provide a certificate of his failure to do so. He again complained that instead of conveying him to Tangier or Tetouan Buzarán had taken him to Barcelona and had installed the Turks in

> the inn on Calle Nueva without saying anything about who would pay for it, and finally presented him with the bill for his stay and that of his retinue. He says that because his voyage was delayed, he himself arranged a charter with the French captain Jaime Bernard of the brigantine *L'Aimable*, and it was then that Buzarán appeared to tell him that His Majesty had ordered that a ship be chartered for him at royal expense.

Assan Aga continued to insist that the full cost of his stay in Barcelona and his voyage to Tangier or Tetouan be paid. He claimed that Buzarán had promised him to provide whatever funds the king did not, but had then gone back on his word in a conversation in which only they two were present together with Vicente Bronza, and in which emotions ran high:

> Buzarán grew extraordinarily heated, though [Assan Aga] had not failed to respect him as he deserved, to the point that he tried to throw a candlestick at the consul's head, bursting out in truly insulting words and making the improper gesture of putting his hand on his sword in the presence of this complainant, his son, and others who were with him, and making his voice heard throughout the house. This indecent action

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Barcelona, añadiendo que el ayudaría a buscar embarcacion en este Puerto, y desde el se podría emprender el viage para su destino": Barcelona, 3 April 1791, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803, Exp. 52 (54).

119 The parties appeared on 5 April 1791, although the text describing the event is dated 8 April 1791: AHN, Estado, leg. 5803, Exp. 52 (54).

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> justifies whether all this, and the details of what happened concerning the payment of his sustenance to the owner of the inn, can be related to Your Excellency if you wish. This incident, and the improper manner in which the said Don Manuel Ventura Buzarán has behaved, touch this complainant so closely that he cannot view them with indifference. And though he could easily put aside his personal interest, the truly scandalous nature and circumstances of the event call for satisfaction, even if it were not required by the fact that the injury or offense was done directly to a minister of the Ottoman Porte in this city, and if it were possible for the witness to ignore an event of this kind in the present case. The witness's honor is involved, and the fact that he was insulted in his own house, even his own chamber, constitutes an offense to his decorum and reputation.

Assan Aga therefore demanded that while his sustenance might be determined according to law, Buzarán must give him proper satisfaction; otherwise, "the complainant must be allowed to put his case before the throne in an express letter that he will send at his own expense to the Court for the purpose."[120] The declaration by Bronza, "about thirty-eight years of age" and "consul of the Ottoman Porte in this city," was as follows:

120 "…[E]n la Posada de la calle nueva sin decirles nada sobre quien la pagaría, y finalmente se le presentó a el la cuenta de su estancia y de su comitiva. Ante el retraso en su viaje dice que el mismo buscó un flete con el capitán francés Jaime Bernard del bergantín *L'Aimable*, y fue entonces cuando Buzaran apareció diciéndole que SM había dado orden le fletase embarcación por cuenta Real." "[S]e enardeció extraordinariamente el citado Buzaran, sin que se le hubiese faltado al decoro que se merece, hasta llegar a querer arrojar por la cabeza de dicho Consul un candelabro, prorrumpiendo en palabras verdaderamente injuriosas, y haciendo el ademán irregular de poner mano á la espada en presencia del exponente, de su hijo, y de otros que le acompañaban, haciéndose además sentir por toda la casa: esta indecente acción, conforma si todo esto, y el por menor de lo que ha ocurrido en el pago de la manutención con el dueño de la citada Posada podrá hacerse constar a V.E. si lo estima conveniente. Este lance, y modo impropio con que se ha portado el referido don Manuel Ventura Buzaran ha tocado tan de cerca al exponente que no puede mirarlos con indiferencia; y ahun quando con facilidad podría renunciar a su interés propio, con todo su carácter, y las circunstancias verdaderamente escandalosas del lance exigen una satisfacción, quando por otra parte no la exigiese la de haverse directamente hecho la injuria ó ofensa a un Ministro de la Puerta Otomana en esta Ciudad, y le permitiesen al exponente sofocar en su instancia un hecho de esta naturaleza. El honor del exponente está comprometido, y la circunstancia de haverse insultado en su misma casa, y su mismo Aposento, hace que le haya ofendido su decoro, y su representación." Another report registered by Félix Alberto Nogues: Nº 2, Barcelona, 12 April 1791, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803, 52 (54).

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> While I was with this man [the ambassador] in his room at the lodging at eight-thirty in the evening of the 11th of this month, the aforenamed Don Manuel Ventura Buzarán appeared to discuss with the Ambassador whether he would or would not pay the cost of maintenance that the ambassador was incurring for himself and his family at that inn. And because Buzarán did not wish to pay for it, the Ambassador stated that he did not wish to take on payment for that expense, in the belief that [Buzarán] had told him that he would assume it, and that the innkeeper had been told of it so long as it did not exceed the usual and normal cost. But when in spite of this Buzarán insisted on what he had said, I intervened to tell him of the error he was committing, because he had told me himself, a few days after the Ambassador's arrival, that I should inform [Asan Aga] that if his maintenance continued the same he would pay for it, but that if they wished for anything extra they should pay for it from their own pocket. And I told him this politely in order to calm him and avoid resentment between the two of them.

He added that Buzarán had insulted him in a fury, declaring him to be

> a trickster, a villain; but I, in spite of being thus insulted, replied to him mildly that he should be careful how he addressed me, because I had neither failed to respect him nor given him any reason [to do so to me], so he should be calm. This did not quiet him but made Buzarán even angrier, and gesturing with his hand as if to take up a candlestick he told me that if I did not be quiet he would throw it at me; at which I exclaimed, "You prick![121] It looks as if you have passed the limits of courtesy," and that is when he rose from his chair and put his hand on his sword as if he would draw it against me, uttering many words highly offensive to me: among others, that I was not fit to take off his shoes or to be his lackey. At this moment the ambassador got up and came with the others to restrain him and hold him back, which they managed to do, bringing an end to these excesses in the presence of the Ambassador, his son, their servant Ali, the interpreter Don Juan Morin, and the innkeeper Santos Sascelli.[122]

121 *Cadzo, i.e.* It. *cazzo*.

122 "[H]aviendome hallado con este en el mismo quarto de su Hospedage a las ocho horas y media de la noche del dia onze de los corrientes compareció el citado don Manuel Ventura Buzaran para tratar con el Embajador sobre si pagaría ó no el gasto de la manutención que el embajador por el y su familia estaba haciendo en aquella su Posada de suerte que no queriéndolo costear Buzaran, manifestó el embajador que no quería entrar en el pago de dicho gasto, supuesto que le tenia dicho que correría de su cuenta, y que assi lo tenia

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Juan Morin, aged thirty-one, testified that when Buzarán entered the inn and he witnessed the quarrel between him and Assan Aga "the aforesaid Bronza tried to mediate, and Buzarán grew enraged and made the gestures of throwing the candlestick at him and drawing his sword." Another witness was Assan Aga's son Ybrahim Aga, aged twenty-four and a native of Canea in Crete: he testified that Buzarán had offered to pay for their stay in Barcelona but that on the day in question he had come to the inn and told them he would not do it. Then they "exchanged some words, and since they were not speaking my language I did not understand what they said," though Ybrahim confirmed that Buzarán threatened to throw the candlestick and draw his sword. Ali Cará Mustafa Oglu, aged twenty-one and also from Canea in Crete, gave similar testimony. The latter two testified via the interpreter Juan Morin, who "has heard their oath according to the law and rite of their religion."[123]

The last to declare was Santos Sascelli, a Milanese aged thirty-four, the innkeeper of "El Escudo de Francia" where Assan Aga and his party had lived since 23 March. It appears that they were lodged on the orders of Buzarán, but "afterward he wished to withdraw from [the agreement], refusing to pay me." On the day in question he had heard raised voices in the room and a member of Assan Aga's party had called him in; he saw Buzarán shouting at Bronza and threatening to throw a candlestick at him and to draw his sword, "though I did not see that he actually touched it" – however, other people had been standing

advertido al mismo posadero mientras no se excediere de un gasto regular y ordinario, pero como con todo Buzaran insistió en su dicho, entré yo a manifestarle la equivocación que padecía por haverme dicho a mi mismo, al cavo de pocos días del arribo del Embajador que dixese a este, que continuando con el mismo trato de su manutención, se lo costearía, pero que si querían algún exceso, deberían pagárselo de su Bolsillo, y no obstante de haversele yo dicho con buen modo, para apaciguarle, y evitar que entre los dos, no hubiese resentimiento alguno. … [Me llamó] un pícaro, un canalla, pero yo con todo de verme insultado de esta suerte le respondi con moderación diciendo que mirase como me trataba porque ni le perdia el respeto, ni le daba motivo para ello, lo que no le sirvió para moderarse, antes bien remontandose Buzaran mas en su cólera, y haciendo con la mano el ademan de querer agarrar un candelero, me dixo que si no callava me lo tiraría, mediante lo que me exclame diciendo, Cadzo, parece que Vm se pasa de los limites de la atención, y entonces fue, quando el, levantándose de la silla puso la mano en su espada, con ademán de quererla sacar contra de mi, profiriendo varias expresiones en mucho desprecio mio, y entre otras, que no era bueno para descalzarle el zapato, ni servirle de lacayo, sin que a este tiempo, levantándose el embajador acudió con los demás a detenerle y contenerle, como en efecto lo consiguieron, quedando aquellos excessos assi finalizados a presencia del mismo Embajador, del Hijo de este, de Ali Criado de los dos, del Ynterprete Don Juan Morin, y del Posadero Santos Salcelli": Auto, Barcelona, 15 April 1791, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803, Exp. 52 (54).

123 Auto, Barcelona, 15 April 1791, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803, Exp. 52 (54).

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in between. He also testified that although Buzarán had indeed insulted Bronza and the latter had answered with "Cadzo," there was a nuance in that he had uttered "that term not in Buzarán's direction but from sheer wonder and astonishment at what was happening."[124]

A later report, unsigned but dated in June, explained that Assan Aga was actually "an agent or consul of Morocco on the island of Crete, who is on his way to Morocco to meet his new sovereign," and that Buzarán had escorted him "on the recommendation of the Bey's minister Mustafa Coggia." After they arrived in Barcelona on the courier xebec from Algiers, Buzarán had approached the Captain General to ask "whether he had to pay the costs he had incurred for them on the journey and also for their transport to Morocco; he was told that he did, and Count de Lacy was informed of everything." At that point, "the Turks being offended by this frivolous attitude of the king, they gave Count de Lacy so much trouble that he finally managed to send them off on a ship he chartered for them." The report criticized Vicente Bronza, "who acts as an agent of the Turks," and "a certain Juan Morin, a Venetian, both of whom are bad actors according to Count de Lacy," while censuring "some rash acts by Buzarán himself." But it also cast blame on the Captain General, who had facilitated the Turks' inflated rank by

> allowing [Assan Aga] to be called envoy and Ambassador from the Porte to Morocco (on his own word and contrary to that of Buzarán) in the various declarations and legal statements that have been made in Barcelona. Because of this laxity it should be suggested to Count de Lacy that we avoid, on such occasions, becoming the object of ridicule by treating as Ambassador private persons and those of different types – which happened later in Almuñécar, where this Turk landed and was received as an Ambassador from the Porte (also on his own word and perhaps from some phrases in the documents he bore from Barcelona). There the commander at arms offered him all the honors he was able, based on this belief.[125]

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124 Auto, Barcelona, 15 April 1791, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803, Exp. 52 (54).

125 "…[P]ermitido que se nombre (sobre su palabra y contra el dicho de Buzaran) enviado y Embajador de la Puerta a Marruecos en las varias declaraciones y diligencias judiciales que se han practicado en Barcelona: Sobre cuya facilidad parece convendría insinuar algo al Conde de Lacy para evitar que hagamos en tales ocasiones un papel ridículo tratando como Embajador á unos particulares y sujetos de distinta clase: lo qual ha sucedido después en Almuñecar donde ha tocado este Turco, tratandosele (también sobre su palabra y acaso por algunas enunciativas de los papeles que llevaba de Barcelona) como Embaxador de la Puerta, haciéndole el Comandante de aquellas armas, todos los obsequios que ha podido bajo este concepto": Unsigned memorandum dated June 1791.

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A marginal note on this document ordered that the Captain General of Catalonia be informed in writing, as was immediately done, urging him to put an end to the dispute and "conclud[e] any results that it could have had."[126] But we have seen that the matter did not end there, because more detailed information arrived of Assan Aga's behavior in Almuñécar: he had introduced himself to the military governor of the port as "Ambassador or Minister of the Ottoman Porte assigned to Morocco." More precisely, the Captain General of the coast of Granada reported that

> in Almuñécar this same Turk convinced the commander at arms that he was an ambassador or minister of the Ottoman Porte assigned to Morocco, and in this belief the commander offered him the appropriate honors and ceremonies. And perhaps the notion arose from some phrases in his charter with the ship's captain or other papers of ours that the Turk was carrying. I urge Your Excellency, by order of the king, to warn those responsible in the future that when some unknown personage arrives at any port in our principality, they make sure of his character and circumstances so as to determine the right way to address and treat him.

The document went on to say that no one should trust how persons who arrived in Spanish ports presented themselves "or depend on their word alone, especially when there are people worthy of trust who affirm otherwise." A later paragraph, which has been crossed out, reads:

> As has happened in the present case, in which the Turk Assan, a mere agent or consul of the king of Morocco on the island of Candia, on his way to greet his new sovereign (according to the word of Buzarán, who must have known it), had the courage to call himself an envoy of the

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A marginal note states that Lacy was informed of the matter in writing in June: AHN, Estado, leg. 5803, Exp. 52 (54).

126 On what had occurred with "the Turk Assan Aga Giritri traveling from Tunis to Morocco, and with the agent Don Manuel Ventura de Buzarán among others, and Don Vizente Bronza, His Majesty approved Your Excellency's conduct in the manner of concluding any results it may have had. And His Majesty decreed that the 16,948 reales and twenty maravedís that were the total costs incurred by the Turk and his people be paid, including the charter for his passage to Tangier or Tetouan": Aranjuez to Count de Lacy, 8 June 1791, Estado, leg. 5803, Exp. 52 (54).

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> Porte; and we note how readily he was called that in documents of ours that have circulated in that city.[127]

In spite of the comic aspects of this episode, we should realize that such deceits and abuses were possible only the in context we have already described: the determination of Spanish authorities to prevent any minor incident from disturbing their relations with the Moroccan Empire and other Muslim countries. Aside from Buzarán's blunders and the credulity of local Spanish officials, it is clear that Assan Aga, like other servants of the Moroccan sultan, knew how to turn to his own advantage the weak points in the countries' bilateral ties, as we analyzed in Chapter 5.

6.2.2 *North African and Ottoman Ambassadors*

Beside the Moroccan ambassadors who stopped over in Spain we must discuss the Maghrebi and Ottoman ones who did the same in the course of their diplomatic missions to third countries, especially to Morocco. In the cases we know of they did all they could to be received at the Spanish court, but were unsuccessful. The most prominent members of this group are several Turkish ambassadors and envoys to Morocco in the years 1785 to 1788. The Ottoman Empire, having been forced to accept the Treaty of Kücük Kainarda (1774) and the later war between Austria and Russia (1787–1792), was keenly concerned with finding allies and supporters even in the western Mediterranean.[128]

6.2.2.1 Haggi Ysmail Effendi (Morocco, 1785–1786)

Around mid-1785 in Morocco a man named Haggi Ysmail Effendi claimed to be an ambassador from the caliph. The purpose of his mission is unclear, but

127 "…[E]l mismo Turco en Almuñecar, hizo creer al Comandante de aquellas armas que era un Embaxador ó Ministro de la Puerta Otomana destinado a Marruecos; y baxo de este concepto le hizo el Comandante los honores y obsequios correspondientes. Y por si acaso pueden haber dado motivo á este mismo concepto algunas expresiones de la contrata con el Patron de la embarcación ú otros papeles nuestros que llevase el Turco; lo expreso á V.E. de orden del Rey á fin de que prevenga a las personas á quienes corresponda, procuren en adelante, quando arrivase á ese ú otro puerto del Principado algún personaje desconocido, asegurarse bien de su carácter y circunstancias para arreglar el modo de nombrarle y tratarle. … Como ha sucedido en el caso presente en que siendo el Turco Asan un mero Agente ó Consul del Rey de Marruecos en la Ysla de Candia que viene a conocer a su nuevo amo según ha asegurado el mismo Buzaran a quien debía constar ha tenido bastante valor para llamarse Enviado de la Puerta; notándose también igual facilidad en llamársele asi por nuestra parte en algunos escritos que se han extendido en esa ciudad": Aranjuez to Count de Lacy, 8 June 1791, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803, Exp. 52 (54).

128 Bunes Ibarra, *El Imperio Otomano*, 203–26.

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it appears connected to the Ottoman policy of the 1780s that sought alliances and support in the western Mediterranean against the empire's enemies, particularly the Russians. Spain's vice consul in Tangier at the time, Antonio González Salmón, informed his superiors that Ysmail Effendi carried a letter from the Spanish representative in Istanbul and remarked on his "affability and good manners."[129] When Consul Juan Manuel González Salmón returned to his post in Tangier he met frequently with Ysmail Effendi, who explained that his principal charge was to solve differences between the Spanish and the Algerians and that once he achieved that he hoped to travel to the court in Madrid.[130] The consul was enthusiastic about the Turk:

> My conversations with the Turk Ysmael Effendi have pleased me greatly, because from his skill and efficacy in explaining himself I understood that the Sublime Porte is strongly determined to force the Algerians to make peace with us. And this person is eager to reach that Regency in order to settle these matters. He is very unhappy over having been delayed here, for he has told me that the caliph will assume that his mission to Algiers is concluded, something he plans to do on his way back to that court.[131]

The consul described the ambassador as a diplomat sincerely concerned to establish peace between Spain and Algeria and between both countries and Morocco, and also alarmed by the continued seizure of Spanish ships by corsairs of the Regency of Algiers.[132] It does not appear that this ambassador's efforts bore much fruit.[133] The Turk told the consul that he had asked permission from the Moroccan sultan to proceed to the Spanish court, but that the sultan had urged him to go to Algiers first to give the Dey his letters from the

129 Antonio González Salmón to his brother Juan Manuel, who was then in Cádiz: Tangier, undated but probably written in July 1785, AHN, Estado, leg. 4317.

130 J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Tangier, 18 and 21 July 1785, AHN, Estado, leg. 4317.

131 "La conferencia que he tenido con el Turco Ysmael Effendi me ha agradado mucho porque según el conato y eficacia con que se explicó, comprehendi que la Puerta Otomana está fuertemente empeñada en obligar a los Argelinos a que hagan la Paz con Nosotros, y este sugeto quisiera ya hallarse en aquella Rexencia para zanjar los asuntos. El se manifiesta bien desazonado por la detención aquí, pues me ha dicho que el Gran señor considerará ya evaquada su comisión de Argel, y que lo hará de camino para essa Corte": J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Tangier, 27 July 1785, AHN, Estado, leg. 4317.

132 News of Ysmail Effendi's efforts in J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Tangier, 3 August, 2 and 12 September, and 12 October 1785, AHN, Estado, leg. 4317.

133 J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Tangier, 12, 19, and 27 October and 4 November 1785, AHN, Estado, leg. 4317.

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caliph; then from Algiers he could go "to Cartagena and continue to Madrid from there to conclude the peace [agreement]."[134] An interesting detail is that González Salmón told the Secretary of State that he had lent the Turk fifty pesos fuertes

> to pay for the charter of the Ragusan ship that brought him here, because its captain would not accept Turkish money. I do not know if he will return them, but since this is the first such request I thought it convenient to oblige him in this small matter.[135]

Ysmail Effendi later showed his gratitude for the consul's favors, including the fifty pesos fuertes, which he planned to repay: "I shall never forget the many favors I received from you and the attentions you showed me."[136] González Salmón replied urging him to "enjoy this small gift to the health of His Catholic Majesty."[137] In April 1786 Ysmail Effendi was still in Morocco and the consul was trying to charter a ship to take him to Algiers.[138] We do not know how Ysmail Effendi's Moroccan adventure ended or whether he was ever able to land in a Spanish port.

6.2.2.2 Jamet Jaggi Effendi (Morocco, 1787–1788)

An Ottoman ambassador, Jamet Jaggi Effendi, reached Mahón on Minorca in May 1787, having traveled from Istanbul by way of Toulon. He was accompanied by the Moroccan *talbe* Sid Casen Sayany[139] "and another Turkish individual, with fourteen more men, Moors and Turks, who belong to the retinue of

134 Ysmail Effendi to J.M. González Salmón, Tetouan, 14 November 1785, AHN, Estado, leg. 4317.

135 "…para acabar de satisfacer el flete del Buque Raguseo que lo a conducido aquí, por que su Capitan no quiso tomar moneda turca. No sé si los volverá, pero por ser la primera vez que me ocupa me pareció conveniente servirlo en esta pequeña cosa." A second letter of the same date told Count Floridablanca that the consul had brought the Turk up to date on the difficulties of the negotiations with the Algerians, hoping the information would help him to act more effectively: J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Tangier, 27 July 1785, AHN, Estado, leg. 4317.

136 Ysmail Effendi to J.M. González Salmón, Tetouan, 14 November 1785, AHN, Estado, leg. 4317.

137 J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, 16 November 1785, AHN, Estado, leg. 4317.

138 On the events of February, J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, 27 February 1786. At the end of April a Ragusan ship came to convey Ysmail Effendi to Algiers: J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, 6 and 20 April 1786, AHN, Estado, leg. 4319.

139 Also Casei Shayany and Casen Sayany.

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the first two."[140] From the island they embarked in the French brigantine *Les Deux Amis* under Captain J.B. Camoin, arriving in Tangier in June. They were obliged to serve a quarantine there, not having done so in any of their European ports of call.[141] The Spanish consul wrote to the Secretary of State about two different men:

> Both the Turkish envoy and the Ambassador of the same nation who is on his way to Morocco will return to this [city] to embark from its port. And it is said that His Moroccan Majesty, in a conversation on the subject, stated publicly that Spain would give him a warship to take these two persons to Constantinople. I do not know if this story is true, but we shall soon know for sure because if the king of Morocco thinks such a thing he usually writes to me in advance.[142]

González Salmón did not know the exact nature of their mission, but he assumed it was an attempt to have Spain and Portugal pledge to block the Russian war squadron from crossing the Strait of Gibraltar, and also to mediate among Morocco, Algiers, Tripoli, and Spain. This was indeed the case.[143] When the Turks had completed their mission the sultan asked the Spanish priest at the Moroccan court to convey to the consul his desire to have two Spanish warships return the ambassador and the envoy to Istanbul, together with a Moroccan *alcaide*, their respective retinues, and a number of gifts. The sultan hoped that on the return journey one of the ships could take aboard his son-in-law Muley Abdelmeleck, who was in Damascus "on his way back from making the pilgrimage to Mecca."[144]

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140 This might be the same man as Asmet Asemi Saquir Fas, who figures in the account of a journey that a Spanish war frigate made to the Ottoman capital in 1788: Moreno, *Viage*, Appendix, xxv-xxvi.

141 J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Tangier, 8, 9, and 26 June 1787, AHN, Estado, leg. 4319.

142 "[T] anto dicho Enviado Turco, como el Embaxador de la misma Nacion que bá de camino à Marruecos volverán à Esta para embarcarse por este Puerto, y se dice que S.M.M. haciendo conversación sobre esto profirió públicamente que la España le daría un Buque de Guerra para llevar á dichos dos sujetos a Constantinopla. No se que verdad tenga esta noticia, pero en brebe se sabra con certeza por que si el Rey de Marruecos lo piensa asy, es regular me lo escriba con alguna anticipación": J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Tangier, 15 September 1787, AHN, Estado, leg. 4319.

143 J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, 8 June and 6 and 17 August 1787, AHN, Estado, leg. 4319.

144 Letter from Father Cristóbal Ríos to J.M. González Salmón, 2 October 1787. J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Tangier, 26 October and 10 and 27 November 1787. The

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Spanish authorities expressed their displeasure to Sidi Muhammad Ben Abdallah over Istanbul's policy, which opposed the entrance of foreign ships into the Bosporus; they refused to allow the Turks to travel to the court in Madrid.[145] In February 1788 the Turks embarked in the Spanish war frigate *Santa Cecilia*. The Ottoman ambassador, the envoy ("a Turkish minister who was in his domains") and the Moroccan Tahir Fannis, with their respective retinues, made a total of seventy-four people.[146] The frigate sailed for Cartagena where it was joined by the war brigantine *Ardilla*, and they proceeded from there to Constantinople.[147]

6.2.2.3 Ahmed Ben Ali Khudja, Ambassador from Tripoli (1783–1787)

In 1783 the Regency of Tripoli sent an ambassador, Ahmed Khudja,[148] to Morocco in order to negotiate with Spain using the sultan as mediator.[149] He played only a modest role, and after a long stay in Morocco and having requested unsuccessfully to visit the Spanish court, he began the return journey to Tripoli in October 1785. The sultan allowed him to load six ships with wheat on the

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sultan urged the Spanish ships to arrive in Tangier "soon, soon": translated letter from the sultan to J.M. González Salmón, 4 October 1787, AHN, Estado, leg. 4319.

145 Draft from San Lorenzo [El Escorial] to J.M. González Salmón, 7 September 1787, AHN, Estado, leg. 4319.

146 On the preparations for their return see J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Tangier, 9, 12, and 27 November 1787. Draft from San Lorenzo de El Escorial to J.M. González Salmón, 23 November 1787. The frigate *Santa Cecilia* sailed from Tangier for Cartagena on 16 February: J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Tangier, 18 February 1788, AHN, Estado, leg. 4319. See also Moreno, *Viage*, Appendix, xxv-xxvi.

147 On their arrival in Istanbul the Turkish and Moroccan ambassadors and envoys wrote to the Spanish court "expressing their complete satisfaction with, and praise for, the extraordinarily fine treatment they received during their passage in those ships from Tangier to Constantinople": San Ildefonso to J.M. González Salmón, 23 September 1788. The Spanish consul in Tangier was pleased with the Moroccan envoy's attitude, "so that we can be sure he will make a good report to the king his master": J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, 15 October 1788, AHN, Estado, leg. 4321.

148 Also called Jamet Jogga and Jame Ben Aly Jacha. Arribas Palau, "Un litige"; his study is based on *legajos* 4319, 4352, 4692, and 4801 of the Estado section of the AHN.

149 He arrived in Tangier on a Ragusan ship: J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, 12 December 1783. Fray Espinar, who directed the Spanish hospice in Meknes, reported that he approached the Moroccan sultan as a mediator in peace negotiations with Spain: Espinar to J.M. González Salmón, Marrakesh, 13 February 1784. In August he told the sultan that he wished to cross to Spain: J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, 20 August 1784, AHN, Estado, leg. 4317. In June 1784 the Secretariat of State reported to the Spanish consul in Tangier that two letters had been sent about the Tripolitan, with a reminder "to try to prevent this man from coming to Spain": Count Floridablanca to J.M. González Salmón, 8 August 1784, AHN, Estado, leg. 4316.

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condition that he take them to Tripoli to alleviate a shortage of grain there. In December 1786 the sultan demanded that the Spanish consul in Tangier detain the ambassador "wherever he may be," either peacefully or by force,[150] because he had learned that Khudja had sold the grain in Cartagena and Málaga, where he was then residing:

> He is in Málaga involved in lawsuits about wheat that he loaded in Dar al-Beida, and His Majesty is angry at this person's conduct; because having granted him permission to export grain from the port of Dar al-Beida free of all duties, on the express condition that it be conveyed to Tripoli to ease the shortage that was being suffered there, he has learned that of all the grain that this Moor loaded none has gone to Tripoli, and that he sold it to Spanish and Portuguese merchants.[151]

The consul decided that since the Tripolitan was not a Moroccan subject he could not force him to sail to Morocco, nor could he detain him in Spain; but he did write to the Captain General of the coast of Granada, who had Málaga in his jurisdiction, asking him to prevent the envoy from leaving Spain until he received instructions from his superiors. The Secretariat of State, on being informed of the matter, declared that "we cannot fail in hospitality to this ambassador nor force him, but His Majesty will join his pleas to those of the King of Morocco, if the latter wishes, that he be punished in Tripoli."[152]

Pressure on the Spanish consul increased; he reported that the sultan's brother-in-law and secretary, al-Zuwayin (Essuin), "in his crude way of thinking imagines that the king his master rules in all the world." At the same time the Moroccans, having informed the Bey of Tripoli of the affair, asked that Khudja

150 Translation of a letter from the sultan to J.M. González Salmón, 26 November 1786, AHN, Estado, leg. 4319.

151 "…[S]e halla en Malaga con algunos litigios sobre Trigos qe embarcó por Darbeyda, y S.M. está resentido de la conducta de este sugeto por que haviendole hecho la gracia de que extragese Granos por dicho Puerto de Darbeyda libre de todo Derecho con la presisa condición de que se havian de conducir a Tripoly, para socorrer la carestía que allí se padecía, ha sabido que todo el Grano que este Moro embarcó, ninguno ha ido a Tripoly, y que lo vendió a Comerciantes Españoles, y Portugueses." The sultan also wanted the captains of the four ships that had loaded the wheat to be surrendered to him: J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, 19 December 1786, AHN, Estado, 4319.

152 J.M. González Salmón, Tangier, to Count Floridablanca, 19 December 1786. In another letter he remarks that the king did not wish to act violently toward the ambassador, and perhaps the sultan "may desist from his effort, if he realizes how unlikely it is that the Tripolitan or the captains who transported the wheat will go there": J.M. González Salmón, Tangier, to Count Floridablanca, 12 March 1786, AHN, Estado, leg. 4319.

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"be forbidden to leave Málaga until the Bey of Tripoli has dealt with him."[153] The Granadan officer informed Khudja that the Moroccan sultan wanted him in Morocco, but Khudja "excused himself, alleging that he had interesting affairs that prevented him from obeying the will of this monarch." He did promise "on his word of honor," however, not to leave Málaga.[154] In January 1787 the Secretariat of State repeated to the consul that he must tell the secretaries Muhammad b. al-Arbi Qaddus Effendi and Essuin once more that the ambassador could not be detained nor forced to go to Morocco, and the only solution would be for the Bey of Tripoli to punish him.[155] But the sultan continued to insist that the Tripolitan be turned over to him:

> If he is willing to come, you will put him on a ship and send him to Tangier; and if he is unwilling, let him be put in chains and sent to Tangier by force and against his will, for that is what the Bey of Tripoli has written to us.[156]

González Salmón saw it "very unlikely that he will want to come to these domains of his own accord," though he did not think that the affair would lead to hostility between the courts of Spain and Morocco.[157] His judgment was correct: by July of that year the sultan, at the urging of the Bey of Tripoli, had pardoned Khudja, requesting that Spanish courts rule on the case between the Tripolitan and his Christian partner so that "each one shall be given what rightfully belongs to him so that he may soon conclude his business and go to Tripoli."[158] The sultan's wish coincided with that of the Bey of Tripoli, who wrote to the Spanish sovereign asking for a quick resolution of the matter and a just decision for Khudja.

The ambassador's contacts must have been excellent, since he managed to interest the monarch in his case and to have Floridablanca, the Secretary of

153 J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, 29 December 1786, AHN, Estado, leg. 4319.
154 J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, 29 December 1786, AHN, Estado, leg. 4319.
155 J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, 16 January 1787, AHN, Estado, leg. 4319.
156 "Si quiere venir, vosotros lo embarcareis y lo embiareis a Tanger, y si no quiere venir ponerlo en grillos y que se mande a Tanger por fuerza y contra su voluntad, que assy nos lo ha escrito el Bey de Trípoli": translation of the letter from the Moroccan sultan dated 24 January 1787, AHN, Estado, 4319.
157 Two letters on the same date: J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Tangier, 9 February 1787, AHN, Estado, leg. 4319.
158 J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Tangier, 19 June and 24 July 1787; translated letter from the sultan to J.M. González Salmón, 28 July 1787, AHN, Estado, leg 4319.

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State, intervene in it while delegating some of it to the maritime consulate in Málaga. Khudja wrote to the Moroccan sultan lamenting the events and his own ill luck: "For a year I have been in litigation without any justification on their part, and the abuses and injustices continue." In his closing words he cleverly flattered the sultan:

> I have been shamed before God, my sovereign, and the Prophet Our Lord Mohammed (may he be praised!). Let not my sovereign allow them to mock me and my Regency, for what is done to me is as if it were done to my nation.[159]

It was true that he had sold the wheat in Cádiz, Cartagena, and Málaga. He acknowledged in his letter that he had left Tripoli without any money, and that therefore two merchants settled in Málaga, Juan the Turk and Esteban Descovich, had lent him the funds for buying the wheat, chartering ships, and paying for his quarantine and other expenses, and he could repay them only by selling the wheat. The Swiss consul, who had received Khudja into his home, was also implicated. The maritime and terrestrial consul in Málaga determined that half the proceeds should be distributed to Juan the Turk and Descovich, with Khudja retaining the other half, and the affair was finally settled in October 1787.

6.3 Muslim Envoys

As we stated at the beginnng of this chapter, many envoys or emissaries left North Africa on assignments to Spanish ports or planning a brief stop in them.[160] It can be difficult to establish a clear difference between true ambassadors and emissaries, and between the latter and tradesmen entrusted with some errand, often to purchase certain products for their sovereigns. In this section I shall include those who went on to third countries but made stops in

159 "Yo estoy en la vergüenza de Dios, de mi Amo, y del profeta Nuestro Señor Mahomet que sea alabado, y no permita mi Amo que se burlen de mi y de mi Regencia, pues lo que me suzeda a mi es lo mismo que si fuera a mi Nacion." He opened the letter by calling the sultan "the exalted and powerful king who lifts the banner of the Mohammedan religion, the refuge of one and all, defender of the Faith, protector of the poor": Khudja to the sultan of Morocco, Málaga, 10 January 1787, AHN, Estado, leg. 4319.

160 There were probably many more than those we describe here.

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Spanish ports or sailed in Spanish ships. Some of these men were on pilgrimage to Mecca, a circumstance the sultan used as a means of sending gifts to the Ottoman caliph. Most of our examples, naturally enough, involve Moroccans, since those are the most abundantly documented.

6.3.1 *Moroccan Envoys*

The sultan of Morocco sent many envoys and commissioners to different Spanish ports, especially to Cádiz; usually he charged them with acquiring luxury consumer items such as carriages, windows, furniture, gold vessels, watches, chocolate, and textiles, among others. By all accounts the individuals who carried out these commissions caused few problems and were not involved in unpleasant incidents – at least, so far as we can tell from our sources. But a minority of these agents created real difficulties during their stays of varying lengths in Spain, as we shall see further on.

6.3.1.1 Admiral al-Mansur (1767–1768)

One of these conflicts served as the prototype for others that came later. A Moroccan corsair frigate, the *Mahona*, in which Admiral al-Mansur was sailing under Captain Mohamed "Porto Mahón," entered the port of Cartagena for repairs after having suffered damage. Mansur accused the shipyard's personnel of delaying the repairs and treating him with disrespect and even abuse; he therefore decided to travel to the court in Madrid to complain to the king in person, ask his help in repairing the ship, and denounce the authorities in Cartagena. On arriving in the capital on 30 December he met the Marquis of Grimaldi, then Secretary of State, and asked him to convey his appeal to the monarch. His stay must have been brief, because by early February 1768 he was in Tarifa on his way back to Morocco. On 22 January Spain's consul general in Larache, Tomás Bremond, had already received two letters from Mansur to the sultan and had sent them to Madrid to be translated by a trusted interpreter: they revealed that Mansur was actually a French renegade who "cannot write Arabic and understands it even less, and as an apostate could cause us no end of trouble." In the letters Mansur described his interview with Grimaldi while complaining of his ill-treatment in Cartagena and the high price of food in Spain. We do not know how the affair ended, but the sultan did express his thanks for the repair of the frigate.[161]

161 Arribas Palau, "La estancia en España del almirante al-Mansur"; Posac Mon, "El alcaide Monzor."

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6.3.1.2 Hach Abdelmagid Ben Zerak (1774)

Al-Gazzal, the ambassador who had signed the peace treaty of 1767 and was now the sultan's secretary, wrote to the Marquis of Grimaldi, the Secretary of State, in June 1774. The letter recommended the *alcaide* Sidi Hach Abdelmagid Ben Zerak,[162] who was being sent to Madrid to collect the one hundred Moroccan slaves that Charles III was presenting to the Moroccan sovereign as a gift; they had been captured out of Algerian corsair ships. While noting that Ben Zerak did not hold the rank of ambassador, al-Gazzal said,

> I beg you to attend him until he returns satisfied with the exercise of his mission, as I do not doubt will also happen with *Alcayde* Abdenzit. … I advise you that Elzerac is not an ambassador, and the king my master sends him so that you may know the man who brought theAlgerian slaves and see how well he treated them along the way.[163]

Abdelmagid Ben Zerak presented gifts to the Spanish monarch during his stay in Madrid, then traveled to Cartagena in October 1774. He took charge of the Moroccan slaves and several Algerians who were unable to work, and remained awaiting the gifts that Charles III was sending to Sultan Muhammad Ben Abdallah:

> On the afternoon of this day [14 October] the Moroccan *alcaide*, Captain Abd-el Cid-el Cerut, arrived with a large contingent proceeding from Madrid, where he had been sent by his sovereign to take certain gifts to His Majesty. In this city he lodged in the house of the deceased commandant general of the Department, Don Carlos Robbio. He remained in Cartagena until he received the gifts that the king was sending to the sultan of Morocco, and as he was departing he was given one hundred Moroccan

162 It is often difficult to identify individuals when their names are transliterated so differently in contemporary documents. This man appears as Abdelmagid Ben Zerak, Sidi Hach Abt elmayid, Abdencit Elcerac, Abd-el Cid-el Cerut, Abd del Mich el Sarc, and other variants. While there is doubt about whether the reference is always to the same person, I have chosen to call him Abdelmagid Ben Zerak.

163 "Yo te suplico que lo atiendas hasta que buelba gustoso al exercicio de su empleo, lo que no dudo, que también suceda con el alcayde de Abdenzit […] Te advierto que el citado Elzerac no es ningun Embajador, y solamente si lo embia el Rey mi amo para que veas el hombre que ha traido los Esclavos de Argel, por lo bien que los cuidó en el camino." Letter from al-Gazzal, secretary to the Moroccan emperor Sidi Mohammed Ben Abdalla, to the Spanish Secretary of State Marquis of Grimaldi, whom he addresses as "my dear friend": Salé, 13 June 1774, AHN, Estado, leg. 4312.

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> slaves and the aged or injured ones from Algiers. And although before his departure news had arrived of Morocco's declaration of war against Spain, by order of the king the Moroccan ambassador was treated with the greatest kindness and attention.[164]

At that time he was strongly inclined to defend Spanish interests, as the Spanish friar José Boltas later recalled:

> This Moor, whom I met and dealt with when he was ambassador in Madrid, seemed to me very positively inclined for when the occasion should arise.[165]

But the moment was not propitious: growing tension between the new Alawite ruler Muley al-Yazid and the Spanish crown led to the attack by Moroccan troops on Melilla and El Peñón de Alhucemas. Spain responded with a royal decree that contained a declaration of war.

The treaty of 1767 provided that, in the event of war, there would be a six-month period during which citizens of each country could be repatriated.[166] The sultan argued that he was waging war by land, against the Spanish presidios, but not by sea (and he gave the appropriate orders to the governors of his port cities, which they obeyed). But he refused to allow Spanish residents in his domains to be repatriated until his envoy and the slaves freed from Cartagena had arrived home; Spain countered by blocking their return to Morocco until Spaniards had been embarked from North African ports. The slaves were sent to Algeciras, where they waited until it was confirmed that all Spaniards residing in Morocco had left that country without difficulty.[167] The Secretariat

164 "En la tarde de este dia llega a Cartagena el alcaide de Marruecos Abd-el Cid-el Cerut arraes, con una numerosa comitiva, procedente de Madrid, a donde fue enviado por su soberano para traer ciertos regalos á S.M., alojándose en esta ciudad en la casa que ocupó el finado comandante general del Departamento D. Carlos Robbio. Permaneció en Cartagena hasta que recibió los regalos que el rey enviaba al sultán de Marruecos, y á su marcha le fueron entregados 100 moros esclavos marroquíes y los inútiles de Argel; y aunque antes de partir había llegado la noticia de haber declarado Marruecos la guerra a España, por orden del rey se trató al embajador marroquí con el mayor esmero y atenciones": Martínez Rizo, *Fechas y fechos*, 181.

165 José Boltas to Count Floridablanca, Meknes, 27 April 1783, AHN, Estado, leg. 4313.

166 Spain's vice consul in Larache, Francisco Pacheco, wrote in French to the sultan's secretary Samuel Sumbel to remind him of Article 27 of the treaty, which called for mutual repatriation without "any insult or prejudice": Larache, undated, AHN, Estado, leg. 4312.

167 Francisco Pacheco told the Secretary of State that the governor of Tangier had orders to let the Spaniards go "as soon as the ships of the king my master that should carry *Alcayde* Abenzit Elzerac, his retinue, the Moorish slaves, and gifts arrive at this port": Pacheco

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of State told Spain's vice consul in Larache, Jorge Patissiati, to inform the city's governor that Abdelmagid, his large retinue, and the slaves would be conveyed there on warships as long as Spaniards were not prevented from leaving port.[168] In the end the matter was settled peacefully.[169]

Abdelmagid, aware of the existing state of war and the uncertainty of the moment, wrote to the Spanish authorities to thank them for the treatment he had received:

> I cannot fail to express to His Majesty how thankful I am, with all my retinue, for the notable favors we owe to him, and I wish Your Excellency to convey to him how deeply I regret the (apparent) breach between my master and your sovereign, so unexpected and without a known reason. I wish to assure you that this change is not a natural part of the intense affection that he has always shown toward His Majesty and his vassals, which makes me believe that he has been badly advised, perhaps by some nation that is opposed to the tranquillity of both kingdoms. But … I believe that he will alter his declaration in such terms that far from calling for war he will call for peace, giving His Majesty the greatest satisfaction.[170]

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to Marquis of Grimaldi, Tangier, 7 November 1774, and a second letter of 15 November 1774: AHN, Estado, leg. 4312.

168 Draft of a letter sent from San Lorenzo de El Escorial, 1 November 1774, to Tomás Bremond, AHN, Estado, leg. 4312.

169 Pacheco asked the Secretary of State to "make those people, and even the king of Morocco, understand that if he does not allow free exit to the Spaniards they will not receive the free Moors,the slaves, or the gifts": F. Pacheco to Marquis of Grimaldi, Tangier, 30 November 1774. There was a second letter on the same subject, 12 December 1774.

170 "[N]o puedo por menos dexar de manifestar a S.M. lo agradecido que le quedo, como toda mi comitiva por los singulares favores, que le tenemos merecidos á quien asimismo estimare haga V.E. presente lo sensible, que me es el rompimiento (que parece) há hecho mi Amo con este Soverano tan impensadamente y sin algun conocido motivo, por que no dexo de advertir, que esta Mutacion no es natural en el Yntenso cariño que siempre ha manifestado á S.M. y vasallos, por lo que debo creer, ha sido mal aconsejado tal bez de nación opuesta a la tranquilidad de las dos Coronas; Pero …creo mudará su dictamen en tales términos, que lexos de la guerra, clamará la Paz, llenando á S.M. de las mayores Satisfacciones." Abdelmagid accused the consul T. Bremond for "his thinking which is opposed to our own in everything, and for having had some disagreements with both the father and the son": letter signed in Arabic from Sid Hach Abdelmagid to Marquis of Grimaldi, Cartagena, 1 November 1774, AHN, Estado, leg. 4312.

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However, he made the mistake of writing three letters to the governor of Tangier to be forwarded to the sultan and conveyed by the Spanish royal navy.[171] The Secretariat of State asked the interpreter and librarian Miguel Casiri to translate them and determine if they referred to "the outbreak of war between Spain and Morocco."[172] The letters revealed that Abdelmagid was exasperated by the tension of waiting aboard a warship off Algeciras without being allowed to land; they were "full of complaints and oaths because of his long delay in Algeciras with his retinue, always at sea without a chance to set foot on land."[173] But he seemed much more annoyed at not being received as an ambassador – though he was not entitled to that rank – and not having been offered the sums and gifts that al-Gazzal had received in his day. The translator observed that Abdenzit used such "coarse and indecent" terms and "indecorous expressions" that he did not dare to translate them literally:

> Abdelmagid writes a letter to the king of Morocco that, because it is written barbarously and without any method or spelling and with indecent expressions against the sacred person of our lord king, … I do not translate as Your Excellency commands me to do. Its content is no more than his violent detention in Madrid. … He writes other letters along these lines to several friends saying that he has rejected the offers that the king of Spain made him, saying that he needed nothing while he enjoyed the favor of his sovereign. He has complained that he did not receive the treatment and money that they gave to Ambassador al-Gazzal. In these letters he does not speak of war nor show gratitude for the favors, benefits, and graces that he has received, though undeserving. … Every time he names [the king] in his letters he adds, "May God confound him!".[174]

171 The Secretariat of State told the Spanish consul in Tangier that the commander of the squadron in the Strait had sent him "some papers that *Alcaide* Abdencit Elcerac had given him for the governor of Tangier; and since in the present circumstances I thought I should intercept them, I had them opened": draft from San Lorenzo de El Escorial, 1 November 1774, AHN, Estado, leg. 4312. Since 1767 most of Morocco's international correspondence had been handled by the Spanish postal system.

172 "I send you the attached letters in Arabic so that you can tell me the substance of their contents and translate any of them that deals with an important matter, especially if it concerns the outbreak of war between Spain and Morocco": draft to Miguel Casiri dated 28 October 1774 in San Lorenzo de El Escorial, AHN, Estado, leg. 4312.

173 Miguel Casiri to Marquis of Grimaldi, 24 November 1774, AHN, Estado, leg. 4312.

174 "Abdelmagid escribe una carta al Rey de Marruecos, la qual por ser bárbaramente escrita sin método, ni orthografia y con expresiones indecentes contra la sagrada persona del Rey Nro.Señor…, no la traduzco como me lo manda V.E. Su contenido se reduce a su violenta detención en Madrid … de este tenor escribe otras cartas a varios amigos en que les dice

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Tomás Bremond, the consul general in Morocco, lamented that their guest should speak so indecorously of the Spanish king after he had (mistakenly) been well treated:

> [I regret] the treatment he was given and the many signs of respect and honors made to him even though the rank he held did not deserve them, and in spite of His Majesty's generosity in restoring the slaves and in the gifts destined for the [king] of Morocco. I will write in this vein to that prince and explain the high distinction that was offered to the *Alcayde*, and will tell him that he unquestionably burst out with terms that were indecorous and shameless toward the sacred person of our sovereign.[175]

Such behavior came as no surprise to the consul, who had formed a poor opinion of the Moroccan:

> Nothing of what *Alcayde* Abdencit has done has been new to me, because I knew his bad manner of behaving (I think I recall telling Your Excellency about it). And I always felt that in return for the infinite favors done to him he would respond in just this way.[176]

Several letters exchanged between the consulate in Tangier, the Secretariat of State, and other Spanish bureaucrats spoke of the "coarse and indecent terms"

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que ha despreciado las ofertas que le ha hecho el Rey de España, diciéndole que nada necesitaba, teniendo la gracia de su Rey & quando este se ha quejado porque no le dieron el tratamiento y dineros que le dieron al Embaxador Algazeli. En estas Cartas no habla de guerra, ni se muestra agradecido de los favores, beneficios y gracias que sin merito ha recibido…, que cada vez [que] le nombra [al rey] en sus Cartas, añade *Dios le pierda* [underlining in original]". Miguel Casiri to Marquis of Grimaldi, Madrid, 30 November 1774. Another letter is dated 29 October 1774, AHN, Estado, leg. 4312.

175 "…del trato que se le havia dado, siendo [no] pocos los obsequios y demostraciones, que se le han hecho sin merecerlo el carácter con que venia, y generosidad de S.M. en la restitución de esclavos, como en los regalos, que se han destinado ál de Marruecos, en cuyo supuesto escriviré a aquel Principe, exponiéndole la suma distinción con que se ha tratado á dho Alcayde, y asi mismo le manifestaré constar de positivo hauer prorrumpido en términos indecorosos, y del mayor descaro contra la sagrada Persona de nuestro soberano": T. Bremond to Marquis of Grimaldi, Cartagena, 5 November 1774. AHN, Estado, leg. 4312.

176 "Nada de quanto ha hecho el Alcayde Abdencit me ha causado novedad, pues sabiendo yo su mal modo de obrar (que según hago memoria lo notizie a V.E.) siempre consentí, que en pago que los infinitos favores que se le han hecho, havia de dar los agradecimientos en los términos que lo ha executado": Tomás Bremond, Spanish consul in Larache, to Marquis of Grimaldi, 12 November 1774, AHN, Estado, leg. 4312.

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that Abdelmagid applied to "the sacred person of our sovereign." The correspondents also agreed that his complaints were unfounded, since he had been treated very well, "though undeserving." Therefore the consul was instructed to tell the sultan about

> the high distinction with which Abdencit has been treated here, His Majesty's liberality in sending him the slaves, and the gifts that His Majesty offers him in spite of the rupture of the friendship that existed between the two sovereigns; [and the consul should] relate in detail the gifts presented to *Alcaide* Abdencit and his retinue.

Bremond should also refer to the "indecorous and shameless" language that Abdelmagid had used about the king. But he must not reveal how the Spaniards learned the contents of the envoy's letters, "maintaining silence about our having learned of this through letters from the Moor himself, and the fact that they were opened."[177]

The letters from the Spanish to the Moroccan court were never given to Abdelmagid,[178] but despite his actions Spain's response was the same we have seen earlier: to try to lessen the punishment that the sultan would probably impose on him, both to soften Abdelmagid's hostility to Spaniards and to win him over as a possible ally in the sultan's court. That was why, once again, the king of Spain let the sultan know that he would not punish the envoy's behavior as it deserved:

> He has not wished to have him punished as his rashness merited, both because His Majesty holds Abdencit's lowly person in contempt, and in order to give a fresh example of his merciful heart; and so that the king of Morocco may understand, by this small show of magnanimity, how noble

177 "la suma distinción con que se ha tratado aquí á Abdencit, la liveralidad de S.M. con embiarle los Esclavos, y los Presentes que S.M. le dirige, no obstante aberse quebrantado la amistad que susbsistia entre ambos Soberanos, refiriendo también por menor los Regalos hechos al Alcaide Abdencit, y á su comitiva … bien que callando la especie de saberse esto por cartas del mismo Moro, y la circunstancia de habérsele abierto": draft for Tomás Bremond dated 1 November 1774, San Lorenzo de El Escorial, AHN, Estado, leg. 4312.

178 The Spanish letters for the Moroccan sultan would be delivered directly to the governor of Tangier, "because it is not decent that they should go by [Abdelmagid's] hand, nor can we trust him in view of the falsehoods he proclaims": San Lorenzo el Real to T. Bremond, 1 November 1774. San Lorenzo to José de Roxas, commander of the squadron, 1 November 1774. J. de Roxas to Marquis of Grimaldi, Cartagena, 25 October 1774, AHN, Estado, leg. 4312.

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> and generous is the prince with whom he once made peace and whom he has failed by breaking the solemn and sacred pact they had agreed on.[179]

When Abdelmagid was finally able to leave Algeciras for his country, Tomás Bremond received four letters that he had left with Spaniards to be delivered to his friends in Morocco. The consul sent them to Madrid where Casiri translated them, but they contained nothing of interest.[180]

6.3.1.3 Sidi Mahamet (1780)

Two ship captains, Cador Saibanu and Adad, reached Almuñécar in August 1780, bringing an envoy from the sultan:

> On the first of this month a caravel docked in the port of Almuñécar, coming from Tetouan under the two Moroccan navy captains Cador Saibanu and Adad, conveying an envoy from that sovereign named Cid Majamet. It seems he will meet privately with the governor of Melilla, and on his way there will hand a letter to the commandant of that region. Later he is to continue to Algiers on another commission whose nature we have not been able to determine in spite of all our efforts.

The Secretariat of State asked to be kept fully informed of the matter.[181]

6.3.1.4 Sidi Mahamet Sarjony (1777–1778)

The sultan of Morocco sent two *talbes*, Sidi Mahamet Sarjony and Sidi Abdelmevy Ben-Guaseduc,[182] to convey Muslim slaves rescued from Malta to the

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179 "[N]o ha querido hazerle castigar según merecia su osadia, asi por el desprecio que haze S.M. de la infima persona de Abdencit, como para dar un nuebo exemplo de su piadoso corazon, y para que por este leve rasgo de magnanimidad comprehenda el mismo Rey de Marruecos, quan noble y generoso es el Principe con quien hizo pazes, y á quien ha faltado quebrantando el solemne y religioso Pacto ajustado": San Lorenzo el Real to T. Bremond, 1 November 1774. San Lorenzo to José de Roxas, commander of the squadron, 1 November 1774, AHN, Estado, leg. 4312.

180 Miguel Casiri to Grimaldi, 19 December 1774. T. Bremond to Grimaldi, 30 December 1774, AHN, Estado, leg. 4312.

181 "El 1º de este mes arrivaron al puerto de Almuñecar en un carabo procedente de Tetuán los dos capitanes de marina marroquíes Cador Saibanu y Adad con un embiado de ese Soberano llamado Cid Majamet que parece va a tratar reservadamente con el Gobernador de Melilla, entregando de camino una carta al Alcayde de aquel Campo, y que luego debe pasar a Argel con otro encargo, cuyo objeto no se ha podido averiguar por mas que se ha procurado con industria": draft letter from San Ildefonso to Boltas, 15 August 1780, AHN, Estado, leg. 4313.

182 Sarjony also appears as Esanjony, Esorjony, Sorjoni, and even Rajoni.

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Ottoman Empire.[183] The Spanish consul in Tangier chartered the ship that took them from there to Tarifa. They wanted take eight servants, a number that the consul managed to reduce to six: "no matter how often I told them that so many people were useless it was impossible to lessen their number, for they even wanted to take two more men."[184]

Sarjony, on his arrival in Palma de Mallorca by way of Tunis, claimed to be the sultan's ambassador. Though his only credential was a letter from Manuel Ventura Buzarán, the Spanish commercial agent in the Regency, he convinced the local authorities to charter him a ship at the Royal Treasury's expense to take him to Morocco. The Spanish consul in Tangier told the Secretary of State to warn the local commanders and governors along the coast that

> if the Moroccan Moors do not bear any particular recommendation, they should be treated with no more distinction than what is required by the good reciprocity and friendship that exist between our two nations; for these people abuse our generosity.

He reported that Sarjony had also required his ship to make a stop in Ceuta, where "he was honored also." González Salmón felt that the "distinction" offered to Moroccans by Spanish authorities meant to reaffirm the friendship between the two countries, but noted that Moroccan subjects "cannot expect better treatment than what is given to our own citizens; they have no reason for complaint." And besides,

> any special blandishment offered to the Moors is entirely useless, because the king of Morocco does not hear of it and they are incapable of being grateful for it – or it is rare that they appreciate it as it deserves – because they believe that any attention is owed to them by right.[185]

183 They were probably taken to Cartagena and Malta aboard the Spanish warship *Miño*: González Castrillo, *El viaje de Gabriel Aristizábal*, 20.

184 J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Tangier, 8 August 1787, AHN, Estado, leg. 4319; the sultan had written to Charles III on 28 February 1787 informing him of the voyage.

185 "…que si los Moros Marroquies no lleban alguna recomendación particular, no se les haga otras distinciones que las que exige la buena correspondencia y amistad que hay entre las dos Naciones; porque estas gentes abusan de nuestra liberalidad . … [T]odo agasajo extraordinario que se haga a los moros, es enteramente perdido por que ny el Rey de Marruecos lo sabe, ny ellos son capaces de agradecerlo, ó es mui raro el que lo aprecia como corresponde, porque estan consentidos que qualesquiera atención se les debe de derecho." The ship captain in this case was Bartholomé Muret. J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Tangier, 10 May 1788, AHN, Estado, leg. 4321.

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Sarjony also deceived the ship captain who took him to Tetouan, Bartholomé Mulet, promising him to arrange permission to ship wheat,

> a promise as false as his claim to be the ambassador of the king of Morocco. For once on land he did nothing, nor could he, because this favor depends absolutely on the will of the sovereign, who is not very satisfied with this Moor's conduct: his assignment was to take the slaves not to Tunis but to Morea, which was the order the sovereign had given.

The consul also criticized Ventura Buzarán for his interference, though he realized that it came ultimately from the Bey of Tunis, who had advocated for the Moroccan. He instructed the governor of Palma that if, in the future,

> some Moor appears there claiming to be an ambassador or other emissary of the king of Morocco, he not believe him unless the man can present some document, or a letter from me; because I have often experienced what Moroccans do when they go to Europe, and when they see that they are granted privileges they abuse the generosity and urbanity with which we treat them.[186]

The Secretariat of State told the consul that on account of Sarjony's deceptions in Tunis, Palma, and Ceuta, a circular had been sent to all the admirals of the Spanish coasts, the Balearic Islands, and the North African presidios, making them understand that

> if any Moroccan Moors should present themselves without a letter from His Majesty's consul in Tangier explaining their circumstances and character, and the appropriate distinction they merit, they should receive only what is required by our respect and good harmony with the king

186 "…cuia promesa fue tan falsa como el ser el Embaxdor del Rey de Marruecos, pues luego que se vio en tierra nada hizo, ni es capaz, por que esta gracia pende absolutamente de la boluntad del Soberano, quien no se halla mui satisfecho de la conducta del mencionado Moro, por que su Comision no fue para conducir los Esclavos a Tunes, sino a Morea, que era la orden que llebaba de este Soberano. … [Si] algun moro se le presente en esa y dice ser Embaxador, ú otro empleado del rey de Marruecos, no se le dé crédito sino lo hace constar por Documento, ó Carta mia, porque tengo repetidas experiencias de lo que hacen los Marroquies quando ban a Europa, y como ven que por alla se les franquean, abusan de la generosidad y urbanidad con que se les trata": J.M. González Salmón to Antonio Gutiérrez, governor of Palma de Mallorca, Tangier, 9 May 1788, AHN, Estado, leg. 4321.

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> of Morocco. I therefore charge you with conveying this to that sovereign for his information, so that he will not be surprised if, in the absence of this condition, we fail here to offer the improper favors that his subjects demand everywhere they go.[187]

The Secretariat of State later informed the Spanish consul that Sarjony was in debt to a ship captain, José Ferrer, for the price of a Muslim slave whom he had bought and taken to Tetouan. The consul was to pursue Sarjony for the sum and, if he failed to pay it, to report his conduct to the sultan, "who surely does not wish his vassals to act so ungratefully, and the captain will receive his money in one way or another."[188] We do not know the outcome of the affair, but in February 1789 the Moroccan minister promised that the debt would eventually be paid.[189]

6.3.1.5 Atal Ba-Mar (1801)

Atal Ba-Mar, who claimed to have been an ambassador of the deceased Muley Ben Abdallah, appeared in Madrid in January 1801: "First he was ambassador to Holland, second to England, and third, envoy to the court of Portugal." He presented a document to the Secretary of State that affirmed he had "always professed his love and loyalty to His Catholic Majesty." He recalled having supplied

187 "…a los moros marroquíes que se presenten sin carta del Consul de S.M. en Tanger en que exprese sus circunstancia, carácter y distinción particular que convenga hacerles, solo se les hagan las muy precisas de atención y buena harmonia con el Rey de Marruecos; y asi encargo a Vm lo haga presente á ese Soberano para su noticia y para que no extrañe que sin dicha circunstancia se falta aquí a las indiscretas condescendencias que sus súbditos exigen en todas partes a donde llegan": Aranjuez to J.M. González Salmón, June 1788, AHN, Estado, leg. 4321.

188 J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Tarifa, 28 December 1788. In consequence the Spanish viceconsul in Tangier wrote to Minister Effendy, asking him to force Sarjony to pay his debt: if that did not happen "it will be suggested to His Moroccan Majesty that this money will be recovered in one way or another, and he does not like his vassals to behave with such dishonesty": Antonio González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Tangier, 31 December 1788, AHN, Estado, leg. 4321.

189 Effendy assured the viceconsul that Sarjony would pay, so that "you do not need to write to my master about the matter, because after he returns from Tafilalt to this [city] he will pay what he owes without delay": translated letter from Effendy to A. González Salmón, 23 February 1789. The latter informed the Secretary of State and assured him that "I will not fail to remind the minister of the matter so that it may be resolved without any more delay": A. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Tangier, 28 February 1789, AHN, Estado, leg. 4321.

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> the Spanish troops for more than two years with beef and mutton during the recent war with the French Republic; as a result he was given proper thanks in the royal palace of Aranjuez and had the honor of kissing His Majesty's royal hand, at the time when the "Prince of Peace" [Manuel Godoy] was in charge of the Secretariat of State and its ministry.

Ba-Mar reported having arrived in Majorca more than three months earlier in a chartered Moroccan ship. His cargo included, among other items, "forty-four small bundles of muslin, cottons, kerchiefs, and other clothing that he had bought in the city of Faro in Portugal, all for 7,800 *duros*." The local health officer, Jorge Massias, with his brother and two other men, suggested selling the bundles for him and giving him the sale price; he agreed and the bundles, bearing Arabic labels, had been taken to a building in the countryside, probably belonging to a religious order. It was later discovered that "different pieces of clothing that were in the bundles" were missing. Six days later, customs officers seized the bundles and took them to their headquarters.

Atal Ba-Mar demanded the return of his bundles, but was told to appeal to the court because his goods were contraband. He explained in his report that his situation was pitiable, because "aside from what is told here he has suffered other misfortunes and losses that he does not recount so as not to weary Your Excellency's attention." He alleged having acted in good faith in the matter of the bundles, since "he never believed that the business was illicit, as was declared before the goods were seized." He requested intercession with the king or the Finance Minister, Miguel Cayetano Soler, for the return of the contents of his forty-four bundles or their equivalent in cash if they had been sold or auctioned. He also hoped "that this be settled with the greatest haste, since his king has told him to return to his country after concluding the business he was sent on and for which he left his kingdom."[190]

The Finance Minister was told that Ba-Mar had indeed been Morocco's ambassador to Holland, England, and Portugal, and had further "had commissions from this court that were approved." It was believed that he had been cheated

190 "[Había abastecido a las] Tropas Españolas cerca de dos años de Carnes Bacuna y lanar (carneros) durante la Guerra que se concluyó con la Republica Francesa: de cuias resultas se le dieron las devidas gracias en el real Sitio de Aranjuez, teniendo el honor de besar la real Mano a S.M. en tiempo que la secretaria de Estado y su Ministerio se hallaba al cargo del Exmo. Señor Príncipe de la Paz. … "[Solicitó] que se le despache a la mayor brevedad, por estar avisado por su Rey, regrese a su Pais, después de tener concluidos los negocios de que fue encargado; con cuio motivo salió de su Reyno": Madrid, 17 January 1801. Signed in Arabic, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803, Exp. 20 (55).

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in the episode of the forty-four bundles ("they seduced him"). "In light of the circumstances that combine in this person, his importance in his own country, the posts he has held, and the fact that his sovereign is expecting him," he was presumably acting in good faith; therefore, although contraband was clearly involved, his appeal should be granted "with the greatest possible speed, since this Moor is called to new commissions by his sovereign":

> In light of all this, though his goods are contraband he deserves to be treated with all possible favor. In informing Your Excellency of this I recommend this individual's situation and circumstances to you so that Your Excellency may explain it all to His Majesty.[191]

The Minister, Miguel Cayetano Soler, asked the supply officer of Majorca for further information and learned that there had indeed been a crime of smuggling. But he made no decision, leaving matters in the hands of the Secretary of State: "in the light of the Moor's situation and the need to placate his nation it may be necessary to adopt some other means; I beg Your Excellency to tell me the best course and to return the report to me."[192] Soler was told that the king was referring the matter back to Majorca.[193]

At this point Ba-Mar presented a new report that complained of his situation: "because of this accusation he cannot return to his country for lack of means, after spending provoked by his good faith, and he should not be forced into ruin." He again recalled how many times he had supplied the Spanish army and navy "and may still do so." He was willing to modify his petition, asking that "out of kind generosity his needs be met by the return of what has

191 "En atención a lo referido y respecto de que dichos efectos, aunque sean de contrabando lo hacen acreedor a que se le trate con la benignidad que sea posible; participo a V.E. todo lo referido recomendándole la situación y circunstancias de dicho Yndividuo; para que se sirva V.E. hacerlo todo presente a S.M": unsigned draft, "To the Minister of Finance, the Palace, 28 January 1801," AHN, Estado, leg. 5803, Exp. 20 (55).

192 Miguel Cayetano Soler to Pedro Ceballos, Aranjuez, 21 March 1801, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803, Ex. 20 (55).

193 The king was aware of the report by the royal commissioner Antonio Alarcón Lozano, and ordered "that the case be returned to the sub-delegate with the petition by this Moor. The 85,144 reales and 6 maravedís de vellón should be returned by the persons who received them, and to the account of the case be added an interview with the Moor about the details of his petition that might help in judging it, then the account should be resubmitted with his statement. Separately the commander of the Customs should declare under oath who denounced [the Moor], and [that declaration] sent privately so as better to determine this matter": Aranjuez to Miguel Cayetano Soler, 26 March 1801, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803, Exp. 20 (55).

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gone to the treasury." A marginal note requests attention to "what this Moor has suffered through the deceits of employees in Majorca; and for the political reasons that I have explained to you, some favor should be done him in the amount that is owed to the Royal Treasury."[194] A fresh directive to the Finance Minister asked him to bear in mind that "[Ba-Mar] has begged His Majesty – in view of his situation, his original good faith, and the large expenses his long residence has incurred – to do him the favor of returning to him the portion that went to the Royal Treasury and has to do with contraband."[195]

The matter was not yet settled in December 1801. Ba-Mar wrote yet another, virtually identical, appeal to the Secretary of State: it explained that the supply officer of the Kingdom of Majorca had agreed "that he be compensated with eight thousand duros as the value of the clothing he had sold to the said Mecias [*sic*], which was seized from him and, being confiscated as contraband, was sold by the Royal Treasury." Although the officer had seemed willing to obey the royal command,

> he did it so slowly that months passed before he ordered any money paid. Finally after this time [Ba-Mar] was given only three thousand duros, with a promise to give him the rest from one day to the next, as well as the deductions that the royal order had also included; but up to now, after more than a year of waiting, he has been unable to recover the remainder of his interest, which puts him in the painful position of having to weary Your Majesty's sovereign attention once more.

Ba-Mar therefore beseeches the king to order the transfer of the full amount as soon as possible:

> Tired of waiting for the gentleman supply officer of this region and Kingdom of Majorca to fulfill the royal order that Your Excellency knows of, that he pay me the eight thousand duros that were the value of my goods seized from José Mecias, an official of that kingdom, I have decided to approach the sovereign himself by means of Your Excellency with the report that I attach, requesting a renewed royal order so that, without an instant's delay, the *Intendente* pay the total of five thousand duros that have not yet been disbursed and the other expenses of my travels

194 Report by Ba-Mar, signed in Arabic, Aranjuez, 27 March 1801, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803, Exp. 20 (55).

195 Aranjuez to Miguel Cayetano Soler, 27 March 1801, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803, Exp. 20 (55).

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> and residence; hoping that Your Excellency will adopt this petition of a friendless foreigner who is your most humble servant.

A marginal note on the document reads: "If the order is genuine, let the treasury be informed that the matter be settled."[196]

6.3.2 *Other Muslim Envoys*

Aside from Moroccans, several envoys from other North African countries also passed through Spain, having landed there on a variety of missions.

In 1781 Sid Muley Ben-Oumar, a Turk, was in Morocco, having been sent from the caliph to the Moroccan sultan, and on his return journey he bore a letter from Muhammad Ben Abdallah, who was complaining to the caliph that Algiers was refusing to exchange captives with Spain. Consul González Salmón put Ben-Oumar aboard a Spanish fishing boat bound for Cádiz, where the consul from Ragusa would pay his passage for Constantinople.[197]

The Spanish consul in Tunis, Pedro Suchita, passed through Barcelona on his way to the court in Madrid in October 1787; he was escorting a representative of the Bey of Tunis, about whose mission we know very little.[198]

In 1800 Xamet Molotd or Mevlud, the Tunisian "son of our agent in Tetouan," contacted the Spanish ambassador in Lisbon; he was interested in the imperial brigantine *La Dama Veneta*, which had been seized on leaving Gibraltar and

196 "…[L]o hizo con tanta lentitud que pasaron meses antes que no le mandó entregar dinero alguno. Finalmente pasado este tiempo se le entregaron solo tres mil duros esperanzandole de un dia a otro de entregarle el resto y los menoscabos que assi mismo comprehendia la Rl. Orden: pero hasta ahora en mas de un año de detención no ha conseguido cobrar el resto de su interes poniéndole esto mismo en el dolorosa caso de cansar otra vez la soberana atención de V.M." "Cansado de esperar que el caballero Yntendente de este partido y Reyno de Mallorca cumplimentase la Real Orden que V.Exª tendrá presente para que dispussiesse pagarme ocho mil duros que valían mis generos que fueron aprehendidos a Jose Mecias Guardamar de dicho Reyno, he deliberado acordarlo al mismo Soberano por mano de V.Exª con el memorial que incluio solicitando repetida Real Orden para que sin demorar un instante realice el mismo Yntendente el total pago de cinco mil duros que faltan a entregarse, y los menoscabos de mis viajes y detenciones; espero que V.Exª que patrocine esta solicitud de un desvalido estrangero y su mas humilde servidor": the ambassador's statement from Palma de Mallorca, 30 December 1801. Signed in Arabic, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803, Exp. 20 (55).

197 Juan Manuel González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Tangier, 14 May 1781, AHN, Estado, leg. 4314.

198 Suchita asked that the quarantine period be reduced by a few days; he presented a petition dated 7 October 1787 explaining that he was on his way to the court with the representative. He was allowed a reduction of five days: IMHB, FS, Serie I, leg. 18, fols. 148–50. Baron de Serrahi to Junta de Sanidad, 8 and 9 October 1787.

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carried the sum of ten thousand pesos. He claimed to be a representative of the Bey of Mascara bringing a letter from his master to the Spanish court, but an illness prevented him from traveling to Madrid.[199]

Two brothers, Casari Mahmet and Abdamar Casari, reached Barcelona in 1803, presenting themselves as

> sent by the Bey of Tunis to give a gift to the Emperor of Morocco. And for this commission they have no more than three months, while two servants and small amounts of silk and cotton have spent fifty days in quarantine and they do not yet release them. This causes me great harm, for in addition to these considerable expenses I cannot perform what my king has ordered, to give the gift within the aforementioned three months.

They asked that "the two servants together with the silk and cotton [be released] with all speed," since otherwise "I will have to leave those servants and other goods and depart to present my gift, which will cause me great harm."[200]

Sidi Mahamet, who must have claimed a certain status, arrived in Barcelona in a brigantine in 1807 with his family, servants, and baggage. An order was issued to shorten their quarantine: "in the knowledge that I reduce this quarantine out of mere consideration for the person involved, and it should not serve as a precedent in similar cases."[201]

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Once normal, peaceful relations had been established between Spain and Muslim countries, many Moroccan, Algerian, Tunisian, Tripolitan, and Ottoman ambassadors and envoys found themselves in Spain, whether on a diplomatic

199 Duke of Frías and Marquis of Villena to Mariano Luis de Urquijo, Lisbon, 7 and 16 October 1800, AHN, Estado, leg. 5806. We will return to this matter in Chap. 9, section 9.4.18.

200 "…[E]nviados por el Bey de Tunis para entregar un regalo al Emperador de Marruecos y para dicha entrega no tienen mas tiempo que tres meses y habiendo pasado mas de 50 dias que estan dos criados, y un poco de seda y algodón en la cuarentena aun no los despachan de lo se me sigue un perjuicio muy grande que amas de los gastos tan considerables como son no podre cumplir con lo que mi Rey me tiene mandado de hazer la entrega en el termino de los tres meses arriba expresados. … me será preciso dejar los dichos criados y demas generos y marxar hazer mi entrega de lo se me seguirá un grande perjuicio": Report dated 17 June 1803, with two signatures, one stamped and one in Arabic script. The quarantine began on 28 May and should have ended on 6 July: IMHB, FS, Serie I, leg. 24, fol. 61, 19 June 1803: FS, Serie V, leg. 13, fols. 258–59, 20 June 1803.

201 The visit of inspection was made on 16 June 1807: IMHB, FS, Serie I, leg. 28, fol. 102, Count of Santa Clara to Marquis of Valle Santoro, 14 June 1807.

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mission or as a simple pause in a sea voyage. In every case the Spanish authorities treated them in the manner they thought most proper. Though on rare occasions they expressed feelings of superiority,[202] everything indicates that they received the Muslims respectfully and essentially as equals. I refer here to internal correspondence among Spain's Secretariat of State, consuls, governors of cities and regions, and so forth. This attitude is explained by the Spanish authorities' wish to cultivate trustworthy supporters in the North African and Ottoman courts.

The results of this policy varied. Especially in cases of ambassadors and envoys who were passing through temporarily, the demands they often made (seeking greater material and financial help, or claiming a higher rank than their real one) did not create the best atmosphere for forming strong alliances. The government resorted to the alternative – letting the Moroccan sultan and other rulers know about their subjects' bad behavior – only rarely, and when it did the Spanish consul general in Tangier was asked to seek clemency or, at worst, a mild punishment for the accused.

The Spanish were reluctant to facilitate visits by these envoys because of the high costs they entailed and because they might threaten the more or less cordial relations between Spain on the one hand and Morocco, Algiers, Tripoli, Tunis, and the Ottoman Empire on the other. While reasons of state took precedence over every other consideration, it is also true that the services and favors that Spain offered often strengthened ties of friendship that arose from mutual interests, increasing the influence of Spanish diplomacy in the Muslim Mediterranean.

202 It is naturally understood that when the consuls criticized these men or showed their disdain they were also trying to convey to their superiors the problems they were meeting in Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli, and the Ottoman Empire: see Windler on the French consul in Tunis, *La diplomatie*.

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CHAPTER 7

Ship Captains and Sailors

After the Treaties of Peace normalized relations with North Africa and the Ottoman Empire, warships and corsair vessels from those countries began to frequent Spanish ports. Most arrived in search of food, water, or repairs, while others formed part of convoys that were escorting merchant ships. Most of these visits created few problems, but we will be describing some conflicts that arose from time to time.

7.1 Moroccan Captains (*arraeces*, sg. *arráez*)

The Spanish-Moroccan Treaty of Peace, Friendship, and Trade signed in 1767 provided little detail about how warships of the respective countries should be dealt with when they visited a port of the other; only five of its articles address the issue. There were norms that governed encounters on the high seas, and if Moroccan ships should be wrecked on the Spanish coast or vice-versa they would be

> treated with all due hospitality while attempting to salvage the vessels if possible, giving them whatever assistance they may request. This help shall be offered gratis or at a fair price. … Any ship may remain in port as long as it wishes. … Warships shall be exempt from paying [taxes], anchorage fees, or any other duty.

All Moroccan warships or merchant ships would have to serve a quarantine, unless they could show a patent from the Spanish consul in Tangier declaring that the Moroccan Empire was free of plague at the time.[1]

1 "…[Serán] tratadas con toda buena hospitalidad, procurando, si fuese posible, salvar las embarcaciones, y dándoles los auxilios que para ello pidieren, sin pagarse los trabajos ó lo que franqueen mas que por sus justos precios. … [C]ualquiera embarcación ha de poder estar en los puertos el tiempo que quisiere. … [L]as embarcaciones de guerra estarán exentas de pagar ninguno de ellos [los impuestos], ni tampoco anclaje ni otro cualquiera impuesto." The Treaty of Friendship and Trade between Spain and Morocco signed in Aranjuez in 1789 paid scarce attention to warships: Cantillo, *Tratados*, 505–06, 565–68..

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The later Peace Treaty of 1799 showed increased attention to warships, which were now mentioned in nine articles. Two of them established that "warships of both nations that meet on the high seas" should assist each other with food, water, "or anything essential to continuing their voyage," though the supplies should be paid for "at the current price." Three more articles stipulated that if either country should capture an enemy ship, subjects and merchandise of either nation found on board could not be sold in a port of the other. Another stressed that quarantine in Spanish ports was obligatory, "following the precautions and formalities established by the authorities to ensure public health." And a further clause addressed shipwrecks, including forced landings

> made safely at any inlet that lacks installations, where every effort shall be made to save persons, ships, and cargo. That labor, and the value of any provisions bought, shall be compensated at current prices without duties of any kind.

The last article established that warships of both countries would not pay "fees of anchorage or any other kind in any of [the other's] ports, nor for food, water, wood, charcoal, or refreshments for their consumption."[2]

While the treaties specify that articles bought in Spanish ports should be paid for at "current" or "fair" prices, especially in the early years Spain routinely offered basic "refreshments," water, firewood, and other supplies and repairs to Moroccan warships and shipwrecked vessels without charge.[3] For instance Hamet, the captain of a Moroccan corsair xebec, reached Barcelona in August 1799, and since "he was unable to disembark to ask for water" the treasury of the army provided him with both water and firewood.[4]

2 "…[A] cualquier rada, en hora buena no esté generalmente habilitada, se les asistirá haciendo lo posible por libertar personas, buques y efectos; cuyo trabajo se satisfará á los precios corrientes, así como el valor de las provisiones que compren sin exigir derecho de ninguna clase. … [No pagarán] en ninguno de sus puertos mutuamente derecho de ancoraje ni de otra clase por los víveres, aguada, leña, carbón y refrescos que necesiten para su consumo": Cantillo, *Tratados*, 688–89.

3 Cantillo, *Tratados*, 685–91. Spanish warships in Moroccan ports enjoyed the same privileges.

4 The cost of renting empty casks and paying the dock workers who loaded the wood and water came to 6 libras and 6 sueldos: "Oficio del Guardián del Puerto," 2 August 1799. Marquis of Vallesantoro to Blas de Aranza, 2 and 19 August 1799, IMHB, FS, Serie I, leg. 21, fol. 143.

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We do not know exactly how many Moroccan warships docked in Spanish ports during the period under study.[5] Their presence is documented in Cádiz, Málaga, Cartagena, Barcelona, and other ports.[6]

These landings do not seem to have caused many problems, although some did arise, as we are about to see. We should make clear that both countries did what they could to avoid unpleasant incidents. The Moroccan sultan ordered his captains to patrol the seas constantly in search of prizes, but if an emergency forced them into a Spanish port they should leave as soon as possible: "I have ordered all my captains not to tarry in port in Spain; should they need water they should seek it in the nearest port and then depart."[7] Moroccan captains were provided with passports so that Spanish warships would not take them for Algerians, and to ensure their welcome in Spanish ports. These documents, signed by Consul Juan Manuel González Salmón, typically read as follows:

> Hach Mahamet Farach is captain of one of His Moroccan Majesty's galliots of two guns, twelve rowing benches, and a crew of thirty-nine men. At present it rides at anchor in this port and will soon set sail on the Mediterranean. Be it known to the commanders and other officers of His Catholic Majesty's warships that this galley belongs to the King of Morocco and they should receive and treat it as a friend, and in case of need protect and preserve it as may be necessary.[8]

On several occasions Spanish diplomatic correspondence shows the Moroccans' gratitude for help that their ships and crews had received. In July 1772

5 For the Moroccan navy see Lourido Díaz, *Marruecos y el mundo exterior*, esp. Chap. 1; also Miège, "Course et marine marocaine."

6 For instance, five Spanish deserters boarded a corsair frigate in Cartagena in May 1774: Tomás Bremond to Marquis of Grimaldi, Salé, 6 May 1774. "Some small Moroccan galliots" entered the Bay of Cádiz in October 1778: Jorge Patissiati to Marquis of Grimaldi, Cádiz, 20 October 1778, AHN, Estado, leg. 4312. Captains al-Farache and al-Hamsaly were in Algeciras in 1781: J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, 7 January 1781, AHN, Estado, leg. 4314. See also the many other cases narrated in this chapter.

7 Letter from Sidi Mohammed Ben Abdala, in the sultan's name, to T. Bremond, 4 December 1772, AHN, Estado, leg. 3412.

8 "[E]l Harraez el Hach Mahamet Farach lo es de una de las Galeotas de S.M.M. de dos cañones, doce bancos, y treinta y nueve hombres de Tripulacion, que al presente se halla surta en este Puerto, y pronto ha de hacerse a la Vela para el Mediterráneo, y para que conste a los señores Comandantes, y demás oficiales de los Buques de Guerra de S.M.C. pertenece dicha Galera al Rey de Marruecos, y la traten, y atiendan como amiga, y en caso necesario la protexan, y auxilien en lo que necesite": Juan Manuel González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Tangier, 24 May 1782, AHN, Estado, leg. 4314.

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Morocco's former ambassador to the Spanish court, al-Gazzal, and the sultan's secretary S. Sumbel thanked the Spanish consul in Tangier after Moroccans taken at sea by a Russian ship were succored in Cádiz: "for giving assistance out of the Royal Treasury to the ten Moors who arrived there in a French tartane."[9] In September of that year two Moroccan corsair galliots also received aid in Cádiz: "the rudder of one was repaired and the other was supplied with the water and victuals they requested, paid for by the Royal Treasury." The Spanish consul in Morocco, Tomás Bremond, urged his Secretary of State "to inform His Moroccan Majesty [of it] when convenient, so that he may see how well his vassals are treated in Spain."[10] In August 1775 five galliots from Tetouan under Captain Mostaganim docked in Ceuta, where their needs were met.[11] In the following year a galliot, in difficulties after meeting "a westerly wind and contrary seas, sought shelter in a cove near Ceuta" and received assistance; when the news reached Tetouan "everyone was pleased."[12] The captain of a frigate that, "badly damaged by bad weather," docked in Cádiz in January 1782 told the governor of Tangier about the "liberality with which [the governor of Cádiz] arranged to have the frigate repaired and supplied the needs of its crew."[13] In July of that year Captain Mohamed al-Farache asked Consul González Salmón to recommend him to the governor of Melilla, where he needed to load cannon and mortars for the Moroccan army and transport them to Tangier; assistance was readily granted. Al-Farache arrived in Tangier in 1783 aboard a pink from Málaga, conveying some of the sultan's artillery and war matériel that had been left in Melilla; he was "very satisfied with the help given him gratis" both there and in Málaga, "where he had docked because of contrary winds."[14] After forty-three Moroccans were shipwrecked on the coast of the Kingdom of Naples in 1784, Spain chartered an English ship in Cartagena to convey them to Tangier.[15]

9 The king of Spain ordered them sent to Larache: T. Bremond to Marquis of Grimaldi, Larache, 30 July 1772. Al-Gazzal thanked Bremond for his help on 2 August 1772. Also Samuel Sumbel, the sultan's secretary, to T. Bremond, 19 June 1772, AHN, Estado, leg. 3412.

10 T. Bremond to Marquis of Grimaldi, Larache, 18 September 1772. In 1773 five galliots left Tangier after their captains were instructed to resupply in Gibraltar, Algeciras, and Ceuta in case of bad weather: T. Bremond to Marquis of Grimaldi, 8 January 1773, AHN, Estado, leg. 4312.

11 Jorge Patissiati, Spanish vice consul in Tetouan, to Marquis of Grimaldi, Cádiz, 8 and 15 August 1775, AHN, Estado, leg. 4312.

12 Jorge Patissiati to Marquis of Grimaldi, 30 July 1776, AHN, Estado, leg. 4312.

13 J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, 2 January 1782, AHN, Estado, leg. 4314.

14 Count of Floridablanca to the Count of Xerena, San Ildefonso [El Escorial], 5 July 1782. J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, 30 July 1782. Mohamed al-Farache to J.M. González Salmón, Tetouan, 19 September 1782, AHN, Estado, leg. 4314. J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Tangier, 8 July 1783, AHN, Estado, leg. 4317.

15 J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, 27 July 1784, AHN, Estado, leg. 4317.

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The sultan wrote to the Spanish consul general in Tangier in 1786 to thank him for the welcome offered to two captains: Sabuny, whose frigate had called at Cartagena, and Ibrahim Lubaris, who had docked at Algeciras. Both of them

> have told us how well they were treated by the Spanish. We have also learned that Captain Lubaris's ship is now in Algeciras and that the Spaniards are receiving him and his crew very well while they are busy repairing it. All this is proof of the true friendship between the Spaniards and ourselves.[16]

Nonetheless, problems developed when captains demanded supplies and repairs, when health regulations had to be imposed, or when Moroccan captains and seamen were held captive in Algerian corsair ships.

Strict sanitary measures imposed in Spanish ports – especially when there was news of an epidemic of plague in any Muslim country in the Mediterranean – gave rise to delays and expenses, and Moroccan ship captains (like their Spanish and foreign counterparts) did whatever they could to evade them. The Peace Treaty of 1767 determined that Moroccan ships reaching Spanish ports should "serve the stipulated quarantine unless the consuls have assured a perfect bill of health, in which case they shall be exempt from it."[17] The Treaty of 1799 ratified that agreement, decreeing that Moroccan ships would be admitted to ports in Spain "following the precautions and formalities established by the health authorities to ensure public safety."[18]

In practice, Moroccan vessels routinely concealed the fact that they had docked in Algerian or other North African ports or had had contact with other Muslims ships at sea, a fact they were required to report. In 1772 Spanish

16 "…[N]os ha dado parte de lo mucho que lo han agasajado los Españoles. Assi mismo nos llegó la noticia que la Embarcacion del Harraez Luberes [*sic*], se halla en Algeciras, y que los Españoles lo obsequian mucho como a su tripulación, y que están ocupados en componerla: Todo esto son pruevas de la verdadera amistad de los Españoles con Nosotros": translated letter from the Moroccan sultan to J.M. González Salmón, 13 March 1786, AHN, Estado, leg. 4319. See also Arribas Palau, "El viaje a España del arráez Ibrahim Lubaris."

17 In October 1767 a frigate and a galliot of the Moroccan sultan's reached Cartagena and were placed in quarantine; since the Peace Treaty did not specify its length, it was decided to detain them for ten days so long as there was no news of contagion in Morocco. Later, however, Spanish and Moroccan ships coming from Morocco were admitted if they brought a clean bill of health. If plague was reported in North Africa, authorities were to follow the royal edicts regarding health: printed notice from the Count of Aranda, Madrid, 13 November 1767, IMHB, FS, Serie I, leg. 23, fol. 50.

18 Cantillo, *Tratados*, 506, 689.

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authorities claimed that almost every Moroccan ship denied having "sailed the Mediterranean and stopped in that port of the said Regency [Algiers]."[19] In the autumn of 1772 reports from Cartagena and Málaga stated that two frigates, a xebec, and a galliot from Morocco had docked there, captained respectively by Sidi al-Arbi al-Mistiri, Sidi Legaume, Ysmain Tunesi, and Ahmad Mostaganim. All were bearing

> patents of health from our consuls, but in neither port did the captains admit to having stopped in Algiers. In this they betrayed the oath and word of honor that is required from the commander of every warship – unlike merchant captains, to whom more detailed regulations apply as their cargoes require.

In the face of this "breach of the law by officers under [the Moroccan sultan's] command," Tomás Bremond was ordered to tell him to "issue the strictest orders that commanders of his warships must never fail to declare the ports where they have docked after leaving Morocco, and any contact they may have had with any other ship at sea, on the understanding that if they do not do so and it can be proved, they shall be submitted in our ports to the appropriate quarantine."[20]

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19 T. Bremond to Marquis of Grimaldi, Larache, 5 December 1772. Count Aranda to Marquis of Grimaldi, 29 December 1772, AHN, Estado, leg. 3412.

20 "…patentes de Sanidad de nuestros consules, sin que en ninguno de dichos dos Puertos ayan manifestado los capitanes, y arráeces haver tocado en Argel, faltando en esto al juramento, y palabra de onor con que está mandado por punto general se tome de los Comandantes de todo Buque de Guerra a diferencia de los del Comercio, con quienes se practican otras diligencias mas menudas qual lo requieren sus cargas. … [Que el sultán] pueda dar las ordenes mas estrechas para que los Comandantes de sus Buques de Guerra de ningun modo omitan declarar los Puertos en que después de su salida de Marruecos huvieren tocado, y roces que hayan tenido con qualquiera otra nave en su viaje; bien entendido que no hacerlo y si se berificase lo contrario, se les sugetará en nuestros Puertos a la Quarentena que corresponda": Count Aranda to Marquis of Grimaldi, 24 January 1773. "The captains of the ports of Cartagena and Málaga [had] asked the captains of Your Majesty's ships arriving this summer if they had been to Algiers. And upon their saying they had not, on their word of honor and by the oath they had given to tell the truth in the name of Our Lord God, they were admitted at once. But the king my master later learned that those captains had been in Algiers before going to Málaga and Cartagena and had sworn falsely, betraying their word of honor": T. Bremond to the Moroccan sultan, Larache, 23 March 1773. When the captains were asked if they had "touched at [the ports of] the North African Regencies or had had contact with any other ship during their voyage had concealed everything, failing in this the oath and word of honor they had given": T. Bremond to Marquis of Grimaldi, Larache, 24 March 1773, AHN, Estado, leg. 3412.

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The Spanish Court echoed these complaints against the captains, who had no excuse because they knew the health regulations:

> [There are] several Moroccan ships whose commanders have failed in their responsibility in this essential matter to the point of denying in our ports that they had docked in Algiers, at great risk to the public health of these kingdoms.[21]

The Moroccan authorities, however, did try to limit such abuses. One such case involves five Moroccan merchants who left Cádiz, three of them without the required health documents. (Let us set aside the fact that they should not have been allowed to sail without them from Algeciras or their port of origin, Cádiz.) When the felucca anchored at Ceuta they were not admitted to port and were threatened with sinking if they did not leave. On arriving in Tangier the Moroccans complained about their treatment at Ceuta to the governor, who in turn consulted the Spanish consul: that official spoke of health as a very "delicate" issue, especially when there was an outbreak of plague in the Levant. The governor, satisfied, "scolded the Moors severely for not having brought up-to-date papers"; he also asked the consul to ensure that in Cádiz "no Moor may embark without that requirement, for many of them do not know that it is necessary."[22]

Another issue was the fairly frequent presence of Moroccans aboard Algerian corsair ships. When such ships were captured a diplomatic problem could arise, but Spain and Morocco tried to preserve their good relations by acting prudently. In 1772 Captain Sidi al-Arbi Mistiri asked the admiral of Cartagena to "free fourteen slaves from Salé seized out of Algerian corsairs," insisting that he was

> making this request privately; since you are also Admiral of the Fleet by rank … and therefore at the same level as Mr. Reggio, you need not bring up this matter with His Moroccan Majesty.[23]

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21 "…varias embarcaciones marroquinas cuyos comandantes han faltado a su[s] obligaciones en un punto tan esencial como ocultar en nuestro[s] Puertos que hubieran tocado en el de Argel con gran riesgo de la Salud publica de estos Reynos": draft from El Pardo to T. Bremond, 1 February 1773, AHN, Estado, leg. 3412.

22 J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Tangier, 8 October 1781, AHN, Estado, leg. 4314.

23 "…hizo la petición privativamente por si con respecto a ser también Almirante de la Mar … y que por esta casualidad de igual en graduación con el Sr. Reggio sin tocar en ello asunto a S.M.M": T. Bremond to Marquis of Grimaldi, Larache, 15 November 1772, AHN, Estado, leg. 4312.

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Other problems were provoked by the poor conduct of Algerian captains and sailors serving on Moroccan corsair ships. After an unpleasant incident in which "an Algerian captain carried off a Christian from Cádiz," the sultan even forbade his ships from entering Spanish ports "so that such a thing will not happen again."[24]

Some episodes were not lacking in humor. Three Tunisians shipwrecked near Orihuela claimed to be Moroccans who had escaped from Malta, and were entrusted to the captain of a Moroccan frigate in Cartagena; but later it was learned that they were actually escaped slaves from Majorca.[25]

The best way to illustrate the range of situations that arose will be to describe the behavior of certain Moroccan captains in Spanish ports.

7.1.1 *Incidents Provoked by Captains*

We have seen how treaties stipulated that Moroccan warships in Spanish ports should receive all necessary attentions for the ships themselves and for their crews, and that these services were to be paid for.[26] But occasionally in the years following the Treaty of 1767 supplies of "refreshments" and some repairs were offered free of charge.

This leniency gave rise to a number of abuses. Some Moroccan captains tried to have all the food and supplies for their crews, as well as major repairs to their ships and new rigging, sails, and equipment, underwritten by Spain. In this they took for granted that the early cases of free supplies and repairs – a courtesy granted after the Treat of 1767 was signed – gave Moroccan corsair ships the right to the same services in perpetuity. While they argued that Spanish warships received the same consideration in Moroccan ports, in fact services there were much more limited: in a few cases there were offers of free "refreshments" and some materials for making repairs.[27] It is possible that most

24 T. Bremond to the sultan, 19 November 1772, AHN, Estado, leg. 4312.

25 Draft from El Pardo to José Boltas, 20 March 1780, AHN, Estado, 4313.

26 Moroccan ships in Cádiz in 1780 and 1786 paid for their repairs in cash: Lourido Díaz, *Marruecos en la segunda mitad*, 102–04.

27 Free refreshments were normally offered to Spanish warships that docked in Moroccan ports on official missions, for instance during Jorge Juan's embassy in 1767: Rodríguez Casado, *Jorge Juan en la Corte*, 10; Sánchez Carrión, *La embajada inacabada de Jorge Juan*, 148–49. The war frigate *Santa Rosa* under Captain Federico Gravina, which brought thirty-five released Algerian slaves from Cádiz to the governor of Tangier, also received refreshments: J. M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Tangier, 14 February 1788, AHN, Estado, leg. 4321. But it is hard to find evidence of repairs to damaged Spanish vessels. One instance (though of a merchant ship) was a Spanish ship that had loaded wheat in Casablanca and was forced into Mogador by wind. The sultan ordered the city's governor "to gather master workmen to repair it in any way it needs, drawing on the warehouses for the necessary equipment; and its captain and sailors should be provisioned, and every

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Spanish warships that docked in Morocco – almost always on official missions, not in mere stopovers – received "refreshments," but only very rarely were they repaired or given naval supplies, since Morocco could not afford it. Nonetheless, in 1789 the sultan ordered that

> For all the Spanish ships that enter our ports, if they lack cables or sails, we have arranged to provide them. And the same shall be done for ships that come from the Canaries to Casablanca or Mogador, allowing them whatever refreshments they wish free of duties.[28]

The vice consul reported the offer to the Secretary of State, but insisting that the materials received would not be free of charge but rather "free of duties."[29] In contrast, Moroccan captains most often entered Spanish ports, especially Cádiz and Cartagena, expecting free repairs for their vessels: some asked it as a special favor, while others made it an insolent demand.

Most of the incidents described here therefore involve Moroccans: their country was closer to Spain than Algeria, Tunis, or Tripoli and also provides most of our documentation. Though problems provoked by Moroccan captains and corsairs in Spanish ports were not many, some of them caused considerable tension. Because both countries feared that such conflicts would threaten their alliance, which they considered a crucial one, both tried to limit their effects as much as possible.

7.1.1.1 Captain of the Frigate *Mahoma* (1769)

This frigate was repaired in Cartagena during the first half of 1769. The work cost the Royal Treasury a large sum, and the crew behaved badly: an official letter spoke of "the disagreeable acts performed by its crew; communications with that sovereign about these matters and the replies with which he satisfied us."[30]

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other thing offered, until the ship sails at the time it chooses": translated letter from the sultan to J.M. González Salmón, 22 August 1786, AHN, Estado, leg. 4319.

28 Translated letter from the sultan, 15 October 1789. *Alcayde* Driss wrote to the European consuls in Tangier lauding the sultan's generosity toward Spain, "of which there is no other example in the annals of this country." He added that everything would be provided for free, including hemp, pitch, decking, and wood for construction: AHN, Estado, leg. 4321.

29 A. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Tangier, 14 November 1789, AHN, Estado, leg. 4321.

30 Draft letter from Madrid to Tomás Bremond, 10 April 1770, AHN, Estado, leg. 5818.

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Tomás Bremond wrote to the sultan about the repairs, in which "materials lacking in the *Mahoma* were supplied"; he noted that in the process "the best carpenter lost his life (which was the most regrettable thing)." He also begged "that you no longer send your ships to be repaired in the shipyards of the king my master, because all their workmen are busy with his own ships." He requested that the sultan's captains no longer dock in Spanish ports "unless the weather or some accident forces them to seek shelter."[31]

7.1.1.2 Aly Aguet (1769–1770)

In 1769 a Moroccan warship, the packet-boat *El Senó* under Captain Aly Aguet,[32] docked at Cartagena, where it remained from 4 to 22 December.There it was provided with timbers, oars, gun carriages, wedges, rigging, cables, pulleys, sails, lengths of cloth, pitch, grease and tallow, nails, metal, iron goods, lanterns, barrels, hemp articles, clay, and hides, to a total value of 43,709 reales de vellón and 23 maravedís. The men who worked to repair the ship – carpenters, caulkers, sawyers, coopers, seamen, and others – were paid 6,447 reales and 26 maravedís. By order of the supply officer they were issued bread, salt fish, raisins, rice, lard, oil, vegetables, coffee, sheep, salt, tobacco, charcoal, soap, and tallow candles, to a value of 10,435 reales de vellón and 23 maravedís, plus other foodstuffs and items for twenty-one days at sea such as candleholders, lamps, vinegar, and sewing needles that cost 8,376 reales and 32 maravedís. Rations of biscuit, water, and six casks added 3,111 reales and 26 maravedís, for a grand total of 72,081 reales and 8 maravedís, a sum that was reported to the sultan of Morocco.[33]

In early January 1770 Captain Aly Aguet returned to Cartagena proposing to winter there for three months, "requesting that he be issued the necessary victuals until the coming month of March, when he plans to sail."[34] Port authorities complained repeatedly of the conduct of the captain and his crew. Most seriously, the Moroccans took in five soldiers from city regiments who

31 Tomás Bremond to the king of Morocco, Larache, 3 May 1770, AHN, Estado, leg. 5818.

32 He also appears as Aly Auguet and Sedy [Sidi] Aly Ahoüad.

33 The ship was also provided with 120 quintales of wood from the hull of the frigate *Mahoma*. The victuals and other products were supplied by a local merchant named Juan Balart: "Relacion del costo de la Real Hacienda en el paquebote El Senó desde 4 a 22 diciembre de 1769." There are also notes on payments signed by Manuel de la Riva, Cartagena, 22 and 30 December 1769 and 5 January 1770. The total sum appears in a report from Julián de Arriaga to Marquis of Grimaldi, Palacio, 9 January 1770. See "Expediente paquebote marroquí *El Senó*. Sobre su habilitación y sobre que no se compondrán en nuestros arsenales más embarcaciones de guerra marroquíes," AHN, Estado, leg. 5818.

34 Julián de Arriaga to Marquis of Grimaldi, Palacio, 19 January 1770, AHN, Estado, leg. 5818.

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had deserted, renounced Christianity, and converted to Islam; the deed had been facilitated "by Moors among the crew, who disembarked, tempted them, and seduced them to this outrage." Further, the ship's sailors had tried to help a female Muslim slave to escape:

> In the neighborhood called La Concepción, outside the city walls, there was word that a Moorish woman, a private individual's slave, was escaping with the help of two Moors. Officers and residents of that area gave chase and managed to apprehend her, but not the Moors; those climbed a nearby hill and then descended to the port which was behind it, next to the slip where the packet-boat was docked. I immediately remanded the Moorish woman to prison, and when I threatened her with punishment to make her reveal the identity of the Moors who persuaded her to flee and protected her, she stated that they belonged to the crew of the aforesaid warship; she gave some details of their faces and clothing but did not know their names.[35]

The governor continued his account of the Moroccans' bad behavior and asked for guidance about how to proceed, in view of the

> disturbances they are causing in this port; and no measures or orders I have given are enough to avoid them. While the garrison and the citizenry behave with perfect correctness and offer them not the slightest insult or vexation, from the Moors we find continual infractions and causes for unpleasantness; therefore I sent the sergeant-major of the port to reprove the captain and explain to him how irregular these actions are. As a result the two Moors who had tempted the female slave had to disembark and confront her, and she confirmed that they were the ones who had persuaded and assisted her, although they denied it. Once they were back on board the captain promised to keep them confined and take them as

35 "[Se] advirtió en el Barrio que nombran de la Concepcion extramuros de esta Ciudad, que una Mora esclava de un particular hacia fuga, amparada de dos Moros, y dándosele alcanze por los Diputados, y gente de aquella Poblacion, se logró aprenderla, y no a los Moros, porque se subieron a un Monte próximo para dexarse vajar al embarcadero, que hay à su espalda, inmediato al parage en que está fondeado el Paquevote. En seguida hize reducir à prisión la mora, y conminándola con castigos para que declarase quienes eran los Moros que persuadían, y abrigaban su huida, manifestó que eran de los de la Tripulacion del referido buque, dando algunas señas de sus rostros, y trages aunque ignoraba sus nombres": Carlos Reggio to Marquis of Grimaldi, Cartagena, 24 March 1770, AHN, Estado, leg. 5818.

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> prisoners to his Emperor so that he could punish them properly; but if repeated instances of these insults against the sacred immunity of our territory lead to further consequences beside the ones already suffered, [it will be] seriously prejudicial to the State.[36]

The Secretariat of State agreed with the governor that the Moroccans' conduct was deplorable and that they were "repaying very badly the great attention and condescension we have shown toward the Moors." The Madrid authorities saw no reason why the packet-boat should continue in port "costing the Royal Treasury the expense we all are aware of," so they conveyed the king's order to "let the captain know, politely and courteously, that from the date of receipt of this letter his crew will no longer be given any supplies as they have been up to now." The deserters must be turned over in the hope that "with this act they will leave port, and the captain should be told that His Majesty is much displeased with the conduct of the crew and will write to the sultan of Morocco."[37]

Carlos Reggio conveyed the king's displeasure to the captain, insisting that "because of the coarseness of these people" they would have to embark "to relieve me of the anxiety I have been caused." He had kept the ship in isolation by posting troops around the dock and forbidding any boats to reach it, but to little avail on account of

> the continual distressing incidents that the prolonged presence of these men here has caused. I have had to employ whatever measures prudence can suggest to endure such irregular conduct. For while I flatter myself that I have maintained strict control over the garrison and the residents so that they cause the Moors not the least vexation, the latter with their drunkenness and excesses have been ready to commit all manner of

36 "…inquietudes que están originando en esta Plaza, sin bastar las providencias, y ordenes que tengo dadas para evitarlas, pues aunque por parte de la Guarnicion, y Vecindario, se observan exactissimamente sin producirles el menor insulto, ni vexacion; por la de los Moros se advierte una continuada infraccion, y motivos de disgustos, embié a el Sargento Mayor de la Plaza, á que recombiniere al Arraez, haciendole ver la irregularidad de estos procedimientos, de que resultó hacer vajar à tierra los dos Moros seductores, para que se careasen con la Esclava, la qual, aunque ellos negaron, ratificó ser los que la persuadían, y auxiliaron; y sin embargo, de que regresados a bordo, me ha ofrecido el Arraez mantenerlos asegurados, y llevarlos presos a su Emperador, para que les imponga el Castigo correspondiente, como la repetida ocurrencia de estos insultos, hechos contra la Sagrada inmunidad del Territorio, dé margen à otras conseqüencias, además de las experimentadas hasta aquí, gravemente perjudiciales al Estado": Carlos Reggio to Marquis of Grimaldi, Cartagena, 24 March 1770, AHN, Estado, leg. 5818.

37 Draft to Carlos Reggio, El Pardo, 2 April 1770, AHN, Estado, leg. 5818.

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> insults, which I have prevented only through the greatest vigilance by not confronting them until they could not be disguised or tolerated any more.

He added that he had sent the sergeant-major of the port and the officers of the deserters' regiments to demand they be given up, but the soldiers had "declared openly and continuously that they abjured our holy faith and staunchly called themselves Moors." The Moroccan captain refused to surrender them, under the terms of the treaties, "because they persisted in the Mohammedan faith," so the governor decided to impose consequences: "I will tell the captain that he will be given nothing for the sustenance of his crew."[38] The ship finally sailed on 4 April, but was forced back into port by a southwest wind; it left for good only ten days later, with the five deserters, "who remained constant in their determination," on board.[39]

After the Moroccans' departure an accounting was made of what their stay in port had cost: food and supplies came to 38,556 reales and 12 maravedís between 17 January and 3 April 1770, to which were added 9,447 reales and 32 maravedís for twenty-one days of sailing.[40] The captain and officers were allowed supplies to a value of 3,527 reales and 6 maravedís for seven days at sea. By order of the supply officer the ship was issued rations of biscuit, water, and packaged goods (4,073 reales and 15 maravedís) as well as rigging, canvas, and gangplanks (1,707 reales and 7 maravedís). An interesting group of items were medical and sanitary supplies (syrups, salts, unguents, plasters, other medicines, utensils, packaged goods, and hospital stays for sick crewmen at a rate of four reales per day apiece), which added up to 25,966 reales and 23 maravedís. Crew members admitted to hospital were Jafar son of Eferrar (aged fifty-four), Majamet son of Belerri or Velerri (thirty-five), Sidi Majamet Benllas son of Majamet (thirty-six), Majamet Egueri son of Belerri (twelve), Abadala Megeyer

38 "...las continuas, y embarazosas ocurrencias que ha originado la dilatada permanencia aquí de esos hombres, que ha sido preciso valerme de quantos medios puede sugerir la prudencia para sobrellevar tan irregular conducta, pues al paso que puedo lisonjearme de haver tenido la guarnición, y vecindario en los términos mas ceñidos à no producir la menor vejación à los moros, estos con sus embriaguezes y excesos han caminado siempre dispuestos à cometer todo genero de insultos, que he procurado à costa de la mayor vigilancia precaver en lo posible omitiendo representarlos, hasta que no cabiendo en el disimulo, y tolerancia los hechos. ... [I]ntimaré al Arraez en que nada se le ha de subministrar para la manutención de su tripulación": Carlos Reggio to Marquis of Grimaldi, Cartagena, 3 April 1770, AHN, Estado, leg. 5818.

39 Carlos Reggio to Marquis of Grimaldi, 7 and 14 April 1770, AHN, Estado, leg. 5818.

40 The foodstuffs were provided by the local merchant Juan Balart. Two reports of spending were signed by Manuel de la Riva on 28 April 1770. Of the total, 860 reales were given to Captain Muley Abdelcader at a rate of twenty reales a day: AHN, Estado, leg. 5818.

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son of Fier or Gier (eighteen), and Mohamet Belbeli son of Fier (twelve).[41] The total of all these accounts was 83,946 reales and 27 maravedís.[42] After adding in the 72,081 reales and 8 maravedís from December 1769, the grand total rose to 156,028 reales and 28 maravedís.[43]

The Secretariat of State also expressed its disapproval to the Spanish consul in Morocco, Tomás Bremond, noting that the packet-boat had appeared in Cartagena with no apparent motive beside "the desire of its commander" but had still been treated with "the greatest consideration." The captain's arrogance, especially his assumption that he could winter in Cartagena, was excessive:

> This vessel entered Cartagena without having been forced there by the wind or having suffered any damage, and its commander declared that he would remain there all winter so as not to expose himself to the sea, while the whole crew would be maintained as before at His Majesty's expense. It was not normal to have presented such an extravagant request; but through an excess of consideration and to give one more proof of cordiality to the king of Morocco, the king became involved. It would be hoped that the Moors would reciprocate such humane and friendly treatment at least with proper conduct, without giving us much reason for complaints and distress, but just the opposite has occurred, as you must be aware.

Further, Captain Aly Aguet had contravened his orders from the sultan:

> The king is convinced that this conduct is entirely opposed to the King of Morocco's intent, but it is very painful to His Majesty to see it repeated so often with severe prejudice to his royal service and that of his own subjects.

Bremond was therefore instructed to write at once to al-Gazzal, Samuel Sumbel, and especially the Moroccan sovereign to inform them "of everything in detail," making clear that

41 "Relacion de los gastos ocasionados por los géneros suministrados al paquebote El Senó desde 17 enero hasta 3 de abril, mandado por el gobernador de Sale, Ali Auguet," and accounts signed by Manuel de la Riva, Cartagena, 28 April 1770, AHN, Estado, leg. 5818.

42 Accounts signed by Manuel de la Riva, Cartagena, 28 April 1770, AHN, Estado, leg. 5818.

43 Julián de Arriaga to Marquis of Grimaldi in Aranjuez, 1 May 1770, AHN, Estado, leg. 5818.

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> in spite of the affection and friendship that the king professes for that sovereign, it is wholly impossible for him to agree to repair or rebuild any more warships in his shipyards, as has been done with these two. First, because these costs are too high, and this results in a scarcity of materials to be used for our own vessels; and second (and more important), because it will bring His Majesty unhappiness and complaints from other princes and powers who are his friends and to whom he does not extend such favors.

Bremond was to ask the sultan to order his captains "not to attempt to enter our ports expecting to request any repairs of their vessels that they wish, because these will not be performed." In case of accidents or storms, however, "they will find all the help that is due to the intimate friendship existing between the two sovereigns." A postscript noted that the packet-boat was prepared "to sail with the first favorable wind, without any force on our part aside from the complaints we have presented to them."[44]

In May 1770 Bremond wrote to the sultan explaining Spain's unhappiness over the affair of the frigate *Mahoma* in 1769, about which he had complained on 6 August of that year. Samuel Sumbel had assured him that the sultan "did not plan to send any of his corsair [ships] to be repaired in Spain, nor did he need to do so," and yet Captain Aly Aguet had arrived in Cartagena in

44 "[S]e restituyó a Cartagena dicha embarcación sin estar forzada de los vientos ni haber recibido descalabro alguno, y su comandante dijo que pensaba quedarse allí todo el Ynbierno por no exponerse al Mar, y que se debía mantener como antes a toda la tripulación a quenta de S.M. No parecía regular haber executado tan descabellada solicitud; pero por exceso de atención y por dar esta prueba mas de cordialidad al Rey de Marruecos, vino el Rey en ello. Debia esperarse que a un trato tan humano y amistoso corresponderían los Moros de aquella embarcación a lo menos con un proceder regular, no dándonos muchos motibos de quejas y de disgustos. Pero ha sido tan al contrario como podrá vm. Reconocer. … [E]stá el Rey muy seguro de que estos procedimientos son enteramente opuestos a las intenciones del Rey de Marruecos, pero sin embargo es mui sensible a S.M. verlos tan repetidos con grave perjuicio a su real servicio y de sus propios vasallos. … [A] pesar del afecto y amistad que el Rey profesa a ese Soberano le es absolutamente imposible volver a tener la condescendencia de componer o renovar en sus arsenales ninguna otra embarcaciones [*sic*] de guerra, como ha hecho con estas dos; lo primero porque son demasiado crecidos estos gastos y se escasean por este medio para nuestros propios vaxeles los materiales que se emplean en ellos; y lo segundo (y mas principal) porque se atraheria S.M. el disgusto y quejas de los demás Príncipes sus amigos y Potencias con quienes no hace ni hará tal demostración. … [debía] hacerse a la vela con el primer viento favorable, sin que se les obligase a ello, y solo por las quejas que les hemos dado." The first mate and pilot was Sedi Reis Homar: Madrid to Tomás Bremond, 10 April 1770, AHN, Estado, leg. 5818.

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December "without any need at all nor having been forced by the weather, and was received with the greatest pleasure and attention." The repairs, provisions, and victuals provided cost the Royal Treasury 3,604 pesos fuertes. Aly Aguet then went to sea, but returned to Cartagena and was again well received by express order of the king, who, "to give Your Majesty proof of his esteem, consented to it even though he does not do the same for any other prince among his allies."

On his sovereign's orders Bremond therefore told the sultan "that the captain has repaid us very badly, allowing his seamen to influence soldiers of that city with promises so that they boarded Your Majesty's ship, to which they also took a Moorish woman." In consequence the king of Spain, "in spite of the true friendship he professes for Your Majesty," was asking him to send no more vessels to be repaired in Spanish ports and to instruct his captains not to enter them unless "the weather or some accident forces them to take shelter."[45]

Bremond reported back to the Marquis of Grimaldi about his letters to the sultan, al-Gazzal, and Sumbel; he had asked the latter two that in the event the sultan ordered their letters read in his presence "they do so in such gentle and friendly terms that he be convinced without becoming disturbed."[46] After an interval of silence Bremond received a missive from the director of the hospice in Marrakesh, informing him of the sultan's satisfaction "with the good treatment that Captain Aly Aguet received, [but] with no reference to the principal matter, that he should not send his ships to be repaired in Spain."[47]

Finally the Alawite monarch responded (in French) through his secretary Samuel Sumbel. He expressed pleasure at the fact that "his ships may enter ports where Muslims are esteemed as much as Spaniards," but he had ordered his captains not to enter Spanish ports. He excused Aly Aguet because he was not a navy captain, "having had no experience at sea, having been only governor of a port when he entered Cartagena," but nonetheless stripped him of his title: "he is demoted from his post as captain for having stayed in Cartagena, which is the cause of this misunderstanding."

The letter noted that Spanish warships were welcome in Moroccan ports, and repeated the invitation to have them supplied there with food, equipment, and armaments without charge. The Spanish should know that if their ships had incurred costs in such cases, the sultan would never have

45 T. Bremond to the king of Morocco, Larache, 3 May 1770, AHN, Estado, leg. 5818.

46 T. Bremond to Marquis of Grimaldi, Larache, 10 May 1770, AHN, Estado, leg. 5818.

47 Bremond promised to press the point with al-Gazzal and Sumbel: T. Bremond to Marquis of Grimaldi, Larache, 8 June 1770, AHN, Estado, leg. 5818.

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complained to their monarch about it. As for deserters, Morocco would return any who reached its shores unless they had converted to Islam, as had been agreed by both countries: "on becoming Muslims, the law protects them; only if one who has come from your side remains a Christian would we send him back." Finally, he understood the Spanish king's annoyance when "some Moors in the crew drank liquors or [did] other things that could produce a melée between the crewmen and subjects of His Catholic Majesty," and as a result the sultan would forbid Moroccan corsairs to enter Spanish ports, even in search of water.[48]

The Secretariat of State replied promptly, also in French, expressing its and the king's surprise at the sultan's words. It insisted that the Spanish monarch had always intended to welcome Moroccan warships into Spanish ports:

> We have the honor of assuring you that [forbidding them] has never been the king's intent, rather the contrary: orders have always been issued to admit them with cordiality and to help them in everything they might need. And I must add that the king of Morocco should be convinced of this fact by the repeated experiences of his warships in Spanish ports.

Still, some Moroccan captains made unreasonable demands: without

> the slightest accident at sea they demanded extensive rebuilding and expected poorly built old ships to be suddenly transformed into well-built new ones, something that is impossible.

Captains like these, instead of pursuing corsair warfare in their sovereign's interest, wanted to spend two or three months in Spanish ports "demanding, often with threats, not only necessary help but everything that came into their minds." When their crewmen went on land they committed all kinds of offenses that could harm the good relations between the two countries. And as for deserters, it seemed that crews of Moroccan ships persuaded them to convert through sheer "caprice."

Finally, Spain's missive concluded, the Spanish monarch would admit Moroccan warships to Spanish ports with "the greatest cordiality, to render them all possible help and services (as has been done up to now)." Necessary repairs would also be made as long as they arose from accidents at sea. But the sultan was asked to reflect on whether captains should spend months in a Spanish

48 S. Sumbel to T. Bremond, Marrakesh, 23 May 1770, AHN, Estado, leg. 5818.

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port without any need, and demand expensive repairs; if that were so, Spain would have to offer the same favors to ships of its other allies. In a final tactful note, it was suggested that the sultan's misunderstanding might have arisen from an inaccurate translation.[49]

7.1.1.3 Ysmain Tunesi (1772)

After Captain Ysmain Tunesi of the corsair xebec *Teulen* docked at Cartagena in October 1772, he either did not wish or was not able to pay for the food he was given and refused to sign a receipt. Tomás Bremond related that the captain had arrived

> with his ship badly damaged, declaring that he wished to winter there. He asked the governor to supply everything he would need, and that was agreed to on condition that he provide a receipt. This he did not accept, though it was explained to him that it was necessary for unloading and for giving an accurate account to the officials. And also because the king my master had ordered the governor to demand it, after the latter had notified him of the captain's arrival and the fact that he would not give a receipt.[50]

The consul explained to the Moroccan sultan that Spain received foreign corsair ships only for the time needed to rescue or repair them, and that he should therefore order the captain

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49 "…l'honneur de vous assurer que ca n'a jamais eté l'intention du Roy, et qu'au contraire les ordres ont eté constantemente donnés pour les y admitir avec cordialité, pour les secourir en tout ce dont ils pourraient avoir besoin et je dois ajouter que le Roi de Marroch doit etre convaincu de cette verité par l'experience reiteré que ses vaisseaux de guerr[e] en ont fait dans les Ports d'Espagne. … [après] le moindre echec sur mer ils exigaient des reparations enormes, et pretendoient que des vieux vaisseaux de mauvaise construction fussent changés subitement en vaisseaux neufs et bien construits, ce qui etoi[t] imposible": Aranjuez to Sumbel, draft specifying that the letter should go to both al-Gazzal and Bremond, 28 June 1770, AHN, Estado, leg. 5818.

50 "…con su embarcación rota, y decir era de su gusto pasar allí el Ymbierno, pidió al Governador le diera todo quanto necesitara, lo que efectivamente le concedió a condición de que le entregara Rezivo, lo qual no quiso admitir, no obstante que le manifestó era preciso para descargo y formalidad de la cuenta de los Dependientes, y porque también lo ordenaba asi el Rey mi Amo a dicho Governador en consequencia del aviso que le pasó del arribo del Harraez, y de que se negaba a dar el Rezivo": T. Bremond to Marquis of Grimaldi, Larache, 5 December 1772. Al-Gazzal accepted the consul's version of events: al-Gazzal to T. Bremond, 23 March 1773, AHN, Estado, leg. 3412.

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> to depart as soon as he has finished the repairs and not remain voluntarily for no reason, so as to avoid any error that might occur either on our side or on the captain's.[51]

Tunesi wrote al-Gazzal two letters of his own. In the first he accused the military governor of Cartagena of "not giving him anything to eat, so that he was reduced to selling his clothes in order to support himself," but in the second "he heaped a thousand praises on the help that that governor had given him." Al-Gazzal, by arrangement with the Spanish consul, decided to send the sultan only the second letter "and to suppress the other one to avoid angering him."[52] But the sultan learned of the captain's conduct and wrote him a stern letter, accusing him of disobeying orders:

> What are you doing in Cartagena? The only reason for your lingering there is your lack of ability: the xebec needs no more than four or five days' work. If you wanted to enter some port you would have done better to go to Algiers. I order that on receiving my letter you leave Cartagena and go to Tetouan; if you delay your departure I will punish you severely. I will compensate the Spaniards for everything they spend on repairing the xebec.[53]

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51 "…que se retire luego que se acabe de componer, y no se quede allí voluntariamente sin motivo, para evitar alguna falta que pueda suceder por nuestra parte o por la del Harraez": T. Bremond to the Moroccan sultan, 19 November 1772, AHN, Estado, leg. 3412.

52 T. Bremond to the emperor of Morocco, Larache, 19 November 1772. Bremond was satisfied that the affair "did not cause his Moroccan Majesty to be angry with us," and hoped the monarch would order the governor of Tetouan "to send in all haste to Cádiz one of the principal men of that city, who after traveling to Cartagena by land will force Ysmain to leave at once": T. Bremond to Marquis of Grimaldi, Larache, 14 December 1772, AHN, Estado, leg. 3412.

53 "Que hazes en Cartaxena tu detención ahí solo estriva en tu poca havilidad: el travajo que nezesita el Xaveque no es mas que de quatro a cinco días. Si querias entrar en algun Puerto, pudieras haver ido a Argel, lo qual huviera sido mejor. Te mando, que en vista de esta mi Carta salgas de Cartaxena, y te vayas a Tetuan: si te tardaras en salir de ahí te daré un gran castigo. Todo lo que gastaren los Españoles en componer el Xaveque se lo satisfaré": Letter from Sidi Mohammed Ben Abdalá to the captain, 4 December 1772. A second letter of the same date to the Spanish consul is equally harsh: "To this letter I attach another in Arabic that you will send to Captain Ismán in Cartagena, to whose governor you will write [saying] that the repair of the xebec takes only three or four days and that as soon as the workmen finish repairing it they force him to depart as soon as possible, without letting him stay even an hour. But if the captain refuses, the governor should expel him by force": AHN, Estado, leg. 3412.

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The affair continued to be mentioned in Spanish diplomatic correspondence until March of 1773, though it was handled with discretion to avoid negative repercussions.[54]

7.1.1.4 Captains Mohamet Cherif and Abu-l-Qasim (1772)

These two captains set out on a cruise in the summer of 1772. Their misconduct brought them into the presence of the sultan who, deeply displeased, accused them of being "disloyal in their service; for they spend the campaign period going from port to port without applying the diligence they owe to the trust, salary, and high rank they hold." He placed Mohamet Cherif "in chains as a punishment for having seized a Maltese sailor in Cádiz."

Abu-l-Qasim's luck was even worse:[55] he had returned from Cádiz with "a dozen oars for Muley Arzit that the navy's supply officer had given him, claiming that he took them for that reason." We do not know exactly what his offense was, but his punishment was severe: "He had hardly begun to speak when by order of the prince he was interrupted with the words 'You lie!'. He was handed over to be beaten, such that they tore out his teeth and his upper lip." The sultan accused them of "spend[ing] the period of the [corsair] campaign going from one port to another without taking heed of our trust, their salary, and the high rank they enjoy."

A group of drunken Moroccan sailors who had profaned a church in Cádiz were also dealt with harshly:

> Learning that seven sailors had entered irreverently into a church in Spain, one of them smoking a pipe – and he drew a knife on the sacristan who was defending it – he ordered all seven to have their arms broken. And dressed in dogskins, with caps of the same material adorned with tinkling bells around their heads, they were paraded through the city. Though they were sentenced to be hanged

54 The captain was reluctant to leave the safety of Cartagena, fearing hostility from Dutch warships whose country was an enemy of Morocco at the time: Carlos Reggio, governor of Cartagena, to Marquis of Grimaldi, 12 January 1773. Letter from the palace of El Pardo to C. Reggio, 19 January 1773. The xebec did not sail until 26 January 1773, having accumulated costs of 22,939 reales de vellón and 19 maravedís: C. Reggio to Marquis of Grimaldi, 23 and 26 January 1773. Julián Arriaga to Marquis of Grimaldi, 3 February 1773. Crew members who had fallen ill were treated in the local hospital, and the ship was also given "fresh food for thirty days": T. Bremond to Marquis of Grimaldi, Larache, 24 March 1773, AHN, Estado, leg. 3412.

55 He also appears as Cassen.

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> in La Leonera the sentence was commuted to prison, where they remain.[56]

7.1.1.5 Mohamed al-Farache (1772)

He was another captain[57] who drew the sultan's ire in 1772, accused of a lack of zeal in his corsair activity. On hearing of the punishments meted out to Mohamet Cherif and Abu-l-Qasim "he took refuge with a holy man."[58] But in later years he occupied important government positions in Morocco, and the Spanish consul in Tangier considered him one of the fiercest partisans of the English during the 1779–1783 war: "Farasch is one of the most impassioned [friends] of the enemy, and nothing could persuade him to come over to our side."[59] In 1782–1783 the consul in Tangier and the governors of Málaga and Melilla helped him to recover artillery pieces of the sultan's that had been left behind in the presidio after the war of 1774–1775.[60]

7.1.1.6 Abdalá al-Asseri (1774)

In April 1774 a twenty-gun Moroccan frigate with a crew of seventy-two, commanded by Captain Sidi Abdalá el Asseri, was wrecked on the beach of La Atunara in La Línea de la Concepción, next to Gibraltar. The military governor of the Gibraltar region, Agustín de Mendoza, reported that all possible help had been offered:

> The people saved themselves by leaping into the sea but the ship will not be so fortunate, for it has received the full force of the waves and is buried deep in the sand. Still, it is being lightened of its artillery and other cargo to see if it will float; for which, and for anything else they may need, I have promised its officers my help, and the Minister of the Navy said the same

56 "Savedor de que siete Marineros entraron con irreverencia en una Yglesia de España, fumando uno de ellos la pipa, y que sacó el Cuchillo contra el Sacristan que la defendía, hizo que a todos siete les rompieran los brazos, y que vestidos de pieles de perros, bonete de lo mismo con cascabeles pendientes alrededor de la cabeza los paseasen por la ciudad, y aun que fueron condenados a que después los colgasen en la Leonera, se revocó conmutandolo en prisión, en la que están": T. Bremond to Marquis of Grimaldi, Larache, 30 January 1773, AHN, Estado, leg. 3412.

57 Also called al-Farasch.

58 T. Bremond to Marquis of Grimaldi, Larache, 30 January 1773, AHN, Estado, leg. 4312.

59 In 1781 al-Farache was involved in some way with the provision of supplies to Gibraltar: J.M. González Salmón to Admiral Antonio Barceló of the Spanish navy, Tangier, 7 January 1781, AHN, Estado, leg. 4314.

60 See the introduction to this section.

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> when I informed them of the disaster. But since we do not have the proper equipment and tools here they will have to be brought from Gibraltar, which I will permit them to do.[61]

The vice consul in Tangier, Francisco Pacheco, informed Secretary of State Grimaldi that the sultan, through the governor of Tangier, had ordered him to Spain to see to the crew and cargo of the frigate, "which a furious squall had hurled against one of the batteries of the Campo de Gibraltar." The sultan's letter, penned in French by Samuel Sumbel, declared that "the sultan will be pleased if on receipt of the present you embark in the first ship to go to the spot where his vessel was wrecked."[62] Pacheco set out for Gibraltar at once.[63]

It was reported from La Línea that salvage work on the frigate had already begun:

> Work is underway to determine if it can be recovered, for which, since the required tools and experts do not exist here, they have been requested from officials in Gibraltar; and they have come from there with permission from that governor and from me.[64]

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61 "…haviendose salvado la Gente arrojándose al Agua, pero no espera logre igual suerte la Nave, por lo que ha padecido con el ímpetu de las Olas, y lo mui enterrada que ha quedado en las Arenas, aunque sin embargo se esta aligerando de la Artilleria, y demas equipaje, para ver si puede sacarse a salvamento, á cuyo fin, como para qualquier otra cosa que se les ofresca, he prometido á los oficiales de ella mis auxilios, y lo propio ha practicado este Ministro de Marina, á quien avisé luego esta desgracia; pero por no haver aquí los Aparejos, y otros útiles necesarios será presiso los traigan de Gibraltar, lo que les permitiré": Agustín de Mendoza Pacheco, Military governor of the Gibraltar region, also reported a great storm on 22 to 26 April: letter to Marquis of Grimaldi, Campo de Gibraltar, 28 April 1774, AHN, Estado, leg. 5802.

62 Francisco Pacheco to Marquis of Grimaldi, Tarifa, 8 May 1774. Sumbel stated (erroneously) that the frigate "had struck the coast of Spain at Estepona" (which is in Málaga): S. Sumbel to Francisco Pacheco, 30 April 1774. There is also a copy of the letter that the governor of Tangier sent to Agustín de Mendoza, dated 7 May 1774, instructing that the crew and effects of the frigate be turned over to Pacheco: AHN, Estado, leg. 5802.

63 He arrived on 10 May with the governor of Tangier's letter: Agustín de Mendoza to Marquis of Grimaldi, Campo de Gibraltar, 12 May 1774. For Pacheco's passage from Tangier to Algeciras see Tomás Bremond to Marquis of Grimaldi, Salé, 30 May 1774. On leaving Tangier Pacheco told Bremond that he was leaving the vice consulate to Juan Manuel González Salmón: F. Pacheco to Tomás Bremond, Tangier, 6 May 1774, AHN, Estado, leg. 5802.

64 "[S]e están ejecutando las faenas para provar, si puede salvarse, a cuyo fin, no habiendo aquí los útiles ni Practicos correspondientes, los han solicitado a Gibraltar los oficiales de ella, de donde han venido, con permiso de aquel Governador y el mio": Agustín de Mendoza Pacheco to Marquis of Grimaldi, Campo de Gibraltar, 2 May 1774, AHN, Estado, leg. 5802.

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Problems began to arise, of which Grimaldi was informed immediately: "The captain of a Moroccan frigate that was stranded near San Roque will not accept the help that we offered him free of charge."[65] The commissioner of the navy had asked the captain "to request and acknowledge the items with a reasonable accounting," which Asseri refused to do; instead he decided to seek aid in Gibraltar,

> since the ship is much closer to Gibraltar where the proper equipment and tools are located, which are lacking here. The captain believed it better to appeal to the English, and has not wished to accept any help from our people, although the English governor had agreed with the military governor of the San Roque region before offering to do the work.[66]

Consul Tomás Bremond was alerted "in case the captain should present a complaint." In that case Bremond should inform the sultan that

> the appropriate offers were made on our side, that in fact the necessary equipment and tools were not found there and the distance was greater, and that the formality of consulting the commissioner of the navy was required, since otherwise he [the captain] would be responsible for any effects turned over without permission.[67]

At the same time the Spanish military governor informed Grimaldi at length, explaining that he had allowed to English to come with their machines and equipment for salvaging the frigate. Since he did not have the proper tools himself, he wanted to avoid having "the Emperor allege at any time that we had presented obstacles to recovering the ship." He added that if the captain was not given the provisions and assistance required by the Peace Treaty of 1767 it

65 Julián de Arriaga to Marquis of Grimaldi, Aranjuez, 16 May 1774, AHN, Estado, leg. 5802.

66 "...hallándose la embarcación mucho mas inmediata a Gibraltar y teniendo allí los aparejos y útiles a propósito, de que se carecia por nuestra parte, creyó el Arraez seria mejor valerse de los Yngleses, no ha querido admitir ningun socorro de los nuestros: bien que el Governador Yngles se puso de acuerdo con el Comandante del Campo de San Roque antes de ofrecerse a hacer las faenas": draft letter to T. Bremond, dated in Aranjuez 20 May 1774, AHN, Estado, leg. 5802.

67 "...que se hicieron las ofertas correspondientes por nuestra parte, que en efecto no había allí los aparejos y útiles necesarios, ademas de ser mayor la distancia, y que la formalidad de exigir el Comisario de Marina era precisa, pues de otra suerte se hacia el mismo responsable de los efectos que entregase sin ella": Aranjuez to Tomás Bremond, 20 May 1774, AHN, Estado, leg. 5802.

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was because of his refusal to accept them, since he preferred to obtain them from Moroccan merchants established in Gibraltar:

> After the shipwreck the captain of the frigate had asked for some foodstuffs, basing himself on Article 4 of the Peace Treaty negotiated with that prince, that in cases of shipwreck any help should be given without payment or for no more than the fair price.

The difficulty arose when the local Minister of the Navy agreed to give the captain what he wanted, but asked for payment. The city magistrate ordered that

> for greater speed he provide immediately everything that the captain was requesting, with a notice of its fair price. But when [the captain] heard that he would have to pay for what was being sent he refused to accept it, claiming that it was easier for him to be supplied from Gibraltar, where some Moors were established and victuals could come from his own country. In view of this I gave permission for five of them to go every day to fetch them, as the captain had asked me to, and I hear that the English gave them some through their consul; although afterward a boat came from Tetouan with some food, which they received through that port.[68]

The supply chain from Morocco was interrupted, however, forcing the Spanish authorities to advance funds to the captain ("since he had not brought any") to buy provisions. Vice consul Pacheco reported that

> the captain needed victuals because he had consumed all those that came from Tetouan; as a result he has been offered and has been receiving daily all that he asks for, for which we have advanced him money, since he had not brought any. But on the 21st the captain declared that the English had complained about his receiving food from us and offered to give it to him, as they had done at the beginning; and if he did not accept they would

68 "…para mayor prontitud, embiase en el momento quanto el Arraez pedia, con noticia de su justo valor, pero al oir este, que lo que se le embiava era con responsabilidad al pago, no lo admitió, diciendo tenia mas facilidad para proveerse por Gibraltar, donde hay algunos Moros establecidos, y podrían venirle los Viveres de su Pais, en vista de lo qual les di un permiso para que diariamente fuesen cinco de ellos a traérselos, segun el Arraez me pidió, y tengo entendido que los Yngleses les subministraron algunos, por medio de su Consul, aunque después vino un Barco que les trajo de Tetuan una porción de comestibles, que recibieron por la dicha Plaza": Agustín de Mendoza Pacheco to Marquis of Grimaldi, Campo de Gibraltar, 23 May 1774, AHN, Estado, leg. 5802.

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> cease their efforts to salvage his frigate. To this he replied that since our consul had come by order of his sovereign to help them, [the English] should settle things with him, since nothing could be resolved until they dealt with him.[69]

In Mendoza's opinion the English, by intervening, meant to show themselves to the sultan as the saviors of the frigate and its crew, so as

> to flatter the emperor of Morocco and persuade him that even though his frigate is on our territory, they are the ones who have made great efforts to salvage it and attend to the needs of its people.[70]

Spain decided to agree to the demands of the English so that, in case the salvage operations failed, England could not accuse Spain of having placed obstacles in their way:

> It may not be a false pretext for desisting from this enterprise; for if we continued to provide supplies, thinking them unobtainable otherwise, [the English] could then claim that a failure to salvage the ship arose from this cause. It seems to me wiser to give them no occasion for this excuse by ceasing to give victuals to the Moors and letting them get them from the English. I proceed in agreement with the captain, whom the consul has informed of the reasons for my decision; and [the consul] is of the same mind, since he understands my thinking.[71]

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69 "[E]l Arraez, necesitava de viveres, por haverse consumido los venidos de Tetuan, y en su consequencia, con mi acuerdo le ofrezió, y ha estado subministrándole diariamente todos los que ha pedido, para lo qual le he facilitado Dinero, pues el no trajo alguno; pero el dia 21 expresó el Arraez, que los Yngleses se le havian quejado, por que recivia los viveres de nuestra parte, ofreziendole que ellos se los darían, como hizieron al principio, y que si no los admitia cesarian en las diligencias de salvarle la Fragata, a lo que el havia respondido, que como nuestro Consul havia venido, embiado por su Soberano, para asistirles, se entendían con el, y que hasta tratar con el mismo, no podía resolver": Agustín de Mendoza Pacheco to Marquis of Grimaldi, Campo de Gibraltar, 23 May 1774, AHN, Estado, leg. 5802.

70 "…obsequiar al emperador de Marruecos, con la máxima de hacerle ver, que aun estando su Fragata en nuestro territorio, han sido ellos los que se han esmerado, en los esfuerzos para salvarla, y en cuidar de la subsistencia de su Gente": Agustín de Mendoza Pacheco to Marquis of Grimaldi, Campo de Gibraltar, 23 May 1774, AHN, Estado, leg. 5802.

71 "[T]al vez no puede ser un artificioso pretexto, para desistir de la empresa, si por nuestra parte se continuase subministrando los viveres, por contemplarla inascesible, y que después podrían decir, que el no haver sacado la embarcación, dimano de esta causa, me ha parecido lo mas acertado, quitarles la ocasión de este efugio, cesando aca en dar á los Moros los viveres, y dejando que los recivan de los Yngleses, procediendo de acuerdo

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In the meantime the English were proceeding with the salvage operation:

> They have caulked it to stop the large amounts of water it was taking in, and have dispatched one of their frigates to Barbary with letters for the sovereign. They request, among other things, more wood for the ribbing (since they do not have those pieces) to patch the hole in the frigate's hull, which is now closed superficially. They offer to provide gratis from their own warehouses the other timbers that are needed.[72]

The English in Gibraltar asked the captain to bring them the rigging and any other salvaged parts so that they could determine what was usable and what needed to be replaced. Unwilling to give an inch, the captain replied "that since those effects were in Spanish territory he could not comply." Commander Mendoza, after consulting the captain, "two other Moorish officers," and Vice Consul Francisco Pacheco, agreed to await the decisions of the Moroccan and Spanish monarchs, "particularly since the frigate cannot be left for long in need of the equipment mentioned."

The captain moved to Gibraltar at the request of that city's governor. There he was reprimanded for having left the frigate where it was stranded and not having brought the crew, the rigging, and the other equipment; this complaint was relayed to the sultan. The captain argued that the commander of the Gibraltar region had not let him do so, "but the governor will not believe me." The Spanish official in charge cared more for what the captain had written to his sovereign, declaring

> how satisfied he is with the assistance and attentions he has received from us, and it is true he has no reason to feel otherwise, for he and all his crew have been attended to with special care in everything: their sick are taken to be cured in the hospital at Algeciras, where they are singled

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con el Arraez, á quien el Consul le ha hecho conocer las razones en que se funda mi determinación, siendo él del mismo parecer, por compreender la propia Ydea": Agustín de Mendoza Pacheco to Marquis of Grimaldi, Campo de Gibraltar, 23 May 1774, AHN, Estado, leg. 5802.

72 "[L]a han galafateado, para quitarle la entrada de la mucha Agua que hazia, y han despachado una Fragata suya á Berberia, con cartas para el dicho Soberano, asegurándose, que entre lo demas de que tratan piden alguna Madera de Costillaje, cuyas piezas no tienen ellos, para ponerla en la rotura del Plan de la Fragata, que superficialmente le han tapado, ofreciéndose á franquear de sus Almazenes, las demas Maderas que se necesitan": Agustín de Mendoza Pacheco to Marquis of Grimaldi, Campo de Gibraltar, 9 June 1774, AHN, Estado, leg. 5802.

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> out, and the officers and all the frigate's people are supplied daily with what the captain requests for their sustenance, though no more than the bare necessities. And I continue to advance to Vice Consul Don Francisco Pacheco the funds that he needs for this.[73]

Mendoza also told Grimaldi that while the governor of Gibraltar was prepared to accept the nautical supplies, he was reluctant to receive the crew. Therefore, after consulting Captain Asseri, the *alcaide* Abdelmagid who accompanied him, Tomás Bremond, and Francisco Pacheco, he decided to

> charter a Spanish ship in Algeciras to convey the supplies and crewmen to Gibraltar, with Pacheco attending them as far as that port if its governor would accept them; and if he does not allow them entry, to continue their passage to Tangier.

After a long delay that Mendoza claimed not to understand, the transfer was finally made in July.[74] Gibraltar's English governor, Robert Boyd, told Mendoza that he had not sent for the supplies, the captain having informed him that "he and his crew, with the nautical equipment that had remained on land, had all been embarked by order of Your Excellency"; he therefore awaited the Spanish commander's final decision as well as the sultan's.[75] Mendoza soon replied that, following the sultan's orders, the equipment had been sent to Gibraltar in a Spanish ship, with a second ship carrying the crewmen and their baggage.[76] The crew was finally sent on to Tangier:

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73 "…lo mui satisfecho que está de los auxilios, y atenciones que ha encontrado en nosotros, y en realidad no tiene razón para otra cosa, pues se le atiende, y juntamente á toda su Tripulacion con especial cuidado, en quanto les ocurre: sus enfermos se llevan á curar al Hospital de Algeciras, donde se les distingue, y á los oficiales, y toda la Gente de la Fragata se les subministra diariamente quanto el Arraez pide, para su subsistencia, aunque este se ciñe solo a lo preciso, y yo continuo franqueándole al Vice-Consul Don Francisco Pacheco el dinero que para ello necesita": Agustín de Mendoza Pacheco to Marquis of Grimaldi, Campo de Gibraltar, 9 June 1774, AHN, Estado, leg. 5802.

74 "…fletar un Barco Español en Algeciras, en que se llevasen los dichos Pertrechos y moros á Gibraltar, yendo con ellos el citado Pacheco, para dejarlos en aquella Plaza, si el Governador se conformava, y de no admitirlos, seguir su viaje a Tanger": Agustín de Mendoza Pacheco to Robert Boyd, governor of Gibraltar, Campo de San Roque, 8 July 1774, AHN, Estado, leg. 5802.

75 Robert Boyd to Agustín de Mendoza Pacheco, Gibraltar, 9 July 1774, AHN, Estado, leg. 5802.

76 Agustín de Mendoza Pacheco to Robert Boyd, Campo de Gibraltar, 27 July 1774, AHN, Estado, leg. 5802.

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> Yesterday Captain Abdalá el Lasseri arrived in this [port] from that of Gibraltar together with the crew of this sovereign's frigate that was wrecked on our coast. They were escorted by Hach Belabes Moreno, who went by order of the emperor to fetch them from that port; His Majesty having received a letter from its governor stating that he could not receive them, in spite of his having instructed me to hand them over there, along with the supplies. After receiving this news he decided to send for them, and because of what the governor of Gibraltar writes to him he has decided to suspend work on the house being built in Río Martil for the British consul.[77]

Francisco Pacheco, Spain's vice consul in Tangier, informed the sultan of Morocco that "your servant Abdala El Asseri" had been given "the Moors, clothing, and equipment of your royal frigate that ran aground in Spain," and added that "not the slightest thing of all that was salvaged remains in Spain."[78] The captain provided Pacheco with a receipt stating that he "was satisfied" with the handover, which had taken place in Gibraltar.[79]

The operation with the frigate had led to considerable costs, although "strict economy" had been attempted:

> We have spent 11,171 reales and 16 maravedís de vellón on the victuals supplied, the charter of a ship, and other items, in their long residence here; this includes food for the captain, the officers, and all the crew, who numbered seventy men. For a time fourteen of them were in Gibraltar at the request of the English to work on the frigate, before all the people [arrived there]; and we took them food from here every day, because it was not provided to them in that port.[80]

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77 "Ayer llegaron a esta de la de Gibraltar el Harraez Abdalá el Laseri, y Tripulacion de la fragata de este soberano naufragada en nuestra costa, conducidos por el Jach Belabes Moreno, quien pasó de orden del Emperador a buscarlos a aquella Plaza, por haver recivido S.M. carta del Governador, en que le dezia no podía admitirlos, no obstante haberme dado a mi la orden para que los entregara allí con los Pertrechos; luego que tubo esta noticia dispuso mandar por ellos, y de resultas de lo que le escribe el Governador de Gibraltar, ha mandado suspender la obra de la Casa que se fabricaba en Martil para el Consul Britanico": F. Pacheco to T. Bremond, Tangier, 12 August 1774, AHN, Estado, leg. 5802.

78 F. Pacheco to the sultan of Morocco, Tangier, 6 August 1774, AHN, Estado, leg. 4312.

79 F. Pacheco to the sultan of Morocco, Tangier, 6 August 1774, AHN, Estado, leg. 4312.

80 "[S]e han gastado onze mil ciento setenta y un reales y diez y seis maravedís de vellón en los viveres que se les han dado, flete del Barco y otras ocurrencias, en la larga mansion que han tenido aquí, comprendida en esto la comida para el Arraez, y demas oficiales, y de toda la Tripulacion, cuyo numero era de setenta Hombres, pues hasta en algun tiempo que catorze de ellos estubieron en Gibraltar, á solicitud de los Yngleses, para trabajar en

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The captain and crew gave a very good account of their treatment at the hands of the Spanish:

> As soon as they landed they proclaimed how well they were dealt with in Spain all the time they were there, and the captain informed the Pasha of everything in detail, in my presence, [saying] that he will tell his master the same, since he is so grateful. They say that after leaving Spain they were not satisfied with their provisions, and [they say] many other things of this kind that speak in our favor.[81]

Consul Tomás Bremond, who was in Fedala at the time, had followed the matter closely and "could support these accurate explanations, in case there should arise any complaint that the captain of the frigate of His Moroccan Majesty might bring."[82]

It is clear that the salvaging of the frigate and the aid given to its crew gave rise to a significant dispute between the Spanish and the English, both of whom were contending for the favors of the Moroccan sultan. The Spanish considered the affair a victory that allowed them to continue in his good graces; but only a few months later war broke out between Spain and Morocco after the latter country attacked the Spanish enclave of Melilla.

7.1.1.7 Qaddur Saibanu and Hoda (1777)

In 1777 two corsair galliots under Captains Qaddur Saibanu and Hoda[83] passed near Ceuta, whose fortress fired on them with

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la Fragata, antes que fuese toda la Gente, se les llevava de aquí la comida todos los días, por no havérsela facilitado en aquella Plaza": Notebook signed by F. Pacheco with the amounts spent on the frigate's crew and other items, every day from 17 May to 27 July 1774. Transport was paid for at least four crewmen to the hospital in Algeciras. Agustín de Mendoza Pacheco to Marquis of Grimaldi, Campo de Gibraltar, 5 August 1774, AHN, Estado, leg. 5802.

81 "[L]uego que llegaron a tierra publicaron el bien que en España se les hizo todo el tiempo, que allí estubieron, contando dho Harrez al Baxá en mi presencia todo por estenso, y que asi lo informará a su Amo, por lo mui agradezido, que biene, pues dizen, que desde que salieron de España no se han visto satisfechos de sustento, y á este tenor otras muchas cosas que hablan á nuestro favor": Tomás Bremond to Marquis of Grimaldi, Madrid, 23 August 1774. Francisco Pacheco to Tomás Bremond, Tangier, 12 August 1774, AHN, Estado, leg. 5802.

82 Tomás Bremond to Marquis of Grimaldi, Salé, 9 June 1774, AHN, Estado, leg. 5802.

83 The former may be the Shaybanyni and/or Saybano who figures in J.L. Miège's list of captains: "Course et marine," 216–17. There is no other documentation of Hoda.

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> twelve cannon shots and some rifle fire. Surprised by this, the Moors raised their accustomed signal to be recognized as Moroccans, and shouted through megaphones that they came in peace. To this those on shore replied that they did not have it [*sic*], and four xebecs of our Lord King pursued them to the river's mouth, which they entered with all their sails in tatters from the shots they had received from the port, though no man was wounded.

Captain Ahmad Mostaganim, who was in Tetouan at the time, convinced Saibanu and Hoda not to complain to the sultan, arguing that "the Spaniards would not have done such a thing if they had known for sure that the ships belonged to the [Moroccan] king their master; but since the hour was late, they must have suspected they were Algerian."[84]

7.1.1.8 Al-Arbi al-Mistiri (1772–1780)

In 1772 Captain al-Arbi al-Mistiri, finding his ship in difficulties, headed to Algiers where he hoped it could be repaired. As there was no help there he went on to Cartagena, presumably with the same intent.[85] There he had a confrontation with the military governor when he demanded, somewhat rudely, that some Moroccans seized out of an Algerian corsair ship be turned over to him.[86] In October 1780 the Moroccan sultan wrote to Antonio de Gálvez, chief treasurer of Cádiz, announcing that Captain al-Mistiri would give him 200,000 pesos fuertes as a deposit.[87] On 9 October the captain arrived in Cádiz in command of the twenty-four-gun Moroccan frigate *El Tigre* with a crew of one hundred men. He brought the stipulated sum with orders to acquire schooners and nautical equipment: "we order you that the note that Captain al-Mistiri will give you for the necessary cordage be honored with the consent of the commander and the governor."[88]

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84 "…doce cañonazos, y porción de tiros de Fusiles, a esta novedad, dizen pusieron los Moros la señal que suelen usar para que los reconocieran por Marroquíes, y con las vocinas les decían eran de Paz, a que respondieron los de tierra que ellos no la tenían; luego las siguieron quatro Javeques del Rey N.S. hasta la Boca del rio donde entraron con todas las velas hechas pedazos del fuego que recibieron de la Plaza, sin haver herido hombre alguno. … [L]os Españoles no hubieran hecho tal cosa, si supieran de fixo, que las Embarcaciones pertenecían al Rey su Amo; pero que como era tarde, sospecharían ser Argelinos": J. Patissiati to Count Floridablanca, Cádiz, 6 May 1777, AHN, Estado, leg. 3412.

85 T. Bremond to Marquis of Grimaldi, 5 December 1772, AHN, Estado, leg. 4312.

86 See section 7.1. Also T. Bremond to Marquis of Grimaldi, 15 November 1772, AHN, Estado, leg. 4312.

87 Letter from the sultan to Gálvez dated 1 October 1780, AHN, Estado, leg. 4315.

88 Dated 3 September 1780, AHN, Estado, leg. 4315.

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7.1.1.9 Aly al-Hamsaly (1781–1795)

This captain was involved in several incidents in Spanish ports.[89] In 1781 the Moroccan sultan sent him to Cádiz with two thousand pesos fuertes to be spent on various commissions, but what he bought cost almost forty thousand. The Spanish authorities were disturbed because the monarch had not made clear who would pay those costs. Further, on the captain's return to Tangier he demanded the return of the original two thousand pesos entrusted to him.[90] The Spanish consul general in Tangier informed Ibn Utman in person and in writing of al-Hamsaly's conduct in Cádiz – marked by "threats, disorder, and arrogance" – in hopes that the sultan would learn the facts and punish him "as an example to others."[91]

In 1782 al-Hamsaly was back in Cádiz where he was issued equipment, tools, and victuals to a total value of 229,345 reales de vellón. He received timbers, pulleys, rigging (tarred, English white, and northern), fabrics, bitumen, thick and thin nails, metals, lanterns, hardware, locks and keys, paint, oars, sails, almost two thousand bullets and cannon balls, ten sacks of shrapnel, anchors, and food, especially for daily rations for ten officers of the frigate.[92]

89 He also appears as Mahamet Alejansali and Mahamet Janseli.

90 Count Floridablanca to José Boltas, head of the Franciscan mission in Morocco, San Lorenzo de El Escorial, 19 October 1781; another letter of 5 November 1781, AHN, Estado, leg. 4317. Also Count Floridablanca to J.M. González Salmón, 19 October 1781, AHN, Estado, leg. 4316.

91 J. M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Tangier, 21 August 1781, AHN, Estado, leg. 4314.

92 "Account of the items supplied to His Moroccan Majesty's war frigate named *El Tigre*, which entered the Bay of Cádiz on 11 December 1781. They have been issued from 5 January of this year to 3 May of the same for repairing and restoring its hull, according to the reports, extracts, and certificates sent by the shipyard of La Carraca; these come to this Chief Accounting Office with the sum of their value, which has been assessed by the Acting Chief Engineer Don Joaquín Ibarguen, together with an accounting of the victuals and other expenses that are described in the following reports" ("Relacion de los géneros subministrados a la Fragata de Guerra de S.M. Marroqui nombrada El Tigre, que entró en la Bahia de Cadiz en once de Diciembre de mil setecientos ochenta y uno y se le han facilitado desde cinco de Enero de este año hasta tres de Mayo del mismo para su Carena y habilitación según consta de las relaciones, extractos y certificaciones remitidas del Arsenal de la Carraca, que paran en esta Contaduría Principal con el importe de sus valores que han sido valuados por el Yngeniero Comandante interino Dn. Joaquin Ibarguen; como asi mismo de los viveres y demás gastos que se manifiestan en las partidas siguientes"). The total included salaries for the engineers, carpenters, turners, and blacksmiths. Signed by Juan de Ulloa, Isla de León, 3 June 1782. Also Marquis of González Castejón of the Secretariat of State to Count Floridablanca, San Ildefonso [El Escorial], 29 July 1782, AHN, Estado, leg. 5820.

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In 1790 the frigate *El Tigre* was rebuilt "to the satisfaction of its Moroccan captain, Mahamet Alejansali," who also asked for eighteen 8-inch guns and six 4-inch ones.[93] The consul general in Morocco suggested that when the captain departed he be offered special treatment, "since he seems to be favored by the new king [al-Yazid]":

> This captain has expressed great satisfaction with his good reception in Cádiz, and gave very good reports to the late king of Morocco of how well the frigate had been repaired. A little before that prince's death the captain had asked to be given a set of cannon for the vessel, and it was suggested to him that it could not be done because His Moroccan Majesty had not requested it.

Al-Hamsaly had spoken to the Admiral of the Fleet

> about having informed his new sovereign of the state of the frigate, praising highly the care that had been taken with it. As a result the Governor of Tangier has told him that by orders of His Moroccan Majesty forty men will be sent to Cádiz to sail the ship to Larache, where a royal salute has been prepared, and likewise in the other ports that His Moroccan Majesty shall decide.

The Admiral presumed "that this is a new hint that we should give him artillery." The Minister of the Navy agreed and informed the Secretary of State that the captain's "hint" should be taken up.[94] In any event a decision was requested from the Secretariat of State in case there should be "some inconvenience arising from this new solicitation," but the answer came that "the king of Morocco

93 The number of cannon comes in an unsigned, undated note: Antonio Valdás to Count Floridablanca, Aranjuez, 6 April 1790, AHN, Estado, leg. 5820.

94 "Este arráez se ha mostrado muy contento de lo bien que se le ha tratado en Cádiz; y dio muy buenos informes al difunto Rey de Marruecos de lo bien que se componía la fragata. Poco antes de morir aquel Príncipe pidió el mismo Arraez se le diese una porción de cañones para aquel buque; y se le insinuó no haberlo pedido S.M. Marroqui y por eso no se le podía dar. … de haber dado cuenta a su nuevo Soberano del estado de la fragata alabando mucho el esmero que se ha puesto en ella, de que ha resultado avisársele por el Gobernador de Tanger, que S.M.M. ha mandado pasen a Cadiz 40 hombres para conducirla a Larache donde está dispuesto haya salva real y sucesivamente en los demás puertos donde concurra S.M.M.": Antonio Valdés, Minister of the Navy, to Count Floridablanca, Aranjuez, 20 April 1790; and another document dated in Cádiz, 1 June 1790, AHN, Estado, leg. 5820.

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has made no such request and therefore it cannot be granted"; the vice consul in Tangier would inform the sultan that "our laws forbid it." If it became necessary the required sum would be paid, but it was recalled that once before the sultan had asked for guns and gun carriages from the factory in Seville, offering to pay for them, but had been denied. He should not believe that on the pretext of purchasing "he will be given weapons and munitions gratis," and "we should avoid [such situations] whenever we can because of the ill effects they can have with respect to other nations."[95] While the Secretariat of State was gratified by the captain's speaking "to his new sovereign about his good treatment in Cádiz and the care with which the frigate was repaired," providing artillery was out of the question.[96]

Finally Luis de Córdoba, Admiral of the Fleet, could report that *El Tigre* was ready to sail for Larache and Mogador, where the sultan awaited her

> to witness the salute that will be celebrated in praise of Spain. [But] for the desired effect [al-Hamsaly] repeats that he should be allowed the artillery that he requested earlier, for without it he cannot obey his sovereign's order; as a result he will risk his person, because he assured [the sultan] that he would also be given artillery, assuming this because cannon had been supplied to other frigates of this prince.[97]

Matters had reached this stage when authorities in Cádiz confiscated some valuables from one of the ship's officers, as Consul Juan Manuel González Salmón reported:

> … a seizure from an officer of his warship in this seaport of four dozen Barcelona kerchiefs and six ounces of gold, [with a complaint] of the poor treatment he received. [I enclose] a copy of the reply I gave him, and another of what I wrote to the governor about the matter; and he has answered by word of mouth that they will try to assist the captain as best they can, but that it is essential to follow regulations.

95 Aranjuez to Antonio Valdés, 14 June 1790, AHN, Estado, leg. 5820.

96 There is a crossed-out passage in the draft: Aranjuez to Antonio Valdés, 10 June 1790, AHN, Estado, leg. 5820.

97 "…para asistir al saludo, que ha de celebrar en aplauso de España: para el mencionado efecto repite se le franquee la artillería que pidió en fecha anterior por no poder sin ella cumplir la orden de su Soberano, con quien incurrirá en inconsecuencia, exponiéndose su Persona, por haverle asegurado, que se le facilitaba también artillería: bajo este supuesto, y el de haberse franqueado cañones a otras fragatas de este Príncipe": Antonio Valdés to Count Floridablanca, Palacio, 27 July 1790.

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Hamsaly reported in writing to the governor of Cádiz stating that he had sent one of his officers to collect some silk kerchiefs and a watch, for which he had already arranged. As the man was returning to the ship (with the kerchiefs but without the watch – he had been unable to find the watchmaker), guards of the port had confiscated the kerchiefs and some coins. Hamsaly complained that the official had been "pushed and shoved" and mocked for his religion – on that point, the guards had "displayed their private parts." He asked the governor for written instructions on how to act in the future, "for you know how little knowledge we have of Spanish customs." Were it not for "the great love and trust I have for you," the Moroccan captain would have addressed his complaint to the Court; in a curious note of flattery he claims that "I therefore make you my Court."[98]

González Salmón did not wish to offend the captain, to ensure that he would give a good report to the sultan on his reception in Cádiz:

> If the matter is not settled in the Moor's favor it will come to the attention of the Moroccan sovereign, and it is not worth raising it to that level or displeasing the captain when on some [other] occasion he could be of use and be inclined toward us. When I welcomed him he told me that I would hear of the report he would give the king his master about us and the repair of the frigate. I think that the frigate will not sail when I do, because the captain himself says that it is not wholly repaired. But for my report to the sultan, without letting him suspect that it is to remind him of our service, I have ordered a drawing made of it under full sail, in a fine frame, to present to him or his ministers during one of his audiences at court.[99]

98 The report is dated 7 July 1790, presented at the Isla de León and signed in Arabic: AHN, Estado, leg. 4322.

99 "…apreension que se ha hecho a un oficial de su Buque en esta Puerta de la Mar de 4 dozenas de Pañuelos de Barcelona y 6 onzas de oro y el mal trato que se le dio; copia de la respuesta que le puse, y otra de lo que con dicho motivo he escrito a este Cavallero Governador, quien me ha respondido a boca se procurará atender al Harraez lo mejor que se pueda pero era indispensable seguir los Autos. … [S]i no se resuelve afavor del Moro ha de llegar el asunto a noticia del Soberano Marroqui, y no merece la pena de que trascienda a tanto, ni que el Harraez salga disgustdo en ocasión qe nos puede valer, y que se nos manifiesta inclinado pues quando le hize el agasajo me ofrecio que ya oiría yo el informe que daba de nosotros y de la composición de la Fragata al Rey su Amo. Dicha Fragata no creo salga conmigo porque he sabido por el mismo Harraez no se halla aun del todo avilitada, pero para hazer memoria de ella al Soberano, sin que sospeche es con la idea de recordarle este servicio, he mandado sacar un diseño de ella puesta a la Bela colocada en un marco primoroso para presentárselo, ó a sus Ministros en una de las Audiencias que tenga en aquella corte": J. M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Cádiz, 13 July 1790;

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Not only were the confiscated kerchiefs and gold returned, but the captain was given one hundred pesos fuertes "in cash as a way of satisfying him, explaining that it was done so that he could buy whatever items he most desired." His first mate and his interpreter received twenty-five pesos fuertes apiece.[100]

Al-Hamsaly still caused one more problem, whether by omission or commission. The frigate finally sailed (without the desired guns or gun carriages) on 24 July,[101] while at the same time a barge was being loaded with equipment for the frigate to be taken to Larache.[102] Captain al-Hamsaly anchored in Larache on 27 August, and it was then discovered that he had stowaways on board:

> His Moorish crewmen have brought two Christian lads, thirteen and eighteen years old, one from Havana and the other from La Isla de León; and when our trusted man in that port tried to have them turned over to him, he was told that they already professed the Mohammedan religion.[103]

The barge was forbidden to sail, but by the time the order reached Cádiz it had already left in convoy with the ship *Gallardo*.[104]

Al-Hamsaly reappeared the following year: in May 1791 he was in Ceuta bearing letters from Sultan Muley al-Yazid to Charles IV. He claimed to have orders to meet Captain Ibrahim Lubaris, who was in Cádiz at the time, before going

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draft, AHN, Estado, leg. 4316. According to the consul, the captain had argued that the officer in question "had gone in good faith, under his instructions, to buy those kerchiefs and a watch that he himself had ordered, but not finding the watchmaker he had returned with the money." The Moroccan's person had been searched "violently and indecently; and he asked [his captain] if, making little of his ignorance of our rules, he might find a way to have his kerchiefs and his money returned." The consul approached the governor of Cádiz explaining that the captain, "irrespective of the right or wrong of this case, is now in a position to assist us at the Court of Morocco, since he already has the new king well informed of the repair of the ship and the good treatment he has received," adding that he would be pleased if the goods should not be confiscated: Palacio to Pedro de Lerena, 24 July 1790; Pedro de Lerena to Count Floridablanca, 29 July 1790, AHN, Estado, leg. 5820.

100 González Salmón's accounting of the expenses incurred for Mahamet Essuin from the day of his disembarkation, 5 June, to 9 July; also of the gift offered to Captain Mahamet Hansaly of the Moroccan frigate, Cádiz, 13 July 1790, AHN, Estado, leg. 4316.

101 The consul sent the sultan an "Illustration of the frigate beautifully painted," which he placed in "a fine frame": J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, 2 and 13 September 1790, AHN, Estado, leg. 4322.

102 The barge would carry its usual complement as well as a second pilot experienced in navigating those coasts; it was awaiting its sailing orders. Antonio Valdés to Count Floridablanca, 29 August 1790, AHN, Estado, leg. 5820.

103 San Ildefonso to Antonio Valdés, 9 September 1790, AHN, Estado, leg. 5820.

104 Antonio Valdés to Count Floridablanca, 31 August 1790, AHN, Estado, leg. 5820.

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on to Madrid, so Ceuta's governor chartered a ship for him and his eight companions; reaching Cádiz on 13 May, they then traveled to the Spanish court. Al-Hamsaly told González Salmón that he was conveying the ratification of the Treaty of Peace, and that any disagreements between Spain and Morocco had already been settled to Spain's satisfaction; but in fact the treaty was not signed, and war broke out between Spain and the portion of Morocco ruled by Muley al-Yazid. Al-Hamsaly reached Aranjuez on 31 May but by 9 July he was back in Ceuta, having sailed from Gibraltar.[105]

In 1795 al-Hamsaly was the protagonist of yet another incident, this time on the high seas: he made an illegal capture of the Spanish frigate *Sacra Familia*, homebound from Buenos Aires. This time Spain did not hesitate to ask Muley Sliman to punish him, and he was imprisoned – a step especially appreciated because it was taken even before the complaint from the Spanish vice consul in Tangier had reached the Moroccan court. Still, Prince Muley Taib's interest in the captain was considered an advantage: had the prince not mediated in the affair it might be thought that Spain had acted out of vengeance, endangering the countries' mutual relations. "Thanks to his generous action of pleading for him, we have let them see that we have no other thought than to preserve good order and friendly intelligence between the two nations."[106]

7.1.1.10 Aly Sabuni (1785)

In 1785 Captain Aly Sabuni[107] arrived in Cartagena in command of the Moroccan war frigate *La Manzora*, with sixteen guns and a crew of fifty-four, in search of provisions. He claimed to have orders from the sultan "to obtain the replacements he needed to continue his corsair expedition, and also for a supply of victuals for only three days, asking that all of it be given him free of charge." The admiral of the Cartagena region informed Sabuni that he was not allowed to provide military equipment to North African countries, and that furthermore, since July 1783 he could supply food only if it was paid for or he was given a receipt:

> He is under orders to not supply food to the warships of any nation, with no exception made for African ones, unless their fair price was paid. And as for naval equipment, since His Majesty had forbidden it for all the African Regencies it would be very wrong to supply it to Moroccan ships. However, as a particular favor to that sovereign, if the captain had no

105 Arribas Palau, "Nuevos datos sobre moros en la Alhambra."
106 J.M. González Salmón to Duke of La Alcudia, Cádiz, 23 June 1795, AHN, Estado, leg. 5818.
107 Also called Alí Sabury, Ali Sabusi, Alí Sabony and Alí Sabungi.

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> ready money to pay for the victuals he needed he could offer a receipt that specified what he received and its value, so that it could be sent to His Moroccan Majesty. As a single favor free refreshments would be offered him, as it appears has already been done. Likewise, if some item should be required for a temporary repair of the ship, it should also be done properly with a receipt and in form, telling him that it will be sent to His Moroccan Majesty; for with any concession of this sort it is natural to inform the king either directly or through you. And even then, no difference should be made among Mediterranean ports for the reasons already indicated with respect to the Regencies.[108]

The captain was notified that everything he had asked for would be recorded in a message to the sultan.[109] In spite of the prohibition, however, he received the following items: two anchors measuring respectively ten and eleven inches, four cables of fourteen, twelve, seven, and six inches respectively, a full set of sails, a few pieces of rigging of different lengths, a skiff, a stern lantern, and a spar for the mizzenmast. There were also foodstuffs "for two months at sea, as well as fresh supplies of meat, ship's biscuit, flour, rice, and lard," together with two quintales of firewood and four large baskets of charcoal.[110]

The Spaniards were displeased with the captain's attitude, and the Spanish consul general was ordered to "make the incident known to the [Moroccan]

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108 "[S]e halla con ordenes para no subministrar viveres á los buques de nación alguna sin exceptuar los Africanos sino pagando su justo valor, y que en quanto a los pertrechos navales habiéndolos negado S.M. á todas la Regencias de Africa seria muy reparable suministarlos á las embarcaciones Marroquies; pero que sin embargo por consideración particular a ese Soberano, si el Arraez no tuviese dinero para pagar los viveres que necesite de pronto, deberá dar un recibo especificando lo que le entreguen y sus valores para qe pueda enviarse a S.M.M. haciéndole únicamente alguna demostración gratuita de refrescos como parece que lo ha executado ya: y que igualmente si para habilitar provisionalmente la embarcación fuere preciso dar al arraez algun pertrecho sea también baxo igual recibo, y regulación diciéndole que se remitirá a S.M.M. quien quando quiera alguna condescendencia de estas es natural la avise al Rey directamente o por medio de Vm. y aun entonces no se podrá diferir en los puertos del Mediterraneo por los motivos ya indicados respectivos a las Regencias": Count Floridablanca to J. M. González Salmón, Madrid, 6 December 1785, AHN, Estado, leg. 4316.

109 He was later accused of having entered the port for no reason, and of having requested "a multitude of things more on a whim and frivolously than by necessity": J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Darbeyda, 14 October 1786 and 12 March 1787, AHN, Estado, leg. 4319.

110 "Nota de los efectos que ha pedido del arsenal de Cartagena el arráez Ali Sabusi de la fragata Marroqui de guerra la Manzora," 6 December 1785, AHN, Estado, leg. 4316.

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sovereign without delay."[111] Having done so, he reported that the sultan was grateful for Spanish assistance and that such behavior would cease, because captains would bear "letters when they need to request anything."[112]

7.1.1.11 Ibrahim Lubaris (1786–1791)

An illuminating case is the conduct of Captain Ibrahim Lubaris after his frigate was wrecked off the Spanish fortress of San Felipe, between La Línea and Gibraltar, in late 1785. He requested and was granted assistance:

> [Since it] needs all kinds of help to fund and repair it, orders have been issued to supply it with everything including necessary victuals so that the sovereign may be completely satisfied in this regard.[113]

Lubaris asked for a full new set of sails for his frigate, "claiming that he will lose his head if he returns home with the old one, which is in a poor state." The Secretary of State ordered the military governor of the Gibraltar region, the Marquis of Zayas, to comply with this request

> to replace the old sails. It will be arranged for the new set to be sent from Cádiz, but it should not be delivered until you hear from Morocco about these individual petitions from that prince's captains. … The king wishes to satisfy him, but first he wants to know if it is his pleasure, to avoid any misunderstandings on the part of the captains.[114]

In fact it was necessary to go to Cádiz for new sails, because

111 J.M. González acknowledged these instructions in a letter to Count Floridablanca, Darbeyda, 27 January 1786, AHN, Estado, 4316.

112 J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Darbeyda, 31 January 1786. The sultan knew that the captain himself had appreciated his reception: "he has informed us of how warmly the Spaniards treated him": translated letter from His Moroccan Majesty to J.M. González Salmón, 13 March 1786, AHN, Estado, leg. 4319.

113 "[N]ecesitando todo genero de auxilios para ponerla en franquicia y repararla, se han dado ordenes para que todo se subministre como también los viveres necesarios, de manera que ese Soberano podrá quedar completamente servido en este particular": Count Floridablanca to J.M. González Salmón, El Pardo, 31 January 1786, AHN, Estado, leg. 4316.

114 "…componer dicho velamen viejo; que se dispondrá que de Cadiz se le remita el nuevo; pero que no lo entregue hasta recibir respuesta de Marruecos acerca de estas solicitudes voluntarias de los Arraezes de aquel Principe … [E]l Rey desea complacerle; pero que quiere antes saber que este es su gusto para evitar equivocaciones de parte de los arraezes": Count Floridablanca to J.M. González Salmón, El Pardo, 14 February 1786, AHN, Estado, leg. 4316.

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> in Algeciras there are no warehouses or any fresh supplies from which we can give him those sails. The king my master has ordered that the ones he already has be repaired, but even if repairs to the frigate should cost more than four thousand pesos fuertes, in addition to rations that come to twenty duros a day, the king my master, desirous of satisfying you, has decreed that a new set of sails be sent from Cádiz to Algeciras.[115]

At about this time a letter must have arrived from the Moroccan sultan, requesting a new set of sails for the vessel.[116] Eventually the Spaniards learned that the supposed threat to Captain Lubaris was a trick meant to have his ship wholly repaired for free;[117] that was why the sultan should be informed of the

115 "[E]n Algeciras no hay almazenes ny ningun repuesto para poder darle dicho velamen, ha mandado el Rey mi Amo que se le componga el mismo que ella tenia y aunque passaran de Quatro mil Pesos fuertes lo que costará de reparar la Fragata, sin contar las raciones que llegan a veinte Duros diarios, el Rey mi Amo deseoso de complacer en un todo a V.M. ha mandado que de Cadiz se envie a Algeciras nuevo Velamen": J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Darbeyda, 13 March 1786, AHN, Estado, leg. 4319. The consul also reported his receipt of a letter from Marquis of Zayas, with the news that Lubaris, "beside the new set of sails and other effects with which the frigate has been restored (and it is now better than it was)," had asked for "several other things with which to adorn the ship. Since I know what kind of people these captains are, and that if we indulge them while they are here they will make new and improper petitions every day, I am instructing the commandant to ignore every request that is not in official form; and that the moment the frigate is seaworthy the captain must be ordered to set sail for some port in these domains. If he does not do so I should be told, so that I may inform His Moroccan Majesty." Lubaris was also accused of "wishing to live with a level of ostentation and splendor that makes considerable demands on the Royal Treasury." In spite of all this "he is not pleased; this is very common among them because their character and ill-breeding allows them nothing else. It is therefore wise to remind them from time to time that they should not abuse the generous liberality with which they are treated": González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Darbeyda, 6 April 1786, AHN, Estado, leg. 4319.

116 "…that they make him a new set of sails because the one he has is useless, and the ports of King Charles and ours are as one": translated letter from the sultan to J.M. González Salmón, 21 March 1786. The consul replied that the sultan's wishes would be respected, while letting him know of the expenses that the king of Spain was incurring: "even if the cost of repairing the frigate should be more than four thousand pesos fuertes, aside from the rations that come to twenty duros a day, the king my master, eager to please Your Majesty in everything, has ordered the new sails to be sent from Cádiz to Algeciras": González Salmón to His Moroccan Majesty, 23 March 1786, AHN, Estado, leg. 4319.

117 Lubaris sailed from Algeciras to Salé in June 1786. He carried provisions for fifteen days and sent a letter of thanks to the Secretary of State: Count Floridablanca to J.M. González Salmón, 4 July 1786, AHN, Estado, leg. 4316.

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details "to avoid any misunderstandings on the part of the captains."[118] Lubaris also requested victuals for another Moroccan war frigate that was in Gibraltar, but was denied for two reasons:

> The captain has asked that provisions be sent to the other Moroccan frigate that is in Gibraltar, of which you know from the Marquis of Zayas. He has been told that there would be no problem in supplying them if it were in one of our own ports and subject to the usual sanitary regulations.

Spanish authorities suspected that Lubaris was attempting a new deception: "There is reason to believe that the victuals the captain is requesting in Gibraltar are for selling rather than for his crew."[119] Even so, the sultan conveyed his thanks to the king of Spain for the "delicate attention" and for the friendly reception that Moroccan captains received in Spanish ports.[120]

In 1791 Muley al-Yazid's ambassador Ibn Utman was in Madrid negotiatiating a new treaty. The sultan sent him instructions by Captain Ibrahim Lubaris, who embarked from Ceuta on 10 March in the flatboat *San Antonio de Padua* bound for Cádiz. A few days later the governor of Córdoba told Floridablanca of his passage through his city:

> For this reason, and because he was traveling with only four other Moors, he had asked me to accompany him to [Madrid], in case of incidents.

118 J. M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Darbeyda, 13 March 1786, AHN, Estado, leg. 4319.

119 "Dicho arráez ha pedido que se remitan viveres para la otra fragata marroquí que se halla en Gibraltar de que Vm tiene ya noticia por el Marques de Zayas; pero se le ha respondido que no habría dificultad en franqueárselos si estuviese en puerto nuestro y observase las reglas de sanidad que estan establecidas. … [H]ay motivo de recelar que los viveres que pide dicho arráez en Gibraltar son para vender y no para su tripulación": Count Floridablanca to J.M. González Salmón, El Pardo, 31 January 1786, AHN, Estado, leg. 4316.

120 J. M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Darbeyda, 27 February and 30 March 1786; copy of a letter from Minister Effendy to González Salmón, 13 March 1786. Perhaps the sultan's attitude arose from positive reports by Lubaris: "Captain Brahim Luberes, who arrived safely with his frigate in Larache, has been summoned by the sovereign and on the 19th of this month passed through here on his way to Court. He is exceedingly happy with the good treatment and reception he had in Algeciras all the time he was there with his frigate, and wishes to convey this to the king his master": J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Darbeyda, 25 June 1786. The sultan wrote to the consul: "We have learned that Captain Luberes's ship is in Algeciras, and that the Spanish treat him and his crew very well, and that they are busy repairing it. All these are proofs of the true friendship between the Spaniards and ourselves": translated letter from His Moroccan Majesty to J.M. González Salmón, 13 March 1786, AHN, Estado, leg. 4319.

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> I replied that I could not comply without an express order from Your Excellency, and did not know how it could be obtained; therefore with this response he left the very same day for that [city].[121]

Lubaris was charged with giving the Moroccan ambassador both instructions for the treaty negotiations and a list of naval supplies to be obtained from the Spanish: Muley al-Yazid needed to equip several ships, including two docked at Salé. Floridablanca told the Secretary of State for the navy, Antonio Valdés, about the list

> of the effects needed to equip the two ships that the king his master has in Salé, as well as some others; so you will please to look it over and tell me privately what we can give or buy to satisfy the king of Morocco, and what it will cost; for our peace negotiations are very advanced.[122]

Valdés replied favorably to Floridablanca's requests, but the Count proved too optimistic about the progress of the negotiations: they were soon cut off, provoking a new Spanish-Moroccan war.

> Everything in the list from the ambassador of Morocco can be supplied from the shipyard in Cádiz, as long as the king approves it. But in this case either the ships to be repaired must come to Cádiz, or they must explain more clearly the measurements of the masts, sails, rigging, and other items he asks for, so they can be understood and supplied usefully and without waste.[123]

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121 "[C]on este motivo y tener que caminar solo con quatro Moros mas me havia pedido le hacompañase a esa para las ocurrencias a lo qe le he respondi no podía servirlo sin expresa orden de V.E. que ignoraba como se pudiese tomar y con este motivo y respuesta se puso en este mismo dia en marcha para esa." He now appears in the documents as Brehem Lubares. Bartolomé Barzelar to Count Floridablanca, Córdoba, 20 March 1791, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803. On Lubaris's arrival in Cádiz from Ceuta: J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, 18 March 1791, AHN, Estado, leg. 4324.

122 "…de los efectos que se necesitan para equipar las dos embarcaciones que el Rey su Amo tiene en Salé, y para algunas otras; a fin de que V.S. se sirva verla, y me diga reservadamente lo que podremos dar o comprar para dar gusto al Rey de Marruecos, y lo que costará esto; pues tenemos muy adelantada la pacificación": Count Floridablanca to Antonio Valdés, Palacio, 1 April 1791. Palacio to Antonio Valdés, 1 April 1791, contains the same text as the former and seems to be a draft; it includes a note, "This is the list presented by the Ambassador of various effects for equipping two ships of His Moroccan Majesty's in Salé, and more for other [ships]": AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

123 "Quanto comprehende la nota del Embaxador de Marruecos se puede facilitar del Arsenal de Cadiz, siempre que el Rey lo tenga por conveniente; pero en este caso es necesario o

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Floridablanca, under great pressure of work, wrote to Ibn Utman in almost identical language that the king of Spain had ordered

> a number of naval supplies to be provided without charge … to equip two Moroccan ships that are in Salé, with a few other items that are needed for other ships. And His Majesty, as proof that he returns the friendship that that monarch says he hopes to establish with Spain, has decided that without exception he should be provided with those naval effects from the Cádiz shipyard; for which the ships to be repaired must proceed to that port, or the measurements of the masts, sails, rigging and other items requested must be explained more clearly so they may be provided with knowledge of the need and serve usefully and without waste.

He also took the opportunity to remind Ibn Utman that "this week I will send you a note of what should be agreed so that our friendship may be a true one, useful to both monarchs and their subjects, and lasting."[124]

In a letter that he signed in Arabic, Ibn Utman promised to inform the sultan and said of the Spanish monarch

> how grateful he makes me with this expression, which I know will please my sovereign greatly; and since Your Excellency is the instrument of moving the royal will you shall be [grateful] also for a favorable and durable peace, as I will also communicate to the king my master. The two ships for which the supplies are chiefly intended are damaged; therefore, if Your Excellency wishes to dispatch the matter quickly, you can send Captain

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que las embarcaciones que han de habilitarse vengan á Cadiz, o que expliquen con mas claridad las medidas de la arboladura, velamen, jarcias y demás que pide; a fin de que se entregue con conocimiento, y puedan servirse esos pertrechos con utilidad, y sin desperdicio": note by Valdés on the margin of Floridablanca's letter, 4 April 1791, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

124 "…se le franqueen varios efectos navales … para equipar dos embarcaciones Marroquies que se hallan en Salé, con algunos otros que hacen falta á otras embarcaciones: y S.M. por una prueba de su correspondencia á la amistad que aquel Monarca le ha manifestado desea establecer con la España; ha resuelto que sin exemplar se le faciliten dichos efectos navales del arsenal de Cadiz; a cuyo fin se hace preciso que las embarcaciones que han de habilitarse pasen a aquel puerto, o que se expliquen con mas claridad las medidas de la arboladura, velamen, xarcias, y demás que se piden para que se entreguen con conocimiento y puedan servir con utilidad y desperdicio. … [L]e enviaré en esta semana una nota de lo que convendría arreglar para que nuestra amistad sea verdadera, útil a los dos monarcas y a sus súbditos, y durable": draft for Mohamet Ibn Utman, Aranjuez, 5 April 1791, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

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> Ibrahim Lubaris, who came with my master's commission for this business; he is well acquainted with all the measurements, and I hope Your Excellency will recommend him to the governor of that port and have him assisted as Your Excellency always does with your goodness toward every distinguished vassal of my king.[125]

Floridablanca told Valdés that by order of the king Captain Lubaris, "who arrived recently from Morocco with this commission, may proceed to Cádiz to arrange this matter, bearing [letters of] recommendation there." He asked to know whom the captain should approach in Cádiz, and ended on a note that suggested some doubt because of Lubaris's conduct the year before: "of course I consider it prudent that Your Excellency order a notation or copy of the enclosed list, so as to convey it to the authorities and avoid any possible abuse."[126] Ibn Utman was informed that, since there were many obstacles to bringing the two Moroccan ships from Cádiz to Salé and Lubaris was the person in charge, it would be best that "some brigantine or other warship of His Majesty's go from Cadíz to Salé bearing the supplies necessary for repairing those ships in the dock where they are now, taking Lubaris aboard so that everything may be done with the necessary thoroughness and convenience."

In Cádiz the captain was to report to the Admiral of the Fleet, who had orders to give him the supplies.[127] Problems arose there, however, since it was "necessary to explain the features, dimensions, etc., of each article, which no one was able to provide with the exactness required." Therefore the government insisted that it would be easiest if "those Moroccan ships came to Cádiz to be supplied with what they need; then everything can be verified without

125 "...lo agradecido que me deja con semejante exprecion qe conozco será de suma complacencia de mi Soberano; y siendo V.E. el instrumento para mober la real voluntad lo será igualmente, de una Pas bentajosa y durable como lo participare también al Rey mi Amo. Las dos embarcaciones para quienes principalmente están destinados dichos efectos se allan en casco; por lo que si fuese del agrado de V.E. acelerar como combiene este asunto podrá despachar al Arraez Brajem Lubares [*sic*] que bino comisionado de mi Amo para este negocio, y sabe pr extenso todas las medidas y espero que V.E. lo recomiende al Governador de dha Plaza para qe se le atienda como V.E. lo acostumbra con su bondad á hacer con todos los Basallos distinguidos de mi Rey": Ibn Utman to Count Floridablanca, Madrid, 5 April 1791, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

126 He asks the Minister of the Navy to tell him whom Captain Lubaris should see about his commission in Cádiz: Aranjuez to Antonio Valdés, 7 April 1791. Count Floridablanca to Antonio Valdés, Aranjuez, 7 April 1791. Draft from Aranjuez to Ibn Utman, 7 April 1791, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

127 Aranjuez to Ibn Utman, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

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delay, and articles that do not serve the purpose will not be sent blindly while others are lacking."[128]

Ibn Utman was grateful that the king should order a ship to transport

> the necessary effects for repairing the two ships that are in Salé, taking Captain Lubaris on board; since they know that the Admiral of the Fleet, to whom Lubaris must appeal, will have the necessary orders for carrying out what His Majesty has decreed.

He added that Lubaris understood his commission, and made a further request, noting that

> this man cannot travel alone inside Spain, and I have no one to accompany him. I presume that since Your Excellency governs this country you will arrange things as you prefer so that he arrives safely, because when he came [here] he was accompanied by many people. I will be most grateful.[129]

Floridablanca told the Secretary of War that the king had ordered for Lubaris "two or three soldiers to escort him and one person in charge of paying his travel expenses."[130] The captain made sure Floridablanca knew how much those expenses were:

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128 Letter addressed to Anduaga, 12 April 1791, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

129 "…los efectos, que se necesitan, para abilitar las dos Embarcaciones qe se allan en Salé llebando a su bordo al Arraez Lubares: Como también que el Capitan general de la Armada a quien deberá presentarse dho Lubares, tendrá las ordenes necesarias para qe se cumpla lo que S.M. a dispuesto. … [E]ste hombre no puede, transitar solo por España, y que yo no tengo quien baya en su compañía, estimare que gobernando V.E. este Pais lo remita del modo que guste para que llegue con seguridad, pues cuando bino fue acompañado de otras muchas gentes a lo que quedare mui agradecido": Ibn Utman to Count Floridablanca, Madrid, 13 April 1791, signed in Arabic. Also an unsigned draft note of 13 April 1791 in which the Moroccan ambassador asks for someone to travel with Lubaris to Cádiz "because he arrived here with several people who accompanied him": AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

130 In the margin: "To the Minister of War, I inform you so that you may please to assign the soldiers who will escort him": Aranjuez to the Count of Lerena, 16 April 1791. Lubaris would have one companion and two or three soldiers as an escort: Aranjuez to Ibn Utman, 16 April 1791. Ibn Utman expressed his gratitude: "I give Your Excellency my warmest thanks for the wisdom and insight with which you arrange things for the mutual and reciprocal happiness of our two states." He hoped for the prompt arrival of the escort "so that the captain may set out without delay or loss of time": signed in Arabic, Ibn Utman to Count Floridablanca, Madrid, 19 April 1791, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

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> The expense he incurred in traveling from Cádiz to Madrid with documents from his sovereign to his ambassador, and in overseeing the naval equipment that Our Lord King grants to his [king], comes to 5,440 reales de vellón: 3,200 for hiring a coach and 2,240 for food, lodging, and so on. He also told me that Your Excellency will treat him and his two dependents as is customary for [Spanish] subjects of his class.[131]

It was duly decided that the governor of Cádiz should give Lubaris

> six thousand reales, which is just a little less than what he claims to have spent in his journey to Madrid from Cádiz; plus three thousand reales to satisfy him and the two Moors who came with him. And during his stay in Cádiz he should be assigned a decent daily amount for his maintenance.[132]

The order was conveyed to the governor:

> In addition to his having been received here with the usual attentions, and it having been decreed that an individual assigned by the Ministry of the Treasury, and two soldiers, will accompany him and pay all the expenses of his return to Cádiz, the king has resolved that by means of Your Excellency he be given one hundred doubloons to cover his trip [from Cádiz] to Madrid, and fifty doubloons to satisfy him and his two dependents, beside the decent daily sum for the time he spends in Cádiz.[133]

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131 "[E]l gasto qe se le había originado en el viaje desde Cadiz á Madrid, á conducir a su embajador Pliegos de su Soberano, y encargase en los Pertrechos de Mar qe el Rey Nuestro Señor, á concedido al suyo que aciende a sinco mil, quatrocientos y quarenta rrs.vn. los 3200 importe del coche que alquilo, y los 2240 de la Manutencion, Posadas y demás; también me sinificó de que V.E. se dignara tenerlo presente, y a sus dos Dependientes como acostumbre con los sujetos de su clase": Francisco Pacheco to Count Floridablanca, Aranjuez, 23 April 1791, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

132 "…seis mil reales, que con corta diferencia ha insinuado haber gastado á su venida a Madrid desde Cadiz, y además tres mil reales por via de agasajo para el y para los dos moros que han venido con el, como también que para el tiempo que se detenga en Cadiz se le señale por el Gobernador un diario decente para su manutención": Aranjuez to Count Lerena, 25 April 1791, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

133 "Ademas de haber sido recibido aquí con la atención que se acostumbra, y de haberse dispuesto que le acompañe un sujeto destinado por el Ministerio de Hacienda y dos soldados haciendo todo el gasto de su regreso a Cadiz; ha resulto el Rey que se le dén por medio de V.E. cien doblones para costear el viage de venida á Madrid, y cincuenta doblones por via de agasajo para si y sus dos dependientes, además del diario decente para el

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Instructions went from Floridablanca to Antonio Valdés to the Admiral of the Fleet that the king desired a brigantine to convey to Salé

> the effects they may need for repairing those ships in their present location, taking Lubaris on board so that everything can be done with the necessary precision and punctuality. That he inform the Admiral of the Fleet, to whom the said Lubaris will apply. And that he send him a copy of the [list of] items provided.[134]

Floridablanca received Captain Lubaris before he left Madrid for Cádiz[135] and advanced him the funds for his journey.[136] On his arrival in Cádiz on 4 May he took up residence in the Isla de León,[137] but he presented more obstacles, as the director of the shipyard reported:

> Having examined the capacity of the transport ships available in this shipyard, I inform you that, to convey to Larache the casks, anchors, and rigging described in the note Your Excellency kindly sends me, there is not one capable of carrying such a load. It could be done only after

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tiempo que esté en Cadiz": Aranjuez to the governor of Cádiz, 26 April 1791, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

134 "…los efectos que necesitasen para habilitar dichas embarcaciones en el parage donde están, llevando a bordo al mismo Luberes para que todo se hiciese con la exactitud y puntualidad convenientes. Que informe al Capitan General de la Armada a quien se presentará el citado Luberes. Y que le envie una copia de los efectos concedidos": Aranjuez to Antonio Valdés, 27 April 1791. Valdés alerted the Fleet Admiral in Cádiz to prepare a warship to carry the naval equipment to Morocco: Antonio Valdés to Count Floridablanca, Aranjuez, 29 April 1791, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

135 On Lubaris's visit to Aranjuez, where he was told "verbally many things worthy of his attention relative to this matter": Francisco Pacheco to José de Anduaga, 21 April 1791, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

136 Lubaris would travel with the same man who had brought cannons from Seville, and two soldiers. "At the same time that this captain has shown himself very grateful for the way he has been treated, he has suggested through Don Francisco Pacheco (according to the attached note from the latter) that he thought he should be given 5,440 reales for the cost of his journey from Cádiz to Madrid; and that he and his two dependents should be considered for some consideration such as Your Excellency normally gives to those of his class. He has been informed that he will receive his answer in Cádiz." In this draft the writer asks if the captain's request can be granted, and that the governor of Cádiz be instructed to pay a *per diem* for Lubaris while he is in that city, of which the Minister of the Treasury should also be informed: draft presumably to Secretary of State, 24 April 1791, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

137 Arribas Palau, "Nuevos datos sobre moros en la Alhambra," esp. 22–24.

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> unloading the wood from the frigate *Bibiana*, and since that has not begun it cannot be ready with the speed you request and the captain requires. Therefore there is no other choice but to speed up the unloading of the *Aduana*, which is already well advanced; although it is a slightly smaller ship, the casks that cannot fit in its hold can go on deck, lashed to the sides. Since the errand is brief, on its return [the *Aduana*] can reload the wood destined for the department of Cartagena, which can be stored here in the meantime. This is all I can tell Your Excellency in view of the haste with which the captain wishes to transport these effects and the fact that he wants a single ship in which he can sail also. It is agreed that he will do the unloading with boats of the ports where he is headed, while our ship will anchor outside those ports because there is a sandbar and the entrance is shallow, so they cannot enter.[138]

From the Isla de León Valdés was assured that "with the proper speed and efficiency the effects requested by the Moroccan ambassador in the name of his sovereign" were being prepared. Lubaris visited the shipyard to ask that the effects be sent to Larache "because they are needed there, and because it will take time for the rest to be ready." It remained to be seen how to organize the conveyance to Larache and Salé, when at the same time the quartermaster of the fleet had to provide three hundred butts and barrels and try to find "two small warships in which to make these two shipments."[139] Shortly afterward Luis de Córdoba reported that Lubaris had come to him

138 "Haviendo reconocido la capacidad de los Buques de transportes que existen en este Arsl. Para conducir a larache la Piperia Anclas y xarcias que contiene la Nota que en oficio de hoy se sirve V.E. dirigirme le hago presente no hay ninguna capaz de contener esta carga; y solo lo puede hacer después de descargar la madera la Fragata Bibiana la que no haviendola empezado aun no podrá estar pronta con la aceleración que pide y á que estrecha el Arraez por lo tanto, no queda otro arbitrio que el que se acelere la de la Aduana que la tiene tiene bastante adelantada, pues aunque es buque algo menor, la parte de pipería que no le pueda caver en la bodega la puede llevar sobre cubiertas, y arrizada á los costados y como la comisión es de corto tpo, á su regreso puede reembarcar la madera que deve llevar al Departamento de Cartagena quedando entre tanto depositada en este que es quanto tengo que exponer a V.E. en vista de la actividad con que quiere el Arraez transportar los efectos, y querer que sea un una sola embarcacion donde debe el acompañarlos haviendo quedado en que con Embarcaciones de los puertos á donde ba hara la descarga, fondeando la nuestra fuera de ellos respecto a que por se[r] de barra y tener poco fondo en la entrada, no pueden surgir dentro": Tomás Muñoz to Luis de Córdoba, Carraca, 10 May 1791, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

139 Luis de Córdoba to Antonio Valdés, Isla de León, 10 May 1791, AHN, Estado, 5803.

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> claiming that, of the pulleys requested by the ambassador of Morocco, he needed and should take only two cat blocks and three iron-bound top blocks in each of the two frigates named in the royal decree of the 29th of last month.

Lubaris made further requests of the Admiral of the Fleet:

> With all due respect he states that because they will not be ready for a few days, and because apart from the loads of the two frigates that will go to Salé he has to take separately to Larache the effects recorded in the attached report (these will substitute for others which appear to be ready) … [he asks] that a vessel be chartered to be captained by a Moor who will take those effects to Larache with a letter for his sovereign, while he himself remains in order to receive the rest of the equipment which is to go to Salé.

The items in question included three hundred butts, one hundred barrels, four anchors weighing twelve quintales apiece, four twelve-inch cables, four edge-anchors with their warps, twenty lengths of canvas, twenty rolls of coiled running gear, fifty oars, and ten barrels of pitch.[140]

It was finally determined that the cargo should go in the *Aduana*, an armed *urca* or coastal vessel, "because only in it can the large volume of bulky equipment to be transported go at once in a single voyage; there is absolutely no other, as the attached letter states, that will do in such an urgent situation, as I have agreed." It would be unloaded first in Larache and then in Salé.[141]

On 20 May, with the ship already loaded, Lubaris presented new requests that had not figured in the original list: "one octant, navigation charts of the

140 "…manifestando que de la Motoneria pedida por el Señor Embaxador de Marruecos, solo combenia, y devia llevar dos Quadernales de Gata, y tres Motones de Amantes de virador herrados, para cada una de las dos Fragatas de que trata la Real orden de 29 del antecedente. … [C]on todo respeto hace presente que en atención a que habrá de tardar algunos días el apresto de ellos y que por separado de los dos armamentos de dos Fragatas que deven llevar á Salé, tiene que que llevar por extraordinario á Larache los efectos que compreende la adjuta Relacion que deven servir para ótras, y estos al parecer están prontos": "Nota de les efectos qe además de los correspondientes a dos fragatas nuebas deven llevarse al Puerto de Larache según la orden qe el Arraez Brajim Luberiz tiene de su Amo el Emperador de Marruecos." Ibrahim Lubaris signs in Arabic writing to the Admiral of the Fleet, Isla de León, 9 May 1791, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

141 Luis de Córdoba to Antonio Valdés, Isla de León, 17 May 1791, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

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coasts of Africa and America, six large pulleys, and two tin megaphones; all of which Don Luis de Córdoba ordered given to him so that the king of Morocco would have no reason to be displeased."[142]

The cost of the supplies sent to Morocco was estimated at 571,827 reales de vellón: 429,009 reales and 8 3/10 maravedís in masts, sails, canvas, and rudders; 61,280 reales in spars; 75,644 reales and 25 maravedís in butts and barrels, as well as lodging for Lubaris and his companions "in the inn called La Posada del Duque, [and the] coaches and chaises" they used in their various journeys. There were also their fare to Morocco, the octant, a spyglass, and navigation charts for America and Africa, all of it adding up to 5,894 reales.[143]

These attentions and payments do not seem to have aroused Lubaris's gratitude. *Alcaide* Driss reported that when the sultan received him in an audience in late June of that year he took the opportunity to insult the Spaniards:

> Last night Captain Brahim Luberes appeared in the Menchuar courtyard on his return from Spain. He protested that His Catholic Majesty is more submissive to Muley al-Yazid than a Jew, acting as if he were his black slave. He said that all of Spain is trembling and that Charles will not only provide the equipment for the twenty ships that Muley al-Yazid is building, but will also grant him everything he asks.

Driss noted, correctly, that including such remarks about Christians was a common rhetorical practice on similar occasions. But it is strange to hear them quoted in a court whose sultans declared repeatedly that Spain was their most favored nation and its monarchs their closest friends.[144]

142 "A detailed report of all this will arrive, with its total value; of course I send Your Excellency for your government the reports that the sub-inspector of La Carraca shipyard has sent to me of what has been provided by him": Antonio Valdés to Count Floridablanca, Aranjuez, 24 and 27 May 1791, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

143 "The captain asked for the spyglass for his own use, and it was given to him"; it was worth 180 reales. Antonio Valdés to Count Floridablanca, Palacio, 7 July 1791, EHN, Estado, leg. 5803, unnumbered.

144 "Anoche el Arraez Brahim Luberes, de vuelta de España, se presentó al Menchuar; el protestó que S. M. Catolica es más sumisa que un Judio á Muley Liezid, considerándose como un Negro suyo; dixo que toda la España tiembla, y que Carlos no solamente dará los Aparejos, &, para las veinte Embarcaciones que Muley Liezid hace construir, sino también que le concederá quanto le pedia": J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Cádiz, 26 July 1791, AHN, Estado, leg. 4324.

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7.1.1.12 Aly Turqui and Mohamed Embarck (1786)

Two frigates under Captains Aly Turqui and Ben Embarck sailed from Tangier for Cádiz on 11 October 1786. The Spanish consul suspected that they traveled under orders from the sultan intending "to have us repair their ships"; should the captains ask for extensive repairs he recommended "not helping them with the total reworking of those vessels unless their sovereign requests it directly from the king our master." It was, however, proper to take care of the crew and supply some equipment to the frigates:

> A small attention, and they should be given anchors and ropes so that the ships do not come to grief in our own port. They have very few cables, not because His Moroccan Majesty lacks them in his warehouses in Larache and Rabat but because he prefers to get them from others, those being safer. Still, he does not realize that those will be useless because they have been so closely stored, like all the cordage and sails that the Dutch brought recently.[145]

A few days later the consul confirmed that the sultan had indeed sent the frigates to Cádiz for repairs: "[My] suspicion … has just been proved true." He thought, therefore, that if the king agreed to the request

> strict orders should be given to have the two frigates repaired in the shortest time possible, so that less will be spent. Let them be painted and spruced up as we did with Captain Jansaly's ship, which pleased the sovereign greatly when he saw it in Salé.

High-quality materials should be used so that there would be no cause for complaint:

> Let the sails and cordage for these frigates be of the first quality, because the king of Morocco usually has [ships] inspected here and if he finds

145 "…[P]equeño agasajo, y se le suministre anclas, y gúmenas para que los Buques no se desgracien en nuestro mismo Puerto, porque ellos están mui pobres de Cavos, no porque a S. M. Marroquí le falten en los Almazenes de Larache, y Rebat, pero le agrada mas recibirlos de otros porque aquellos están seguros aunque no se hace cargo que de mui guardados bendran a quedar inútiles como sucederá con todo el cordaxe, y velamen que trageron los Holandeses últimamente": J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Darbeyda, 14 October 1786, AHN, Estado, leg. 4319. A note on the reverse of the letter states that "Ben-Embark's frigate is already in Cádiz and Señor Valdés asks what should be done, because he asks for many things and so far he has been given a cable and an anchor."

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> some defect he will not be grateful for the expense we have devoted to them.

It was essential to keep the captains happy so that they would report favorably to their sultan on their reception in Spanish ports:

> Blandishing and pleasing the frigate captains is worth a great deal, because they are the ones who report to the sovereign about everything. And if their persons are not treated with the deference they think they deserve, even though their mission fulfills the prince's desires they will denigrate some or nearly all of its worth. Therefore while Turqui and Ben-Embarck remain in Cádiz it will be best to please them the best we can, so that later they do not give a bad report as they did after their stay in Gibraltar.[146]

The consul thought of Turqui and Embarck as

> well-behaved men and more reasonable than others of their class whom I have dealt with. Therefore I do not doubt that they will act properly and be able to control their sailors during their entire time in Spain, so that no unpleasantness will arise.

In any event, it was essential to keep in mind that the good relations between the two monarchies must be preserved:

> In our dealings with this sovereign – and you will know better than I whether his ships should be repaired – the fact is that His Moroccan

146 "[C] combendrá que se expidan estrechas ordenes para que dichas dos Fragatas se compongan a la maior brevedad, que es el modo de gastar menos. Que se pinten y hermoseen como se hizo con la del Harraez Jansaly, la que gustó mucho a este Soberano quando la vió en Salé. … [Que] el velamen, y cordaje que se destine para estas Fragatas, sea de primera calidad, porque el Rey de Marruecos le suele mandar examinar aquí, y si se le encuentra algun defecto se agradecerá poco el gasto que se haga con ellas. … [E]l agasajar, y contentar a los Harraezes de las Fragatas vale mucho porque ellos son quienes informan al Soberano de todo, y si no se les hace á sus propias personas aquel obsequio á que se consideran acreedores, aunque en la Comision principal se cumpla con los deseos del Principe, ellos le quitan quando no todo mucha parte del valor, y por lo tanto será bueno que el tiempo que estén Turqui, y Ben-Embarck en Cadiz, se procure contentarlos del mejor modo que se pueda, para que no bengan después hablando mal, como hicieron quando estubieron en Gibraltar." The English had refused to repair their ships.

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> Majesty is quick to anger when something he wishes done is not done; this feeling may not actually cause a rupture, but may bring about a change in the many favors done to our nation in the ports of these domains that redound to the benefit of the vassals of the king our master, and are of considerable importance.

Finally, he advised that once the repairs were finished "a drawing be made of each [vessel], placed in a glass frame and sent to me to be forwarded to the sultan."[147]

7.1.1.13 Mate Flores (1807)

A ship's captain named Mate Flores generated a dramatic conflict in El Ferrol, in northwestern Spain, in 1807. He commanded the Moroccan war corvette *La Suera*, which docked there from 15 August to 6 September. Although the documents can be confusingly written, the incident is worth examining closely as a compendium of the problems that Moroccan captains created in Spanish ports. The dispute, a sort of cat-and-mouse game that the captain played with the governor of the port, began over payment for victuals and supplies. We owe its full documentation to the bureaucratic zeal of Brigadier Francisco

147 "…sujetos de vello trato, y de mas razón que quantos hé tratado de su clase, por lo que no dudo se comportaran bien, y savran sujetar a su Marineria todo el tiempo que estuvieren en España para que no haya el menor disgusto. … Nuestros Negocios con este Soberano, y por lo mismo comprehenderá mejor que yo, si combiene o no repararle sus Buques, pero lo cierto es que S.M.M. se suele enojar fácilmente quando no se hace aquello que quiere, no porque transciende este sentimiento a rompimiento alguno, pero puede mui bien hacer alguna novedad sobre las muchas gracias que estan concedidas a Nuestra Nacion por los Puertos de Estos Dominios que redundan en beneficio de los Vassallos del Rey Nuestro Señor, y no dexan de ser de bastante consideración": J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Darbeyda, 20 October 1786. The sultan wanted his two frigates "to be repaired and given what they need, also painted, with all else necessary, until they are in satisfactory condition": translated letter from the sultan to J.M. González Salmón, 17 October 1786. Admiral al-Monsor wrote to the consul in similar terms: "intending that in that shipyard they undergo all the repairs that the two frigates need, as has been done" on other occasions: al-Monsor to J.M. González Salmón, Rabat, 1 October 1786. Antonio Valdés ordered that "they be fixed with all possible speed, painting them and beautifying them as was done with Captain Hamsaly's, which pleased the sovereign greatly; and I advise you that the sails and rigging meant for those ships be of the best quality, so that in any tests they make there they may find them free of defects. Also, that you strive to please and flatter their captains and make sure that after the repairs are done and the ships painted a drawing be made of each one and placed in a frame with glass, to be sent to His Majesty's consul in Tangier so he may present them to the sovereign": Antonio Valdés to Count Floridablanca, Palacio, 26 December 1786, AHN, Estado, leg. 4319.

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de Mendieta, "Acting Military and Political Governor of this port of El Ferrol, the town of La Graña, and their district," who copied out the voluminous correspondence between the two protagonists: "I certify and attest in legal and solemn form, [witnessed by] the undersigned scribe of His Majesty and the councils of the two cities and the Board of Health in their port, that the copies of the missives of the captain of the Moroccan war corvette named *La Suera* and the respective replies inserted with them agree with the originals of the former and the drafts of the latter, said documents being at the present time in my possession."[148] Although the letters are repetitive and their language confused it is worthwhile to analyze them as a perfect instance of the types of difficulties that Moroccan captains and envoys caused the Spanish authorities.

Mate Flores, who styled himself "Second Minister to the King," addressed the port's governor in insolent tones, reproaching him because

> we are wasting our time without any profit whatsoever, when we have an order from the consulate general to enter any port in Spain to take what we need (and besides, I have orders from the Emperor to sail along this coast and that of France, and then proceed to the Channel). It is for this reason that the supplies have arrived here. Since you have insisted on keeping us detained here without supplying us, we have spent five days here without the items that we need, to wit: water, charcoal, firewood, pitch, and refreshments of meat, bread, and vegetables, and certain other things from the stores. You are not ignorant of the policy and good breeding of Spain's nobility; in other years we arrived in different ports in Spain such as Cádiz, Cartagena, and Málaga, and they did us great honor in accordance with the splendor of Spanish policy and its nobility, so I am now much astonished at the new conditions in this port. Therefore I beseech Your Excellency to give me a yes-or-no answer this very day, with a certificate signed in your own hand stating that you have not wished to give me anything. With that I will depart swiftly, for I did not come here to remain at anchor, much less to stroll through the streets of El Ferrol, not I nor anyone I have on board; only to finish my business and set sail, because you well know that the time I languish here is time when I should be at sea, and the food I consume here I will need at sea, nor can I go against the orders of my Emperor.

148 Signed by Francisco de Mendieta and the scribe Juan Antonio Cardemil, 11 September 1807. All documents are found in the "Expediente sobre los gastos ocasionados por la corbeta de guerra marroquí La Suera, arráez Mate Flores, qu estuvo en Ferrol desde el 15 de agosto hasta 6 de septiembre de 1807," AHN, Estado, leg. 4343.

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He complained that the Spanish guards assigned to his ship ("and I know who they are") had stolen several oars: "four from the boat and eight from the launch, and you know what you ought to do." He also demanded a cable, a topsail, four lengths of two-inch rope, and two lengths of canvas.[149] The governor's reply makes clear that in this as in other cases, the crucial question was who would pay for the food and supplies. He found the captain's request "very strange," and would report it to the sultan of Morocco:

> [A]s to the victuals, I doubt that I can approve them because of a lack of funds to purchase them. As to the cable (whose thickness you need to tell me), topsail, four lengths of two-inch rope and two lengths of canvas, they are ready to be delivered, as well as the number of casks you will need. To approve supplying the pitch, tallow, firewood, and charcoal that you request I must know the amount of each article, then I will see what the supply officer of this port can advance.[150]

149 "…perdiendo nosotros el tiempo sin provecho alguno siendo asi que tenemos orden del Consulado General para entrar en qualesquiera puerto de la España para tomar lo que nos hace falta (y juntamente que tengo orden del Emperador para venir por esta costa y la de Francia y luego pasar a la Canal) que por este motivo ha llegado el Bastimento haqui. Como tiene V.S. Valor que de estemos ha qui detenidos sin despacharnos pues estos son ya 5 dias que estamos aquí sin tener los Biberes qe nos hacen falta: cuyos menesteres son los siguientes: Agua. Carbon. Leña. Alquitrán y refresco de Carne pan y Berduras con otras cosas finitas de la Camara que V.S. no ignora la política y buena crianza de la Nobleza de España y siendo asi también que otros años hemos llegado ha otros Puertos diferentes de la España como Cadiz, Cartagena, Malaga y nos an echo un grande onor como manifiesta la política y Brillantes Española con su Noblesa por lo qe ahora extraño muchísimo esta novedad de este Puerto. Por lo que suplico a V.E. en este mismo dia me despache con el si ó con el no mandándome un certificado de su mano como V.S. no ha querido mandar cosa alguna y con esto me ire pronto que yo no he venido ha qui a dar fondo ni menos a pasear las calles del Ferrol ni yo ni ninguno de los tengo ha Bordo que solo mi despacho y hacerme a la Bela pues bien sabe V.S. qe este tiempo que estoy detenido luego me hase falta por la Mar, y la comida que me estoy aquí comiendo luego me hase falta por la Mar ni yo tampoco puedo ir contra las ordenes de mi Emperador": "1º Oficio de Mate Flores al Gobernador de El Ferrol," 15–18 August 1807, AHN, Estado, leg. 4343.

150 "[E]n quanto a los viveres dudo poder verificarlo por falta de caudales para su compra: por lo que mira al Cable (cuyo grueso necesito me diga) Belacho de Popa quatro rollos de cuerda de dos pulgadas y dos piesas de Lona están prontas a entregarse como también el numero de piperia que debía recorrerse. Para poder verificar la entrega del Alquitran, Sebo, y Leña y Carbon que V. solicita necesito saber la cantidad de cada articulo y veré lo que pueda franquear el Sr. Yntendente de Marina de este Departamento": Governor to Flores, 19 August 1807, AHN, Estado, leg. 4343.

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He concluded by declaring that the ship's delay in port was none of his doing, since such decisions were made by the Admiral of the Kingdom of Galicia, but that he was investigating the theft of the oars. The Moroccan captain replied in more moderate tones than before, declaring himself "highly gratified" and begging the governor not to be offended – but also seizing the chance to make new demands. He believed that the dispute originated in the orders he had received from the sultan, "who allows me no more than three or four days in any port, whereas I have been anchored here for six; and it would grieve me sorely to anger my Emperor and break the promise I made to him." He apologized for not having dated his letter, since "we have no calendar here," and specified that the cable in question should be fourteen inches thick. At the same time he asked for "a twenty-four-inch signaling flag for seventeen signals and another for sixty signals; two *arrobas* of charcoal, two *arrobas* of linseed oil, [and] twenty-five pounds of lampblack."[151]

In another missive the captain offered a list of his basic needs: one hundred *quintales* of firewood, forty arrobas of charcoal, eight arrobas of tallow, two barrels of pitch, twenty buckets, twenty-four oars, twenty-four bailing sacks, and twelve shoulder-carried barrels. He insisted that he meant to sail as soon as possible, in three days at the most:

> [I]f you do not supply me within three days, then just give me water and wood and I will set sail, for I have no order from my Emperor to stay in port more than two or three days. Otherwise, please give me a paper [saying] that I have received nothing, that I wish to sail if you allow me only wood and charcoal and I will be satisfied, and with that paper I will write nothing after this.[152]

The governor explained how difficult it was to provide what the captain wanted – but that it could be obtained at once "if you buy [it] with your own money":

> If from the very first day you had requested the items you needed from the shipyard, specifying their dimensions, quantities, and number, you would already have them aboard and you could have sailed. But not only

151 Mate Flores to the governor, 19 August 1807, AHN, Estado, leg. 4343.

152 "[S]i acaso dentro de tres días no me despacha: darme agua y leña no mas y me hago á la vela; pues no tengo orden de mi Emperador de estar mas en puerto que son dos ó tres días, y de lo contrario mande V.s. un papel qe yo no he recibido nada, qe me quiero haser a la vela mandándome que solo leña y carbón y con esto me basta y con el papel no escribo mas papel otro que este": Undated letter, AHN, Estado, leg. 4343.

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> did you not do this, rather you have asked for many articles every day. … Last night I received your third paper, in which you tell me the thickness of the cable, ask for two arrobas of soap, two of linseed oil, twenty-five pounds of lampblack, a standard, and a flag, with their dimensions. … As for refreshments and victuals, I am awaiting the order of His Excellency the Admiral of the Kingdom because I am unable to provide them; but if you wish to buy them with your own money we will find the way to approve them.[153]

Mate Flores confessed that he had no "interests" that would allow him to buy the supplies, which had been allowed him in other ports without payment. He also claimed that on his first day in port he had needed only water, charcoal, wood, pitch, and ropes, but that as time passed his needs had increased:

> You tell me that every day I appeal to you with some thing or commission. And I tell you that other people under my command are the ones who ask me to do it, and that this or that item is lacking, and tomorrow I will need it at sea. And they will say that I was in El Ferrol, and why did I not request what I needed? And I greatly fear that my king will say the same when he asks me. Therefore I say to you that when you tell me that refreshments and victuals can be had if I have money to pay for them, I reply that on other occasions we have docked in other ports that supplied everything without demanding "interests." I was persuaded that in El Ferrol it would be the same, and therefore I did not try to bring interests for buying things. Above all, if I tell my king about this he will not want to believe that I have been treated like this in a port in Spain.[154]

153 "Si desde el primer dia hubiera V. pedido los efectos de Arsenal que necesitava expresando sus dimensiones cantidades ó numero ya los tendría a bordo y podría haber dado la vela, pero no solo no lo ha hecho Vm. asi sino que cada dia solicita muchos artículos. … Anoche recibi el tercer papel de V. que me dice el grueso del cable, pide nuevamente dos arrovas de Jabon, dos de Aceite de linaza, veinticinco libras de negro humo, una Bandera y un gallardete con sus dimensiones. … En quanto a refresco y viveres espero la orden del Exmo. Señor Capitán General del Reyno pues me hallo sin facultades para ello, pero si V. quiere comprarlos por su dinero se le facilitará el modo de verificarlo": Undated letter, AHN, Estado, leg. 4343.

154 "V.S. me manda a decir que cada dia le boy con una cosa ó embaxada le digo ha V.S. que estos otros que estan debajo del comando mio son los que dicen que mande y que hase falta esto y esto y mañana me hara falta por la mar y me diran que estube en el Ferrol, por que no pedi lo que me hacia falta y me da mucho miedo también quando mi Rey me lo pregunte me dira lo mismo: por esto lo entero a V.S. me manda a decir del refresco ó Biveres que si tengo con que comprarlos se pueden facilitar le digo a V.S. si como en otras

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The governor's reply stressed once again that the captain's requests had lacked detail and were always followed by new demands:

> Today you give me the dimensions of the topsail and the coils of rope, and tell me that the two lengths of canvas are for topgallants. But you do not provide the lengths of the coils of rope, nor say if the oars are for launches or boats, or the length of the fourteen-inch cable. … I am also waiting for you to tell me if the cows should be slaughtered or alive, and I send you a dozen brooms. … We will order the firewood in La Graña, but not the tallow or the charcoal since neither of these is found either in the warehouse or in town.[155]

Mate Flores offered the excuse that some of the requests had come not from him but from his interpreter. He made a few specifications:

> As for the length of the rope, I tell you that there is no need to state the length because no rope can be measured; and you know that it is for fastening the spare anchor. … The oars are for the boat and the launch, and I do not say if they are for the boat; I tell you [I need] eight oars of six and a half "English" measure and sixteen of five and a half "English" measure. … I will be given firewood in La Graña but I do not know what the word "Graña" means. As to the rest, the tallow and charcoal are very specific things to be ordered because I have none on board. When you ask me about whether the cows should be alive or dead I tell you that I said nothing about this nor do I need to buy them; it is the interpreter who included all this. If I am forced to spend more time here then I request for me and my people that tomorrow you send me without fail four

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ocasiones que hemos yegado a otros puertos han facilitado todo sin mediar intereses me persuado que en un Señor Ferrol como este me seria lo mismo por esto mismo no he procurado el traer intereses para comprarlos y sobre todo que esta es una cosa que si la digo a mi Rey tampoco me querra dar crédito que en un Puerto de la España me haigan hecho asi": 3º oficio de Mate Flores, 20 August 1807, AHN, Estado, leg. 4343.

155 "[H]oy me incluye la dimensión del Velacho de Popa, rollos de cuerda y dice que las dos piezas de Lona son para Juanetes pero no advierte el largo de los rollos de cuerda ni si los remos son para Lanchas ó Bote y el largo que debe el Cable de 14 pulgadas de grueso. … Asimismo espero me diga V. si las reses han de ser muertas ó vivas y remito una docena de Escobas. … La leña se encargará en La Graña pero no el sebo ni carbón por no haberlo en la Provision ni en la Villa": Governor to Mate Flores, 20 August 1807, AHN, Estado, leg. 4343.

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> snatch-blocks with three eyes [apiece] and four dead-eyes with thick, three-strand rope.[156]

The governor responded that when the topsail was ready it would be brought aboard the corvette with the other supplies, and asked "if the standard and the flag should be those of Morocco or of another power." He announced that the next day the captain would be provided with "the one hundred quintales of firewood from the warehouse at La Graña, from which the water has been taken during these days."[157]

Mate Flores expressed himself "grateful for your generosity," though he still complained about the slowness of the provisioning. He specified that the standard and the flag should both be those of Morocco, and did not fail to add some new requests:

> I would be happy if you would send me together with the firewood a bit of pitch, because do not have enough aboard even for one piece of rope-fiber. I inform you that I have no more paper, wafers, ink, or pens, so I will be grateful if you send some to me with your next letter. I thank you for considering this small inconvenience.[158]

In his next letter the captain acknowledged with thanks the delivery of two arrobas of soap, a dozen brooms, and a supply of cabbages. And he presented still more demands, which supposedly came from the sultan:

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156 "[L]a largura que ha de tener el Cable le digo a V.S. que no se necesita poner la largura pues ningun cable se puede contar pues el dicho Cabo no lo ignora V.S. que es para amarrar la esperanza … los remos son del Bote y la lancha qe no le mando a decir si son para el Bote le digo a V.S. 8 remos de 6 ½ reglas a la Ynglesa y 16 remos de 5 ½ reglas a la Ynglesa… la leña se me entregará en La Graña no entiendo una palabra de Graña que significa, de los demás el Sebo y Carbon son cosas muy precisas el mandarla pues no tengo nada á Bordo de lo que me dice V.S. de las reses si han de ser vibas ó muertas le digo a V.S. que yo no ablado nada de eso ni lo necesito comprar pues quien ha impuesto todo esto es el intrerpete. Si acaso he de sentar haqui mas tiempo entonses yo lo pediré para mi y para la gente me mandará V.S. mañana sin falta 4 pastecas De 3 ojos y 4 vigotas de Cabo gordo de proa largas de 3 canales": Mate Flores to the governor, 4º Oficio, 20 August 1807, AHN, Estado leg. 4343.

157 Governor to Mate Flores, 21 August 1807, AHN, Estado, leg. 4343.

158 "Estimaria que V.S. me mandase con la Leña un poco de Alquitran que no tenemos á Bordo siquiera un poco para darle a una filastua. Le hago presente a V.S. que no me ha quedado papel ninguno ni oblea ni tinta ni plumas por lo que me estimaré V.S. me las mande en el primer oficio que mande. Quedo mui agradecido de V.S. considerando el poco de molestia": Mate Flores to the governor, 5º Oficio, 21 August 1807, AHN, Estado, leg. 4343.

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> Please see how to obtain the sacks and shoulder-borne barrels, for we have none on board. The coal you mention should not be of ore, for that is no good to me. And because we are ordered by the emperor of Morocco not to spend more than three days in port, consider that you must send me food every day, because what I have on board is not enough, and I should be glad of it. Know that I still have not received anything of all I have asked of you, except for the soap, the brooms, and these few cabbages. Therefore I ask you to send me the pitch, because all the rope-ends I have on board are unraveling.[159]

In his next missive the captain complained of how slowly the supplies were arriving:

> I do not understand how you are causing me this delay in my provisioning, since you know how kings issue orders for things that must be done without fail. I hope that you will send the the rations for these fifteen days that I have been delayed here, because I will need all of it immediately at sea; and you must be responsible for all of the above. We have spent twelve days in this port and will need to spend three more, which makes fifteen. You shall send two quintales of tallow and eight pounds of bomb-nails and two leather holders with six dozen small and large needles for sewing the sail. Of the two dozen oars that I requested you have sent only eighteen and I asked for twenty-four, in addition to the twelve that were stolen. You will send this that I am still to receive, together with the firewood, with the greatest haste.[160]

159 "[L]os Sacos y Barriles de hombro mire V.S. como el remediarlo pues no tenemos ninguno a bordo. Del Carbon que dice V.S. no lo mande de piedra pues no me aprobecha de nada y siendo asi que tenemos orden del emperador de Marruecos para no estar en puerto mas que 3 dias considere: V.S. qe es menester mande la Comida todos los días pues no me vasta la que tengo a bordo; y yo también lo estimaré mucho sepa V.S que todabía no he recibido nada de todo lo que le manda a pedir a V.S. que solo el Jabon las Escobas y este poco de refresco de Coles por lo que quedaré V.S. me mande el alquitran pues todos los cabos que tengo a Bordo se me estan Rovando": 6º Oficio from Mate Flores to the governor, 22 August 1807, AHN, Estado, leg. 4343.

160 "[N]o se como puede ser: que V.S. me haga esta tardanza en el mio despacho sabiendo V.S. las ordenes que pasan entre los Reyes que es menester haser o que mandan sin faltar ni un punto, estimare de V.S. me mande la racion de estos 15 dias que me tiene detenido aquí pues todo esto luego me hace falta por la Mar, como también es menester que se haga cargo V.S. de lo sobredicho= Son 12 dias que estamos aquí en el Puerto y tres que nos quedan que estar que con 15 dias; mandará V.S. dos quintales de sebo y ocho libras de clabo de Bonba con dos queros con 6 docenas de Abujas chicas y grandes para coser la vela de las dos dozenas de remos que le mande a pedir a V.S. no me mando mas que son

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In answering the captain's three most recent missives the governor placed the blame for the delays on the Moroccan, because if

> on your arrival you had given me a list of all the effects you needed with their measurements, quantities, and weights, of course they would have been supplied. … The same is true now with the fifteen days of rations that you asked for yesterday, without naming the kinds and quantities you wish; for since some nations use certain measures and some use others, you need to specify them. … In my report to His Excellency I asked for twenty-four oars, and if only eighteen have been issued it is a mistake by the shipyard. As for the twelve oars that you claim were stolen from the corvette, that matter is pending before His Excellency. There is no melted tallow, but if you can use it in the form of candles I will send them. I will renew the request for the bomb-nails, two leather holders, and the six dozen small and large needles that you mention in your latest letter.[161]

The captain's eighth letter expressed his frustration, since he believed that he should not be dealing with the brigadier at all:

> In all the other ports where we have docked we have been supplied by an officer other than the Governor of the city; but now I have no one but you to provide what is necessary in this port, only you and what you tell me about the rations. When you ask me to tell you what I want, I tell you to order them just as the King of Spain grants to his subjects: know that I have on board one hundred seventy-five old and young men in all, including fifteen officers. Do not send salt pork or wine, but equal amounts of suet, which must not be from pork. I undertand the matter of the oars.

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18 y yo pedi 24 hafueras de 12= que me han robado mandara V.S. con la mayor brevedad esto que me queda que recibir con la leña": 7º Oficio from Mate Flores to the governor, 25 August 1807, AHN, Estado, leg. 4343.

161 "[Si] desde su arrivo me hubiera pasado una lista de todos los efectos que necesitaba con sus dimensiones, cantidades y peso, desde luego se le hubieran proporcionado. … Lo mismo sucede en el dia con las raciones que pide con fecha de ayer para 15 dias sin expresar los generos y cantidades de que las quiere, pues como unas naciones usan de una especie y otras de otra, es preciso expresarlas. … En la noticia que pasé a S.E. pedi 24 remos y si no se han remitido mas que 18 ha sido equivocación del Arsenal, y en quanto a los 12 remos que dice le robaron de la Corveta es asunto pendiente ante S.E. No se halla sebo derretido, y si le puede servir hecho velas lo remitiré y pediré nuevamente las ocho libras de clavo de Bomba, dos Cueros y las 6 docenas de Agujas chicas y grandes como me dice en su citado ultimo oficio": Governor to Mate Flores, 26 August 1807, AHN, Estado, leg. 4343.

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> I have greater need of the tallow, because I have none for greasing the rope-ends; you can send it as candles or as you wish because it is not meant for eating. You will also send a boom for the poop measuring twenty *reglas* of twenty-four inches, and a yard for a studding-sail measuring twelve and a half *reglas*.[162]

Mate Flores pressed even harder in his ninth letter, now asking for

> the canvas buckets, because I need them the most; also two pumps, one for oil and one for water. And you will send two pounds of small bomb-nails. I trust that you will oblige me by finding an artisan who will clean two watches, paying what they are worth; and if you tell me so, I will send them to you. You will send two dozen fishhooks with their thimbles, and another two dozen large and small thimbles, and two dozen woven baskets for shifting ballast.[163]

He repeated his petitions (while claiming there would be "no more for now") in the tenth missive, which also expressed his gratitude and the conviction that supplying his ship was important for both nations:

> These activities are necessary for the crowns of our kings. I expect no other favor from you, but send two barrels of suet, for I need nothing more and we wish nothing else. … You will send a piece of slate with a

162 "[E]n todos los Puertos que hemos arrivado … emos tenido otro suministrador qe nos suministre que el Sor. Gobernador de la ciudad por lo que no tengo agora otro que V.S. que suministre lo que hase falta en este puerto que solo V.S. de lo que dice V.S. de las raciones que le exprese que es lo que quiero le digo a V.S. que las mande según las pasa el Rey de España ha su gente enterándose V.S. que son a Bordo ciento y setenta y 5 ombres Grandes y chicos en todo contando 15 oficiales. Del Tosino y vino no mande V.S. pues su valor lo puede mandar en manteca y que no sea del puerco: de los remos soy enterado el sebo me hace mayor falta que no tengo para untar los Cabos los puede mandar a velas o de lo que le pareciere pues no es para comer, mandara V.S. una Bota Bara de la Popa de 20 reglas de 24 pulgadas y un palo de harrastradera de dose reglas y media": 8º Oficio from Mate Flores to the governor, 26 August 1807, AHN, Estado, leg. 4343.

163 "…los Baldes pues me hacen mayor falta con dos Bombas una para el aceite y otra para el agua y mandara V.S. dos libras de clavos de Bombas chiquitos: me estimaré que V.S. me haga el fabor de ver algun maestro que me limpie dos reloges pagando su valor: y si me los manda ha desir se los mandaré mandara V.S. dos docenas de Ganchos con sus guarda cabos con otras dos docenas de guardacabos chicos con grandes dos docenas de Espuertas para tomar al lastre": 9º Oficio from the captain to the governor, 28 August 1807, AHN, Estado, 4343.

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> wooden edge for writing. No more for now, and let this suffice for a final favor.[164]

The governor assured the captain that his requests were receiving attention, but rejected the offer of the watches (which were probably corsair booty):

> Since we have in our warehouse no beef suet to replace the salt pork and wine from your ration, we will provide you the same amount of salt meat or rice, as you prefer. … You know how readily up until now you have been given whatever you asked for and found in this shipyard, and I hope that you will cease verifying every detail but will ask once and for all for what you need, on the assumption that it will be given to you if it can be found in this department. I repeat once again that if from the first day you had presented an account of all you required, with measurements and weights, it would have been supplied at once, so that cannot serve as an excuse for your delay. You need not send me the watches because I cannot receive them while you are under quarantine, on which point I will write to His Excellency the Admiral of the kingdom. This does not prevent you from sailing at the first convenient time.[165]

Mate Flores, imperturbable, returned a request for further equipment:

> Send the baskets, fishhooks, and their thimbles, as well as the boom with its hook and the studding-sail for the mainmast, with the supply of rice and salt meat. I will not tarry in this port, and this is all I need in order to

164 "…estas diligencias que son precisas a las Coronas de nuestros Reyes no espero de V.S. otro favor de mande V.S. dos barriles de manteca que no necesito otra cosa y ya no queremos mas nada. … [M]andará V.S. una piedra de mar para escribir con el margen listonado de madera no mas por agora y baste por ultimo fabor": 10º Oficio from the captain to the governor, 28 August 1807, AHN, Estado, leg. 4343.

165 "No habiendo en esta Provision Manteca de Baca para suplir la parte de vino y tocino de la racion, se le suministrará a V. esta en carne salada ó arroz según le parezca. … Sabe V. con la franqueza que hasta el dia se le ha dado quanto ha pedido y encontrado en este Arsenal y espero no continue en verificarlo por menudo pidiendo de una vez lo que necesite en el supuesto de que se le dará si se hallase en este Departamento. Buelbo a repetir a V. si desde el 1er dia hubiera puesto una relación de quanto necesitava con sus medidas y pesos se le hubiera franqueado inmediatamente sin que esso pueda servirle de disculpa en su detención. No tiene Vm. que enviarme los Reloxes pues no puedo adquirirlos mientras se halle en Quarentena sobre cuyo punto escribo al Exmo.Sr.General del reyno sin que esto obste a que pueda dar la vela quanto lo tenga por conveniente": Reply from the governor, El Ferrol, 28 August 1807, AHN, Estado, leg. 4343.

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> sail. The brooms you sent the other day have already broken, so I tell you that you may send another two dozen.[166]

At this point the governor resorted to quoting the regulations on how warships from Spain and Morocco should be received in ports of the other country. Specifically, he sent an exact copy of Article 23 of the Treaty of 1799:

> In every equipped port in Spain, Moroccan warships shall be admitted according to the precautions and formalities established by the health authorities for the safety of public health. In case of shipwreck or forced safe arrival at any bay that is not usually equipped, all possible assistance will be given to save persons, ships, and effects; this work shall be compensated at current prices, as well as the value of any provisions they purchase, without charging duties of any kind, nor on any merchandise that is salvaged and is to be shipped elsewhere. Only if goods are to be sold inside the country will the usual duties be imposed. Reciprocity for the same will be observed for Spanish warships, without any distinction, in the coasts, bays, and ports of His Moroccan Majesty.

He added that he had provided everything that was requested and that could be found in the shipyard and the naval supply yard:

> For my part (in the absence of any consul or agent of your nation, and since you were without funds) I have given you all the other effects that appear on your receipt. And if on your arrival in this port on the 15th of this month you had made a single list of the articles you needed with their measurements, weights, and qualities, you would not have needed to remain more than the three days that, according to your earlier missives, your Emperor allows you. Therefore your long delay is a claim that your sovereign can make against you, while I will bring it to the notice of my superiors.
>
> This shipment includes no chickens or fresh meat to replace the rations of wine and salt pork; you can only replace these with rice or salt meat, as I told you before.

166 "[M]ande las Espuertas y los Ganchos y los Guarda Cabos, y la Bota vara con su gancho y el Botalon de la mayor con la Provision de la Ros y carne salada no me dilato en este Puerto que solo por esto que me hace y hacerme ha la vela. Las escobas que mandó V.S. el otro dia ya se han rompido por lo que le digo a V.S. que puede mandar otras dos docenas": 11º Oficio from the captain to the governor, 30 August 1807, AHN, Estado, leg. 4343.

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> The boom is ready, and you only need to say if it is the type with a hook or with a fork; when you advise of this it will be sent you with the other items you requested yesterday, except for the buckets, which are also not found in this shipyard.
>
> I trust that now you are equipped with everything that you asked for and can be found in this port you will be prepared to fulfill the orders that you say you have from His Moroccan Majesty.[167]

Not surprisingly, the captain responded with a twelfth letter: he had entered the port for a mere four days, and the brigadier should know

> that when a vessel sails the sea and arrives at some port, it is only for lack of a sail or other items; we are working and are in the habit of requesting what we need. In our own lands we do the same when there is a ship of His Catholic Majesty: when it lacks something we supply what they ask. Therefore, please forgive the trouble we have given you every day when we ask for what we lack: as of today we have been here for eighteen days

167 "En todos los Puertos habilitados de España se admitirán los Buques Marroquies precediendo las precauciones y formalidades establecidas por la sanidad para la seguridad de la Salud publica. En caso de naufragio ú de arrivada forzozo á qualquiera rada en horabuena no esté generalmente habilitada se le asistirá haciendo lo posible para libertar personas, Buques y efectos; cuio trabajo se satisfará a los precios corrientes asi como el valor de las Provisiones que compren sin exigir derecho de ninguna clase ni tampoco de las mercaderías que se salven y se quieran conducir á otra parte; pues solo quando se hubiesen de bender en el Pais se cobrarán los establecidos. La misma reciprocidad se observará sin la menor diferencia en las costas, radas y Puertos de S.M.Marroqui con los Buques Españoles. … [P]or mi parte (por falta de Consul ó agente de su Nacion y no hallarse V. con caudales) le he facilitado los demás efectos que constan por su recibo, y si desde su arrivo a este Puerto que fue el 15 del corriente hubiera pedido por una relación sola los artículos que necesitava con sus dimensiones, pesos y calidades, no hubiera tenido que detenerse mas que los tres días que según sus anteriores oficios le permite su Emperador, y pr consiguiente su dilatada demora es un cargo que podrá hacerle su soberano pues por mi parte lo haré presente a la Superioridad para qe llegue a su noticia.

"Esta Provision no tiene Gallinas ni carne fresca que dar en lugar de las raciones de vino y tocino y solo podrá verificarlo en arroz o carne salada como tengo hecho decir a V. anteriormente.

"Está pronta la Botavara y solo falta diga V. si ha de ser de gancho ú orquilla y con su aviso se remitirá con lo demás que pidió ayer excepto los Baldes que tampoco se hallan en este Arsenal.

"Espero que hallándose ya surtido de quanto ha pedido y se ha hallado en este Puerto estará pronto a cumplir con las ordenes qe expresa tener de S.M.Marroqui": "Contextacion del Gobernador al anterior oficio y a lo que de palabra le dijo el Ayundante del Capitan del Puerto de parte del expresado capitán," 30 August 1807, AGN, Estado, leg. 4343.

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and have not yet taken on our water. Also, you have not sent the boom and the other things we have requested such as the hooks and thimbles, and now we need you to send fifteen days' worth of additional rations, since we will be sailing and do not know what we will need. You will also send two more barrels of pitch, since what you sent is finished. It is also true that we are brothers in God and we do not know when we can leave; if it were our pleasure we would have left already. And now we hope that you will order what we need and have asked for; yesterday you said that you could replace the salt pork and wine with rice and salt meat, a favor I hope you will do in the name of God. As for when you tell me in today's letter that I am enjoying being here, consider that I am not some merchant who has come to trade; for I value one month at sea more than one day here in quarantine, and I would rather be a prisoner on land than here [on board], because on land I would be seeing people and would be better off. Therefore I ask you only for the food for the king's people and for what the king's ship needs. We are looking into what we lack from land, and waiting for the reply, whether you wish to send it or not; if you wish it then sign below, and if you wish to send nothing then I will depart satisfied and happy. Your way of treating us is not done even to the Jews in Spain, because just as if we were in quarantine our boat cannot leave the dock. How can you dare to say that I want to remain here in port, with a command like the one I have from my king? For this very reason you must send the paper about my delay, for once you have detained me here because of your king, you have to give me a certificate for my king [to explain] my tardiness.[168]

168 "…que un Bastimento que va por la Mar y arriva algun puerto solo es por falta de alguna vela o algunas otras cosas pues estamos trabajando y vamos pidiendo según nos va faltando pues en nuestras tierras hasemos lo mismo quando hay algun Bastimento de la S.M.C. pues según le va faltando nosotros le vamos suministrando lo que piden y asi V.S. perdone por la molestia que le molestamos todos los días pidiéndole lo que nos hace falta oy son 18 dias que estamos aquí y todavía no hemos hecho el agua: también la Botavara no ha mandado V.S. y lo demás que se le ha pedido como los Ganchos y Guardacabos y agora nos hase falta que V.S. mande 15 dias de raciones otros: pues nos vamos ha la Mar y no sabemos si nos hara falta: mandara V.S. otros dos Barriles de Alquitran pues el que mando se ha dado el fin, también es cierto que somos hermanos de Dios y no sabemos quando salimos afuera si fuera nuestro gusto ya hubiéramos salido y agora esperamos mande V.S. esto que nos hase falta y que hemos mandado a pedir, el Tozino y el vino que dice V.S. lo puede mandar en arros y carne salada qe dijo ayer; favor que espero de V.S. lo haga por Dios, de lo que me dice V.S. en el contenido de hoy qe yo tengo gusto destarme aquí en Badia considere V.S. que yo no soy ningun mercante qe hemos venido a negociar que mas me estimo un mes por la mar que un dia haqi en

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The governor's reply accused the captain of remaining in port of his own free will:

> I have told you that in this shipyard there is no manufacture of buckets, nor are there any in town; nor any woven baskets either, because those come from the Mediterranean where *esparto* grass is grown. But through my continuing good will I will send you the salt and the brooms that you ask for again, assuring you that this is the last time I will attend to your requests. All of them would have been granted to you from the beginning if you had asked for them methodically according to the rules, as I have told you in my previous letters.[169]

In a subsequent missive the governor told the captain that

> this afternoon the effects that you have asked for and can be found will be taken on board, time permitting. And tomorrow we will order from the warehouse in La Graña the provisions you have requested. When you are prepared to sail I will give you the certificate that you claim to need for your affairs.[170]

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quarentena mejor estuviera estar pricionero en tierra que no estar aquí pues en tierra estaría mirando la gente y estaría con mas gusto y asi yo no le pido otra cosa a V.S. que la comida para mi Gente de Rey y lo que le falta al Barco de Rey estamos mirando lo que falta de tierra esperando la respuesta si quiere mandar: esto o no y sino quiere mande y firme abajo que no quiere mandar nada y me ire gustoso y contento: este modo qe V.S. nos trata no se hace ni con los Judios en España pues lo mismo que la quarentena que no se puede el Bote nuestro alargar del costado pues como tiene V.S. valor de decir que yo quiero sentar haqui en puerto como una orden de mi Rey como la que tengo que por esto mismo es menester que V.S. mande el papel de la mia tardaza pues una Bes que ustedes me detienen haqi por el Rey también V.S. es menester que me de un certificado para mi Rey por la mia tardanza": 12º Oficio from the captain to the governor, 31 August 1807, AHN, Estado, 4343.

169 "Tengo dicho en este Arsenal no hay fabrica de Baldes ni se encuentran en el Pueblo, como tampoco espuertas pues vienen del Mediterráneo donde está el esparto. Pero siguiendo mi constante buena armonía le remitiré la sal y escobas que nuevamente me pide asegurándole será la ultima vez que atenderé a sus peticiones, pues todas las posibles se le hubieran franqueado desde el principio si las hubiera solicitado con método y regla como le tengo dicho en mis anteriores": Reply by the governor, 31 August 1807, AHN, Estado, leg. 4343.

170 "[S]e le conducirán esta tarde a bordo los efectos que tiene pedidos y se han hallado, si el tiempo lo permite, y mañana se le encargaran en la Provision de la Graña las raciones que ha solicitado, y quando determine hacerse a la Vela le remitiré la certificación que pretende V. arreglada a sus oficios": Governor to the captain, 1 September 1807, AHN, Estado, leg. 4343.

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At last, the governor of El Ferrol could inform his superior that the Moroccan corvette had put to sea on 6 September 1807. He sent him copies of Mate Flores's letters, insisting that the captain's "delay in this port was voluntary, as is clear from these documents"; and he asked that the superior, "once advised of them," inform the sultan of the captain's "lack of respect toward a Governor of His Catholic Majesty." He reported that the local Admiral of maritime affairs had provided "whatever articles were requested and could be found in this shipyard," and that all would have gone better if the captain had expressed his needs "on his arrival, with information about their size, quality, and weight." The governor had had to assume the expense of everything the captain was given,

> because the Emperor has no consul or agent of his nation in this port nor had the captain funds to pay for the items he requested, which are listed under number 3. And since mutual harmony between the two powers is recommended by the royal decree of 17 February 1766 and the peace treaty of 1 March 1799, I have been forced to pay for them myself. In this port and in its board of health there are no funds for chartering the boat that we needed to replace the board's supply launch: it was detailed to the ship by order of the Royal Navy, because [the Moroccan vessel] could not leave its mooring during the nineteen days under observation because of quarantine, on the decision of that board with Your Excellency's approval. That gentleman told me that he could offer only the shipyard's launch, but not the boat, to ferry the guards back and forth. [Then there were] the meals and other items that arose, the whole reaching a total of 2,245 reales and 28 maravedís, a sum that I hope His Majesty will order repaid from the Royal Treasury.[171]

171 "…con motibo de que el Emperador no tiene en este Puerto Consul, ó Agente de su Nacion, ni el Capitan caudales con que pagar los efectos que ha pedido por separado, los que constan en el nº 3 y como por otra parte está tan recomendada la buena reciproca armonía entre ambas Potencias por Real orden de 17 de febrero de 1766 y por el tratado de paz de 1º de marzo de 1799, me he visto precisado á satisfacerlos por mi por no haber fondos en esta Plaza, ni en la junta de Sanidad de ella para el pago del flete del Bote que fue preciso tomar para el servicio de la Lancha esquifada de Sanidad que se le puso por la Rl.Marina, y no poder esta separarse de su apostadero respecto a haber estado 19 dias en quarentena de observación por disposición de dicha Junta aprobada por V.E. pues aquel Señor Exmo me dijo que solo le correspondia dar la lancha del Arsenal pero no el Bote para llevar y traer la Guardia, comidas y demás que pudiera ofrecerse ascendiendo el todo a 2245 rrs y 28 mrs., cuia cantidad espero que S.M. dispondrá se satisfaga por la Rl. Hacienda": Francisco de Mendieta to Francisco Taranco, El Ferrol, 17 September 1807, AHN, Estado, leg. 4343.

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The final accounting was as follows:[172] 24,968 reales and 27 maravedís for the repair and restoration of the corvette,[173] plus 14,399 reales and 7 maravedís for victuals and provisions.[174] To those must be added the costs of transporting

172 "Relacion de los efectos que se facilitaron de estos Reales Arsenales para la avilitacion de la Corveta de guerra Marroqui nombrada la Suera su capitán Mate Flores, y de los Viveres, y demás Articulos que recivio de la Provision de Marina de este Departamento, con expresión del valor parcial, y general a saber": El Ferrol, 17 September 1807, AHN, Estado, leg. 4343.

173 The ship was supplied with: "eighteen 13-foot oars (315 reales); eighteen 12-foot oars (315 reales); four 11-inch dead-eyes (32 reales); four 26-inch snatch-blocks, each with three ropes (106 reales); one 14-inch cable, 120 *brazas* [arm-spans] long, weighing 3,680 pounds (14,609 reales); four hundred eighty brazas of 2-inch tarred rope weighing 360 pounds (1,105 reales and 6 maravedís); one staysail of fine canvas (1,739 reales); 84 *varas* of first-class fine canvas no. 10, measuring 25 inches (882 reales); sixty-two sailmakers' needles (50 reales and 28 maravedís); one red banner (344 reales); one red flag (80 reales); ten pounds of 1-inch iron nails for pumps (41 reales and 6 maravedís); 24 fishhooks with their thimbles weighing 55 pounds (165 reales); twenty-four miscellaneous thimbles weighing 9 pounds (27 reales); thirty-three pounds of tanning extract (173 reales and 8 maravedís); six hundred pounds of pitch in four barrels (690 reales); twenty-five pounds of lampblack in one barrel with wooden hoops (300 reales); fifty pounds of linseed oil in four clay jars (216 reales); one boom, 44 inches thick and 18 cubits long (400 reales); one studding-sail mast, 2 ¾ inches thick and 18 cubits long (400 reales); one iron brace weighing 12 pounds (36 reales); two iron bolts weighing 4 pounds (17 reales); two hoops weighing 3 pounds (7 reales); two hundred quintales of stones for ballast (55 reales). Plus ten percent for collection and storage charged to the Royal Treasury. Total 24,968 reales and 27 maravedís." ("18 remos de 13 pies de largo (que importaron en total 315 reales), 18 remos de 12 pies (315 rs), 4 vigotas ordinarias de 11 pulgadas (32 rs), 4 pastecas de 3 cajetas y 26 pulgadas cada una (106 rs), 1 cable de 14 pulgadas y 120 brazas de 2ª con peso de 3680 libras (14.609 rs), 480 brazas de veta alquitranada de 2 pulgadas y 3ª suerte, todo de 360 libras de peso (1.105 rs y 6 mrs.), 1 sobremesana de vitre de segunda suerte (1.739 rs), 84 varas de vitre de 1ª clase nº 10, de 25 pulgadas (882 rs.), sesenta y dos agujas de vela (50 rs y 28 mrs), una bandera roja (344 rs), un gallardete rojo (80 rs), 10 libras de clavo de hierro para bomba de 1 pulgada (41 rs y 6 mrs.), 24 ganchos con sus guardacabos de 55 libras de peso (165 rs), 24 guardacabos sueltos con peso de 9 libras (27 rs), 33 libras de curtido correhuela (173 rs y 8 mrs), 600 libras de alquitrán en 4 barriles (690 rs), 25 libras negrohumo en 1 barril con arcos de madera (300 rs), 50 libras de aceite de linaza en 4 botijas de barro (216 rs), 1 botabara de popa de 44 pulgadas de grueso y 18 codos de largo (400 rs), 1 palo de rastreras de 2 ¾ pulgadas de grueso y 18 codos de largo (400 rs), 1 abrazadera de hierro de 12 libras de peso (36 rs), dos pernos de hierro con 4 libras de peso (17 rs), dos zunchos con 3 libras de peso (7 rs), 200 quintales de lastre en piedra (55 rs). Más el 10% de todo lo cargado que se vende por la Real Hacienda, acopio y almacenaje (2.269 rs y 30 mrs). Total, 24.968 reales y 27 maravedíes"): AHN, Estado, leg. 4343.

174 "141 quintales, 5 pounds and 12 ounces of firewood (846 reales and 11 maravedís); 30 quintales, 72 pounds of ship's biscuit (4,915 reales and 6 maravedís); 18 quintales, 87 lbs. and 6 oz. of salt meat (4,529 reales and 23 maravedís); 17 quintales and 11 lbs. of rice (3,969 reales and 17 maravedís); three *celemines* [each about 4.6 liters] of salt (9 reales and 18 maravedís); 9 casks of meat (54 reales); 3 casks of dried peas (54 reales); one copper pump

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the goods that individual suppliers brought to the captain: 2,245 reales and 28 maravedís.[175]

TABLE 5 Expenses incurred by Mate Flores in El Ferrol, 1807

Summary	Reales	Maravedís
For the royal shipyards	24,968	27
For provisions	14,399	7
For health and private contractors	2,245	28
TOTAL	39,368	

SIGNED BY BERNARDINO REGUEIRO, AHN, ESTADO, LEG. 4343

This case is clearly emblematic of the problems caused by some Moroccan ships' captains in Spanish ports.[176] They either did not have or claimed not to

(15 reales); one tin pump (6 reales). Total 14,399 reales and 7 maravedís" ("141 quintales 5 libras y 12 onzas de leña (846 reales y 11 maravedís), 30 quintales 72 libras 5 libras bizcocho ordinario (4.915 rs y 6 mars), 18 qintales 87 libras 6 onzas carne salada (4.529 rs y 23 mrs), 17 quintales y 11 libras arroz (3.969 rs y 17 mrs), 3 celemines de sal (9 rs y 18 mrs), 9 barricas de las carnes (54 rs), 3 barricas de menestra (54 rs), 1 bomba de cobre (15 reales), 1 bomba de oja (6 reales). Total, 14.399 reales y 7 maravedíes"): El Ferrol, 17 September 1807, AHN, Estado, leg. 4343.

175 The subtotal of 2,245 reales and 28 maravedís derived from the following: two receipts from Captains José Balay and Jacinto Pérez for chartering their boats and four sanitary inspectors for seventeen days at 50 reales, and two more at 40 reales, for 930 reales total; 628 reales and 20 maravedís for 205 ½ pounds of tallow, to Pastor Villamontes; 455 reales to Ángel García for two arrobas of soap and 100 cabbages; 232 reales and 28 maravedís to Simón de Marcos for "two *fanegas* of salt, 36 dozen onions, three dozen brooms, a slate, paper, wafers, and pens." Nº 3: "Noticia de los recibos que ha satisfecho el que firma por los gastos ocasionados y efectos remitidos al Capn. Mate Flores de la Corverta de guerra Marroqui nombrada la Suera que ha estado fondeada en este Puerto desde el 15 de Agosto hasta el 6 de setiempre de este presente año," Francisco de Mendieta, El Ferrol, 8 September 1807, AHN, Estado, leg. 4343.

176 Francisco de Mendieta reported that "the Moroccan war corvette named *La Suera* has sailed, which had entered this port as I informed Your Excellency on 22 August, with all the demands of its captain, to which you responded on the 6th of this month, as I will report to my government. And as to what the governor relates about the carelessness of the missives the captain sent him, and the compensation he requests (which I consider fair) of the sum that he has provided for the expenses of the health authorities and other goods supplied to the warship, please make what disposition is pleasing to you" ("…"haverse hecho á la vela la Corbeta de Guerra Marroqui nombrada la Suera, que había entrado

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have the means of acquiring the victuals and supplies they needed. The authorities in the ports they visited resisted providing all those materials gratis, and in many cases did not even have them available.

7.2 Algerian, Tripolitan, and Tunisian Corsair Captains

Corsair ships from Algiers, Tripoli, and Tunis also frequented Spanish ports; although we have less information about them, they were admitted and treated there under much the same conditions as Moroccan vessels. The Treaty of Peace signed by Spain and Tripoli in 1784 stipulated that corsair ships of that regency would be allowed into Spanish ports, where they would be "supplied with all necessities, to be paid for at regular prices." If a Tripolitan vessel should run aground it would pay for any help given by the Spanish, unless the hosts waived the costs.[177] The treaty of 1786 with Algiers established that Algerian ships would be allowed into Spanish ports when "they are obliged to enter them because of weather, or need repairs, or are being pursued by enemies"; but "help and other things they may need" would have to be paid at current prices.[178] The treaty of 1791 with Tunis, while its terms were somewhat more vague, contained similar provisions.[179]

We still have few data about stops by North African corsair ships in Spanish ports. In the period 1790–1807 Tunisian vessels entered the port of Barcelona at least twenty-two times, but Algerian ones did so on only three occasions.[180] We know little about similar visits to Málaga, Palma de Mallorca, Cádiz, and other ports.

There do not seem to have been many incidents associated with these visits; most had to do with violations of health regulations, and others with captains' requests for free provisions. Evidently the language of the respective treaties

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en aquel Puerto, de que di parte a V.E. en 22 de Agosto ultimo, como de las pretensiones de su Capitán, á que V.E. se sirve contextarme en 6 del actual, que tendré presente para mi gobierno. Y en quanto a lo mas que expone el referido gobernador sobre la falta de atención en los oficios que le pasó dicho Capitan, y reintegro que solicita (y hallo justo) de la cantidad que con las formalidades debidas ha suplido para los gastos de Sanidad y otras cosas subministradas al citado Buque, se dignará V.E. providenciar lo que fuere de su mayor agrado"): Francisco de Taranco to Pedro Cevallos, La Coruña, 19 September 1807, AHN, Estado, leg. 4343.

177 Conrotte, *España y los países musulmanes*, 411–22.

178 Conrotte, *España y los países*, 439–48.

179 Conrotte, *España y los países*, 459–71.

180 Martín Corrales, "Il comercio della Catalogna" and "El comerç de Catalunya."

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was clearer and helped to avoid the kinds of situations that Moroccans had provoked.

After Algiers signed its Treaty of Peace and Friendship with Spain in 1786, its corsair vessels cruised the Spanish coasts to pursue and capture ships of nations with which Spain was at war. One of the consequences of this activity was a threat to sanitary regulations: the corsairs came into contact with Spanish ships, and often landed at different spots on the coast to load supplies and provisions. For the Catalan Board of Health (*Junta de Sanidad de la Real Audiencia de Cataluña*), these actions constituted a danger to public safety.

Further, the Algerians often tried to obtain supplies without payment. Baron Serrahí of the royal appeals court (*Audiencia*) of Barcelona lamented in July 1786

> the ease with which Algerian corsairs abuse the welcome we have offered them in some of our ports: they demand without charge the green vegetables and other refreshments that have been supplied to them up to now. It has been necessary to explain to them that hitherto, when there was only a kind of cease-fire, these attentions were accepted; but that from now on they will be given what they request only upon payment, in accordance with the treaty of peace that has just been concluded and will soon be published.[181]

He was correct in his assessment. In June of that year an Algerian corsair galliot under Captain Soliman, with a crew of sixty, entered the port of Los Alfaques near Tarragona, asking for admission and free supplies of food; it claimed to have been admitted under those conditions to Benidorm, where its sailors had danced with local women. The Supreme Board of Health expressed alarm at "such liberties and licentious acts": aside from their indecency and sinfulness, they might give rise to "contagion and pestilence with a deadly and rapid progress." It noted that there was an epidemic in Bône at that very moment, and that by the treaty Algerians could enter only the ports of Barcelona, Alicante, and Málaga; it therefore forbade any contact with the Algerians. According to

181 "…la facilidad con que los Corsarios Argelinos abusan del agasajo, que se les há hecho en algunos de nuestros Puertos, pidiendo gratis, verduras, y otros refrescos, que se les han dado hasta aquí, se ha tomado la providencia de que se les haga entender que antes de ahora, que solo havia una especie de tregua, han podido pasar estas atenciones, pero que en lo sucesivo solo se les suministrará lo que pidiesen, pagándolo, y esto con arreglo al tratado de Paz, que acaba de concluirse, y que se publicará presto": Baron Serrahí to the Barcelona board of health, 12 July 1786, IMHB, FS, Serie I, leg. 17, fol. 108.

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the Board the king had ordered coastal batteries prepared to prevent similar landings. Still, it would permit the ship to be supplied "in good faith, although the Algerian does not show any," as long as it offered payment.[182]

In August 1787, while plague was suspected in Algiers, an Algerian galliot sailed into Sant Feliu de Guíxols and asked to stay until nightfall on the pretext of needing water, firewood, and bread. The village offered to sell them the supplies if they would depart at once, but in the end they sailed without obtaining anything while "a Moor of the ship's company threatened that merchant ships would pay the consequences."[183] In that same month a small sloop, captured by Algerians a week before off Tortosa, entered a bay called Cala Rafalet, an hour distant from Mahón. When the health authorities on that coast either did not see it or ignored it, three North African crewmen debarked and reached Villa Carlos (modern Es Castell), where they were arrested. There was doubt as to whether "they had brushed against a basket of fruit carried by a woman they met along the way, and who was placed under quarantine": they were forced to board and sail with their ship.[184]

Similar incidents occurred in 1790. In June an Algerian galliot under Captain Fivimar dropped anchor in Cala Giverola, at Tossa, to take on wood and water; but on sailing it left behind one crewman, who was placed under quarantine at a hut on the beach. He first claimed to have fallen asleep, but later confessed that he had stayed behind on purpose and that "he had been punished." When the galliot demanded his return it was denied: the man fell under the authority of Gerona's city magistrate (*corregidor*), who delayed giving him up until he had served forty days' quarantine.

That same galliot tried to force a tartane from Sant Feliu, also anchored in Cala Giverola, to give it a launch, but the Catalan captain resisted. When sheriffs, troops, and local peasants arrived at the beach with supplies for the Algerian vessel they saw that it had seized the tartane's launch by sending some of its crew to swim for it. Asked for his reasons, the Algerian captain replied that he needed it to land, collect firewood, and cook some food, and claimed that Spaniards did the same on his native shores.[185]

On 19 June an Algerian corsair galliot anchored off Palamós, and several crewmen swam ashore before anyone could prevent them. They asked for water, wood, meat, and fruit. Challenged on their actions, they replied as in the

182 IMHB, FS, Serie I, leg. 17, fols. 126–28; report of June 1786; Serie V, leg. 12, fol. 5, 14 June 1786.

183 The incident occurred on 12 August: IMHB, FS, Serie V, leg. 12, fols. 68–69, 22 August 1787.

184 The event occurred on 18 August: Baron Serrahí to the Junta de Sanidad of Barcelona, 4 September 1787, IMHB, FS, Serie I, leg. 18, fol. 137.

185 The events occurred on 3 June: IMHB, FS, Serie V, leg. 12, fols. 129–30, 3 July 1790.

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previous case: that Spaniards did the same in Algiers, and that the mutuality was justified. The health authorities in Palamós were prepared to use force in future incidents. The Supreme Board ordered that the ship be provisioned and its captain be made to understand the health regulations, but was willing to apply force if necessary.[186]

The city council of Lloret de Mar reported that on 3 June 1790 three Algerian galliots had anchored on its beach. Their captain, Majamed, had requested a new lateen-yard, twelve water casks, oil, and firewood. The council provided it all within twenty-four hours and "with due attention," following the royal decree of 28 May 1786; it then requested compensation of fifty-five libras, five sueldos and six dineros from the Board of Health. The Board claimed not to have the funds, but knowing that such cases needed some resolution it passed the bill to the supply officer (*intendente*); the latter, however, thought that the city council should bear the cost.[187]

In 1799 quarantine was imposed on the Tunisian captain Haggi Abdala for having landed in a launch from a Ragusan ship.[188] The Algerian captain Amet Ben Mustafa of the polacre *Mesahoda*, 1,500 quintales, arrived in Tarragona in December 1807; he carried 410 Algerian quintales of cod and four casks of sardines, all bought in Algiers. According to his patent and health documents he had stopped in Peñíscola (where he had been allowed into port after nine days in quarantine) and Los Alfaques. He appealed to the governor of Tarragona "to act as my consul," because

> in the five days we have spent at anchor in this port we still have not received permission to enter, nor any reply at all. Tonight we had a reply from the captain of the port [saying] that you order us to proceed from here to Barcelona to finish serving the quarantine. I hope that by your goodness you will admit us here, because otherwise it would cause great prejudice and delay both to me and to you: you must be aware that I have come here on purpose to load and unload in this port.[189]

186 IMHB, FS, Serie V, leg. 12, fols. 130–31, 3 July 1790.

187 IMHB, FS, Serie V, leg. 12, fols. 137–38, 28 July 1790.

188 The Ragusan captain was Juan Montenegro: IMHB, FS, Serie I, leg. 21, fol. 130, 25 September 1799.

189 "…cinco días que estamos anclada en este Puerto aun no hemos tenido el logro de la entrada ni respuesta alguna en esta misma noche que tuvimos la respuesta del Capitán del Puerto que V.S. manda que se havia de ir de esta a Barcelona a concluir la quarentena espero de la bondad de V.S. nos admita en esta a libre platica porque del contrario seria un gran perjuhisio y atraso para mi como a V.S. no puede ignorar que desde aquella he venido â propósito para cargar y descargar en esta misma." The statement of Captain Amet Ben

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When the ship reached Tarragona the health authorities told the captain that every ship reaching Catalan waters must first proceed to Barcelona, the only port prepared to receive vessels from North Africa: having passed inspection ships could land at any Catalan port. The captain refused to go on to Barcelona, claiming he would prefer to see his ship sunk. While consulting their superiors about whether they should use force, the local officers assured the Algerian that they would do nothing of the kind, "out of respect for humanity." It was decided that the ship should obey a strict quarantine, at the end of which it would be allowed to unload and find new cargo but without formal entry into the port.[190] The captain submitted a new statement that offered prudent reasons for not going on to Barcelona:

> We are at war with three powers, the Portuguese, Tunisians, and Sardinians; and I have had word that two corsairs of the last of these powers are awaiting me between this port and that. Besides, if an English ship should find me going from one enemy port to another it could seize my warship and cargo. Therefore, if I leave this [port] for that one the loss of my vessel is inevitable, and perhaps my life and that of my crew also.

The Algerian's fear was palpable. It is likely that his ship was sailing under a false flag, probably Spanish, even though the captain claimed that he owned the vessel and that the crew consisted only of "ten Christians and the Moorish captain, making a crew of eleven individuals altogether."[191]

All ships' captains and owners violated the health regulations whenever they could, since the cost of obeying them reduced profits for everyone; that gave rise to incidents such as those we have just described. In November 1805

Mustafa was written by the ship's scribe, Juan Bautista Renelly, and addressed to the governor of the port of Tarragona: Puerto de Tarragona, 9 December 1807, IMHB, FS, Serie I, leg. 28, fols. 146–48.

190 Count of Santa Clara to Marquis of Vallesantoro, 22 December 1807; Ignacio Correa to Count of Santa Clara, Tarragona, 11 December 1807; Ramón Ansotegui, Board of Health (*Diputación de Sanidad*), to Pedro Ignacio Correa, Tarragona, 11 December 1807, IMHB, FS, Serie I, leg. 28, fols. 146–48.

191 "[T]enemos guerra con tres potencias à saber Portugueses, Tunecinos y Sardos, dos corsarios de esta ultima potencia tengo informes me estan esperando entre esta y esa. A mas que si algun ingles me encontrare iendo de un puerto a otro enemigo haría buena presa de mi buque y cargo. Asi saliendo de esta para esa mi perdición de buque y cargo es inevitable y quizás mi vida y la de mi tripulación. … diez christianos y el Rais Moro, que hacen con todos once individuos de tripulación." In the second statement, which affirmed that the captain owned the ship, the scribe declared that he signed the reports because the captain did not know how to write: 19 December 1807.

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the Spanish trade representative in Algiers, José Alonso Ortiz, sent a report to Pedro Ceballos in an Algerian xebec with orders to post it from the first Spanish port where the ship landed. The report notes that when three Algerian corsairs had arrived recently in Barcelona without any documentation at all, they had been made to serve the quarantine; Ortiz added that Algerian captains often refused to accept the documents they were offered. He concluded that the problems they encountered in Spanish ports came from their increasing impertinence in flouting the rules.[192]

⁂

There were a fair number of incidents involving North African ship captains between 1767 and 1814, and although our sources reveal a few surprising cases, most do not appear to have been of great significance. Some, as we have seen, resulted from a few captains' belief in their right to free food, equipment, and repairs. These men frivolously and maliciously tried to assume as an obligation what had originally been intended as simple, and limited, acts of courtesy.

Relations between the countries did not suffer, because both sides had an interest in ensuring their mutual cooperation. Captains or *arraeces* were important figures in Morocco at the time: they were often named ambassadors or special envoys, and occasionally became governors of cities. It behooved Spanish officials to keep them satisfied (*gustosos*, in the parlance of the day); therefore Spain tolerated their demands, however excessive and insolent they might be. Even when a captain's conduct went truly beyond the pale, Spain would usually ask the sultan to show him clemency. Nonetheless, not all of those who enjoyed Spain's generosity and advocacy became defenders of Spanish interests.

We have observed how the sultan of Morocco and his officials almost always tried to avoid clashes with the Spanish authorities. They issued frequent orders forbidding their ships to enter Spanish ports, to the great detriment of captains who might be in trouble – especially because those ports were so nearby that stopping in them could prove absolutely necessary. Harsh punishments might be meted out to important leaders of the navy.

In sum, captains caused conflicts through their belief that Spanish authorities should grant them everything they asked for: food, technical help, and materials to repair their damaged ships. Some acted with malice, taking advantage of ambiguity in the relations between the countries, characterized by

192 Dated at the end of 1805, IMHB, FS, Serie I, leg. 27, fol. 202.

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the custom of the gift and counter-gift. We saw how some diplomatic envoys of the Moroccan sultan behaved in similar fashion. Yet it bears repeating that the sovereigns of Spain and Morocco, with their governments, made every effort to keep unpleasant incidents from troubling the friendly relations between the two countries.

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CHAPTER 8

The Development of a Moroccan Merchant Colony (1767–1799)

We have already seen how the peace treaties signed by the Spanish monarchy with Morocco, the North African Regencies, and the Ottoman Empire favored increased trade among all parties. As a result a significant colony of Muslim (especially Moroccan) merchants began to form in several Spanish ports and other cities. In the almost half century between 1767 and 1814 we can identify three distinct periods. During the first, 1767–1780, we find records of the initial experiences of Moroccan merchants on Spanish soil. During the second, between the Aranjuez Agreement of 1780 and the Spanish-English war of 1779–1783, a permanent colony of Moroccan merchants was consolidated in Spain. The third ran from the Spanish-Moroccan Peace Treaty of 1799 to 1814, the end of the Napoleonic invasion of Spain; during this time Spain attracted, in addition to Moroccans, many Algerian, Tunisian, and Tripolitan ship captains, pursers, and merchants. In this chapter we shall analyze the first two of these periods, leaving the third to Chapter 9.

8.1 Gradual Appearance of Moroccan Merchants in Spain (1767–1780)

The Treaty of Peace, Friendship, and Trade that Spain and Morocco signed in 1767 included a series of articles intended to regulate the presence and activity of merchant and trading vessels of each country in ports of the other. The treaty was clearly written in a spirit of reciprocity, but – as had happened ever since Europeans first made pacts with Islamic lands in the Middle Ages and Early Modern era – emphasis fell on how Europeans would be treated in Muslim countries. In the Spanish case, while the rights of Spanish subjects were spelled out in minute detail, articles would conclude with a phrase such as "[in Spain], Spaniards shall do likewise toward Moors."[1] This asymmetry translated into an obvious lack of interest in the fate of Muslim seamen and traders in Spanish domains.

1 Cantillo, *Tratados*, 505–06.

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The situation should not be surprising if we consider that North African nations lacked true merchant marine fleets, and that very few of their merchants could engage in international trade.[2] Besides, Spanish authorities (through their consulate in Tangier and the Secretariat of State) threw up continuous obstacles to the arrival of Moroccans in Spanish ports. Therefore our sources contain little information about the presence of Moroccan traders in Spain.

Article 5 of the Treaty of 1767 guaranteed the right of trade and sea travel between the two countries and respect for each others' flags:

> Free trade is permitted between the two nations, as well as travel by sea from one to the other: any vessel may be in any port it wishes, and the vassals of each power may, without interference from anyone, buy and sell the goods they wish, as they wish, and wherever it suits them, even in the interior of each country, except when the goods are contraband.

By Article 2, merchant ships as well as warships had to carry the proper passports. Article 4 stipulated that ships wrecked on the coasts would be assisted in the rescue of crew members, cargoes, and the ships themselves if possible:

> Those that are lost on the coasts of the other shall be treated with all proper hospitality, managing if possible to save the ships and giving them the aid they ask for, without that work being charged or arranged for at more than its fair price.

According to Article 14, ships should serve a quarantine if there was any uncertainty about health conditions in Morocco:

> Any vessel of His Imperial Majesty that crosses to a port in Spain shall serve the stipulated quarantine unless the consuls have provided a perfect bill of health, in which case they shall be exempt from it.

The total liberty of one country's citizens in the other nation was guaranteed by Article 11:

2 Lourido Díaz, *Marruecos y el mundo exterior*, 99–112.

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> Every Spaniard in the domains of His Imperial Majesty, and every vassal of the latter in the kingdoms of His Catholic Majesty, shall be free, whatever the motive that has brought him there.[3]

At the same time, Article 6 fixed "in perpetuity the duties of import and export that commerce must pay," including anchorage fees.

To facilitate Spanish commercial activity a consulate and vice consulate were established in Morocco, but the text (at Article 7) makes no reference to parallel institutions of Morocco's in Spain. Article 13 merely protected the property of Moroccans who died on Spanish soil:

> Spanish authorities shall preserve the goods of Moors who die there until His Imperial Majesty, having been informed, makes disposition of them; unless the legitimate heir is not present, in which case [His Majesty] shall be given everything unless the deceased has decided otherwise in his will.[4]

Clearly the Treaty of 1767 paid little attention to strictly economic issues: it concentrated on enhancing the activity of ships that flew the Spanish flag, while that of Moroccan vessels was an afterthought. Bearing all this in mind we shall now investigate the presence and settlement of the first Moroccan merchants in Cádiz and other Spanish ports, as well as the litigation and other conflicts they were involved in and what kinds of solutions they attempted.

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3 [Article 5]: "Se permite un comercio libre entre ambas naciones, así como la navegacion de un país a otro: cualquiera embarcación ha de poder estar en los puertos que quisiere, y los vasallos de una y otra potencia podrán, sin que se entrometa en ello otro alguno, comprar y vender los géneros que quisieren, como quisieren y donde les convenga, aunque sea en lo interior de los reinos, exceptuando los que fueren de contrabando." [4]: "Los que se perdieren en las costas recíprocas serán tratados con toda buena hospitalidad, procurando, si fuere posible, salvar las embarcaciones, y dándoles auxilios que para ello pidieren, sin pagarse los trabajos ó lo que se franqueare mas que por sus justos precios." [14]: "Cualquier embarcación de su Majestad imperial que pase a los puertos de España habrá de hacer la cuarentena estipulada, a menos que los cónsules no la hayan dado el seguro de una perfecta sanidad, pues en tal caso se eximirán de hacerla." [11]: "Todo español en los dominios de su Majestad imperial, y todo vasallo de este en los reinos de su Majestad católica será libre cualquiera que sea el motivo que á ellos les hubiera conducido." Lourido Díaz, *Marruecos y el mundo*; Rodríguez Casado, *Política Marroquí de Carlos III*; Conrotte, *España y los países musulmanes*.

4 "Las justicias de España custodiaran los bienes de los moros que allí murieren, hasta que dando aviso disponga su Majestad imperial de ellos; a menos que no se halle presente el legítimo heredero, pues en tal caso se le entregara el todo, ó que en el testamento hubiere dispuesto otra cosa el difunto": Cantillo, *Tratados*, 505–07.

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Our sources yield little about these Moroccans, perhaps in part because of the nature of document collections, which privilege diplomatic issues over commercial ones. Further, the Spanish-Moroccan war of 1774–1775 doubtless inhibited the settlement of Moroccans in Spain. Our information for the period 1767–1780 is therefore meager.

Few Moroccans would have dared to cross the Strait and enter a trade dominated by experienced European merchants in general, and Spaniards in particular. Perhaps we hear so little about them because their activities caused no conflicts worthy of documentation. Still, a few enterprising individuals tried to take advantage of each side's relative ignorance of the other, as we will see through the cases of Abraham Beniso and Sidi Mohamed Benhamet Sherif.

8.1.1 *Abraham Beniso, a Clever and Wily Adventurer* (*1768*)

On 25 April 1768 the royal magistrate (*corregidor*) of the Vizcaya region in the Basque country, Juan Domingo de Junco, wrote to Secretary of State Grimaldi that Abraham Ben Meshud "Biniso" had come to Bilbao the day before: "last night just after dusk that individual arrived in our city, with an introduction from the Count of Fuentes in Paris."[5]

The magistrate issued orders to "the inns and lodging-houses to report at once the arrival of the commissioner from the Emperor of Morocco." On learning that he had lodged at the Posada del León, he sent a trusted associate to gather more information. Beniso, who boasted of knowing how Basque ports might engage in trade with Morocco, proposed that

> he needed to meet the authorities of this town and deal with some merchants or the head of the consular service; for which purpose, going far out of his way, he came under express orders from his sovereign to this city because it combined all the advantages of France, England, and Holland through the valuable and abundant iron that is shipped from this harbor to the Empire of Morocco. His master the Emperor is very pleased with the peace concluded with Spain, and wishes to transfer there all the useful goods produced in his vast, opulent empire; but especially to this city, whose merchants he will favor with a reduction of two percent in the duties that are required in that empire.

5 Spain's ambassador to Paris at the time was Joaquín Atanasio de Pignatelli, Count of Fuentes. Abraham's surname appears regularly as both Biniso and Beniso in the sources. Juan Domingo de Junco to Marquis of Grimaldi, Bilbao, 25 April 1768, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803, Exp. 5.

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He added that every year "forty or fifty French, English, and Dutch vessels averaging five hundred tons among large and small ones" arrived in Moroccan ports "all laden with iron from this region." When asked what products Morocco might provide in return he spoke of "silk, leather, rare furs, dried fruits, almonds, and many other items."[6]

Beniso showed a series of passports and claimed that France was less than pleased with the Hispano-Moroccan treaty of 1767 ("in France he had detected jealousy of Spain's peace treaty with his sovereign, and was sometimes treated coldly"). He thought there was suspicion of the treaty in Great Britain as well ("it embitters them even more") because it weakened the defense of Gibraltar: "since [the English] are always importing food from Morocco, if Spain were to lay seige to [Gibraltar] the Empire would never provide it." He ended by reiterating that "his master wishes to reserve the rights of chartering, commissions, returns, and a two-percent advantage in duties to be reserved for tradesmen from this city."[7]

On the very day he arrived Beniso wrote to the *corregidor* explaining his objectives in misspelled Spanish:

> Today, 24 April 1768, I have arrived in this city of Bilboa [*sic*] bearing a letter from His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Morocco, in which letter His Imperial Majesty says that all those who wish to come from Bilboa to trade, or who send their goods to the ports of Mogador and Larache, will be welcomed with their possessions, ships, etc. And from the day that persons from this city arrive in those two ports, they and their possessions will be safe until the day that they wish to return to their country, and will suffer no loss in the Kingdom of Morocco. His Imperial Majesty says in his letter that all who come or send their goods, whether with me or privately, from the day they set foot in those ports shall be safe and protected, with their belongings, until they return home

6 "…necesitaba verse con las justicias de este Pueblo, y tratar con algunos Comerciantes, ó con la Cabeza de el Consulado, a cuyo fin, perdiendo mucho camino, venia con orden expresa de su Soberano a esta villa, la que tenia ocasión de unir en si totas las utilidades, que sacan la Francia, Ynglaterra y Olanda con el precioso abundante fierro, que embarcan en esta ria, para el Ymperio de Marruecos; que el Emperador su Amo se halla mui gustoso con la paz concluida con la España, y quiere trasladar a ella todas las utilidades, que produce su vasto opulento Ymperio, pero con especialidad a esta Villa, a cuyos Comercian[t]es les distinguirá con la equidad de dos por ciento en los derechos, que se exijen en aquel Ymperio." For imports from Spain see Koehler, "Ce que l'économie privée importait d'Espagne."

7 Undated and unsigned document, undoubtedly by Domingo de Junco, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803, Exp. 5.

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> in peace. In a second letter His Majesty orders me to send or bring from here master masons who know how to build towers, etc.; and since this last point cannot be easily executed without the approval of the Spanish Court, I cannot undertake to do anything without first informing Your Highness. I hope that Your Excellency will honor me with a reply so that I can proceed.[8]

The next day Beniso called on the magistrate, but on not finding him asked that his petition be forwarded to Grimaldi, the Secretary of State: "since I am not acquainted with all the titles belonging to that gentleman I have taken the liberty of sending you a blank sheet to that you can address it properly."[9] He also hoped to speak with the city's mayor, Domingo del Barco:

> I was at the house of the Corregidor this morning and have conveyed part of my mission to him, so I am about to depart. I would be pleased if you could grant me an hour of your good company this afternoon or this evening to speak together, either at your house or at my inn, the León de Oro.[10]

8 "Oi 24 de Abril 1768 tengo allegado a esta Ciudad de Bilboa Encargado de una carta Real de su Magestad Ymperial el Emperador de Marruecos en la cual carta dice Su Magestad Ymperial, a todos los que de Bilboa quieran vinir a negociar o manden sus Bienes a los puertos de Mogdor y a Larache, que serán Bien vinidos elios sus haciendas, embarcaciones &, y que desde el dia que allegaren algunos de esta Ciudad a los dichos dos puertos elios y sus haciendas serán en siguridad asta el dia que quisieren volverse a sus tierras sin que tengan ninguna perdida en el Reyno de Marruecos: Dise su Magestd Ymperiall en la dicha carta, que todos los que vinieren o mandaren sus efectos que sea en mi compaña si particular, que Desde el dia que pondrán pie en los dichos Puertos, serán siguros y protexedos Elios y sus Bienes asta qui bulvan a sus tierras en pas; Su magestad mi ordena en sigunda Carta que de aquí lieve o mandare algunos maestros albañiles que sepan hacer torres &, y Como este ultimo punto no es fácil a cer executado sin aprobasion de la Corte de Espagna no puedo tomas sobre mi hacer nada sin premero dar parte a Vuestra Alteza, espero vuestra Excelencia mi honre con Respuesta par que pueda yo Governarme": Ben Meshud Biniso (who signs all his correspondence in Latin letters), 24 April 1768, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803, Exp. 5.

9 "I have been at the Corregidor's home and have not had the pleasure of seeing His Excellency": A. Beniso to the mayor of Bilbao, 25 April 1768, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803, Exp. 5.

10 "Esta mañana he estado en caza del Sr. Corexedor y tengo comunicado a dicho Sr. parte de mi encargo, de modo que Estoi de partensia, y tuviera yo gusto el que VM mi conseda una hora de su buena compañía esta tarde ó de Noche para discurrir juntos, sea en su caza de Vm o en esta posada del Leon de Oro": A. Beniso to the mayor of Bilbao, 26 April 1768, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803, Exp. 5.

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A separate note requested:

> I hope that you and the Corregidor will be so good as to name an hour tomorrow so that the commission I bring from His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Morocco my sovereign may be presented to the public, i.e., the Board of Trade. I have no other reason to tarry in this city, and I remain your obedient servant.[11]

Junco informed Grimaldi of Beniso's visit, describing him as "reluctant to appear in my presence, though he was of course informed that in this province I hold the highest post of any magistrate and without my permission he cannot carry out any of the plans he envisions." He did, however, let the mayor of Bilbao allow Beniso's proposals, "which he says come in the name of his sovereign the Emperor of Morocco," to be heard by the Board of Trade. When he called Beniso in for an interview, the Moroccan

> showed him two letters that he said represented "credentials from his master" (these were his exact words). Since they were written in illegible letters and without any translation I did not feel that they had much authority. He brings a passport from the Count of Fuentes and another from the Spanish consul in Bordeaux, but he has not produced the letter Your Excellency mentions from Father Bartholomé Girón of the Concepción Monastery for the Redemption of Captives.

Junco and Grimaldi, after exchanging their information about Beniso, discovered that his real name was Abraham Chasolt and that he brought no letter of recommendation from Father Girón of the Spanish mission in Meknes. The magistrate, knowing that Beniso had already "been caught out in some inconsistencies in what he has said," forbade him to

> engage in any business with the commission he claims to bring, unless our superiors have taken the necessary previous steps. And before I explained this to him I understand that he wrote to Your Excellency through the mailbag, after I had suggested that he introduce himself to you; but

11 "Estimare Vm sea servido en compañía del Sor. Corexidor apunten una hora mañana para que se presente al publico o Sea Camara de Comercio la comisión que traigo de parte de su magestad imperial el Emperador de Marruecos mi Suberano, no tengo otro motivo par dilitarme en Esta, siendo lo que si ofrece de su maior Servidor de Vm": A. Beniso to the mayor of Bilbao, 25 April 1768, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803, Exp. 5.

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> I later learned that he did not like my suggestion and says that he will leave this city very soon.[12]

In early May Domingo de Junco received word from Grimaldi in Aranjuez about the activities of "the commissioner from Morocco." The Count praised the magistrate's caution and urged him to remain vigilant until it were proved whether or not Beniso was actually an envoy of the sultan:

> According to the first news we had from Paris we should have been suspicious of this individual, but later accounts have removed those doubts and presume that he is really a commissioner from Morocco. Nonetheless it will be best to observe his movements, his speech, the people he meets, and the means he uses, as well as his style of life.
>
> Nothing is lost if merchants and natives of this country listen to what the commissioner tells them about trading they might do in the Kingdom of Morocco; it would be desirable if it could be established to our advantage; but in any case do not let incautious persons, carried away by promises and apparent benefits, risk their money in the hands of the commissioner.
>
> So far the King of Morocco has not told us that this commissioner was coming; rather he has warned us to consider as an adventurer anyone who claims to be a commissioner without bringing a letter in the king's hand. For this reason – and because this commissioner has approached the authorities of one particular city and not the king or his ministry – it behooves Your Excellency to have your representative present him with these doubts as if they were your own, to see how he answers.

Grimaldi concluded by urging Junco to take "care and precautions so that this commissioner cannot defraud any subject of the king," while at the same

12 "…mostró dos cartas, que, dixo ser de creencia de su Amo (estas fueron sus mismas vozes) las que en caracteres ilegibles y sin la menor traducción, no me parecieron denotar la mayor auctoridad, trahe el pasaporte del señor Conde Fuentes, y también el de el Consul de la nación española de Burdeos, pero no ha mostrado la carta, que V.E. expresa dada por el P. Fr. Bartholome Giron de la Concepcion Redemptor de Cautivos. … [que] hiciese aquí gestión alguna con la Comision que, dixo, trahía, sin que precediesen los pases correspondientes de nuestra Superioridad, y antes de hacer yo esta propuesta, me consta que se dirigió por la Balixa una carta suya a V.E. a quien, le incliné, se presentase; pero he sabido después, que no le ha quadrado mi proposición, y que dice saldrá de esta Villa mui en breve": Juan Domingo de Junco to Marquis of Grimaldi, Bilbao, 28 April 1768, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803. Exp. 5.

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time suggesting that, if possible, he "consider his ideas if they should be truly advantageous."[13]

A few days later, Junco informed Grimaldi that Beniso (whom he occasionally calls "Interpreter to the Emperor of Morocco") had asked him to arrange

> to bring the whole [Board of] Trade together so that in my presence he can offer his proposals, which he claims are so useful, in the name of his master. And though I explained to him that in this city there are several English, Irish, and Dutch individuals he could deal with, he did not agree to this, much less to asking Your Excellency for the necessary consent so that his ideas could be heard.

Beniso, having been thwarted, took ship at Portugalete bound for Portugal. But he left behind, "in the hands of a confidant of his from this town, a paper for Your Excellency – who, I understand, did not wish to receive him privately – in which he explains certain dubious passages of the conversation he had with me." The magistrate defended himself saying that he had opposed not the project itself "but only the method by which he planned to carry it out."[14]

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13 "Por las primeras noticias que tuvimos de Paris debía sernos sospechoso este sujeto pero posteriormente han venido otras que quitan aquellos recelos, y le suponen realmente Comisionado de Marruecos. Sin embargo conviene siempre observar sus pasos sus discursos, las gentes con quienes trata y los medios de que se vale, como también la vida que hace.

"Nada se pierde en que los comerciantes y naturales de este Pais tomen las luces que dicho comisionado les comunique sobre el comercio que pueden hacer en el Reino de Marruecos: Y antes seria de desear que se estableciese con ventaja por nuestra parte; pero en todo caso no permita V.S. que algunos incautos llevados de promesas o de aparentes utilidades aventuren su dinero en manos del comisionado.

"Hasta ahora el Rey de Marruecos no ha dado aviso de que venia tal Comisionado: Y por el contrario tiene prevenido que se mire como aventurero a qualquiera que diga ser comisionado suyo si no trae carta de su puño. Por esto, y por ser notable que ese comisionado se dirija a las justicias de una ciudad en particular y no al Rey ó a su Ministerio, será mui conveniente que el Emisario de V.E. le proponga estas dudas como pensamiento propio para ver que responde": Aranjuez to Domingo de Junco, 2 May 1768, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803. Exp. 5.

14 "…[que] juntase el Comercio todo, para hacerle a mi presencia las proposiciones, que, dixo, trahia tan útiles en nombre de su Amo, y sin embargo de que le expuse, de que tendría en este Pueblo, como en efecto hay varios sujetos Yngleses, Yrlandeses y olandeses, con quienes podría tratar, no se acomodó a esto, y menos a solicitar de V.E. el consentimiento correspondiente, para que tubiessen efectos sus ideas": Juan Domingo del Junco to Marquis of Grimaldi, Bilbao, 6 May 1768, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803, Exp. 5.

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After a long delay Grimaldi replied to Beniso about the report he had sent him on reaching Bilbao. The Secretary of State did not recognize him as a commissioner from Morocco because he brought no letter from the sultan, as the sultan himself required. Besides, the conditions Beniso offered were the same privileges outlined in the Treaty of 1767:

> The King my master appreciates the King of Morocco's interest in favoring the residents of Bilbao, though the offers you make in your letter are the same ones that, as the Treaty of Peace stipulates, will be enjoyed in Morocco by all Spanish vassals who come from any province.
>
> Allow me to remind you that you cannot be recognized as a commissioner from Morocco unless you present a letter from the king your master to [our] king, giving you authority. And besides this being the practice of all princes, the King of Morocco himself has particularly insisted upon it. Further, it is not normal for these commercial affairs to be negotiated with any one city, but rather directly with the king my master and his ministers. The king will enter with pleasure into anything that is of advantage to the two nations.[15]

In the meantime Juan Domingo del Junco had continued his inquiries about Beniso's movements in Bilbao. He heard "from a certain merchant of this town" who had

> become friendly with the commissioner in order to learn his intentions and why he had come. And in refusing to answer him [Beniso] told the merchant that he would never tell him what he wanted to know. And that he was already aware that there might be an order from Madrid not to admit his proposals here, no matter how favorable, because in the Peace Treaty with his master the Emperor there was a specific

15 "[E]l Rey mi amo estima el cuidado con que el Rey de Marruecos quiere favorecer á los vecinos de Bilbao, aunque las ofertas que Vm hace en su citada carta son las mismas que en el Tratado de paz se estipula han de gozar en Marruecos todos los vasallos Españoles de qualquiera Provincia que sean. "Permita Vm que le advierta no se le puede reconocer por Comisionado de Marruecos mientras no presente una Carta del Rey su Amo para el Rey en que se le autorice: Y además de ser esta la practica de todos Principes, lo tiene particularmente encargado asi el mismo Rey de Marruecos. Tampoco es regular que estos negocios de comercio se traten en particular con ninguna ciudad, sino directamente con el Rey mi Amo, y sus Ministros. En todo lo que sea ventajoso a las dos Naciones entrará el rey mui gustoso": draft letter from Grimaldi to Beniso, Aranjuez, 9 May 1768, acknowledging receipt of Beniso's of 24 April: AHN, Estado, leg. 5803, Exp. 5.

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> exclusion of trade with these provinces, and therefore he would not stay here long.

Junco concluded that while no more had been heard from Beniso, "the traders in this region have had fair warning to avoid the evils that could arise from the promises of this individual, who seems to lack all authority."[16]

8.1.2 *A Trickster, Sidi Mohamet Benhamet Sherif (1769)*

In May 1769 a man from Tetouan named Sidi Mohamet Benhamet Sherif[17] appeared in Madrid to complain about Jorge Cheret[18] and Antonio Gómez, both of whom "seem to have formed a trading company with him in Larache, each investing a certain sum, and [he alleges] that they have not fulfilled the obligations they assumed." As proof Benhamet brought a letter from Tomás Bremond, the Spanish consul general in Larache, and another from the governor of Tarifa; both seemed to confirm his accusation. But since those documents "[did] not explain all the circumstances clearly," it was impossible to determine if his complaint was well founded. The Secretary of State therefore informed Governor José Sentmanat of Cádiz that for greater speed he was sending the petitioner to him, to be treated favorably and to avoid the slow pace of Spanish justice. All was in the service of maintaining good relations between Spain and Morocco:

> Because Moors cannot be treated with the formalities and delays that are usual here, and it is of the greatest importance to satisfy this man in his present appeal, both to prove Christians' good faith (especially our own) and to not endanger the peace that happily exists between this Crown and the Kingdom of Morocco, the King our master has resolved that the Moor should go to Cádiz to appear before Your Excellency. And he orders me to instruct you that once you have understood his petition and

16 "[S]e estrechó con el referido Comisionado, á fin de sacarle las intenciones, con que venia, y haviendose resistido a contextarle, dixo últimamente a el Comerciante, que jamas le diría lo que solicitaba saber, y que ya conocía, que podía haver orden de la Corte, para que no se le admitiesen aquí proposiciones, aunque fuesen ventajosas, porque en la Paz con el Emperador su Amo fue capitulo expreso el excluir el Comercio con estas Provincias, y que por tanto, no duraría mucho." Junco was grateful that the government had praised his handling of the affair: Juan Domingo del Junco to Marquis of Grimaldi, Bilbao, letters of 9, 16, and 23 May 1768, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803, Exp. 5.

17 He is also called Sidi Mahamet Bengamet Serif, Mohamat Bengamit Serif, and Mahamet Benjamimi.

18 Whose name also appears as Cerel, Cherel, Cheret, and Cherety.

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> his legal case you make sure he is satisfied immediately by the debtors who owe him money, so that he will suffer no delay or annoyance for this reason. And if because those men are absent or for any other reason we can imagine they cannot be made to pay, Your Excellency shall arrange to have this Moor receive what is owed him by any means possible; afterward you have the choice of suing the actual debtors and reclaiming the amount.[19]

Grimaldi was asking "in the most urgent and strongest terms" on the king's behalf that "swift justice be done for him, because the honor and good faith of our nation requires it and because it helps to preserve the peace with Morocco." Besides, there was a "supposition that the Moor has just cause for complaint, as appears from his account in which one can detect a certain sincerity, which will be easier to determine here." He feared that the information he had requested from the Spanish vice consul in Tetouan would not arrive in time; but he also noted that "if I discover that the Moor is acting with malice" he would tell the vice consul, who should pass that knowledge on to the sultan of Morocco "before the Moor can tell him a false tale." He concluded that the Spanish monarch was concerned "that if the Moor has justice on his side he should receive it immediately, and even if he does not have it, no offense or injustice should be done to any vassal of his."[20]

Governor Sentmanat replied that he was expecting "Sidi Mahamet Bengamet Serif, who went to complain of some Spaniards who are keeping him waiting without paying him what they owe him." A few days later he reported the Moroccan's arrival in Cádiz:

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19 "Como no puede tratarse a los Moros con las formalidades y dilaciones que están en estilo aqui, y es sumamente importante satisfacer a este en su actual instancia asi por acreditar la buena fe de los cristianos y especialmente la nuestra como para no dexar aventurar la paz que felizmente subsiste entre esta Corona y el Reino de Marruecos, ha resuelto el Rey nuestro señor que el moro pase a Cadiz a presentarse a V.E., y me manda encargarle que enterándose de su instancia y de la justicia que le asiste haga que inmediatamente se le satisfaga por los deudores el dinero que se le está debiendo, de suerte que no se le cause detención ni molestia con este motivo. Y si por haberse ausentado aquellos ó por otro incidente que aquí pueda precaverse no se consiguiere que ellos paguen, dispondrá V.E. que de qualquiera modo se satisfaga a este Moro lo que se le debe quedando después el arbitrio de reclamar contra los legítimos deudores y reintegrarse por esta cantidad." The Secretariat of State asks for "swift justice": draft to José Sentmanat, governor of Cádiz, Aranjuez, 17 and 19 May 1769. At the same time the vice consul in Tetouan was instructed to inform himself about the affair: Aranjuez to Jorge Patissiati, 19 May 1769, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

20 Marquis of Grimaldi to José Sentmanat, Cádiz, 26 May 1769, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

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> Having examined the documents he has shown me I have begun the process of the necessary steps for discovering the individuals whose creditor he is. As I have come to understand, however, none of them is a resident of this city, rather of Seville and of the Isla de León; about which I will take the appropriate measures.[21]

Letters from the two men must have crossed, because the governor affirmed that he was expecting the order "to have the said Moor heard in court without delay, and, the truth having been established, to have the debtor pay him. And just as His Majesty wishes to aid the vassals of the Emperor of Morocco, he does not wish to harm his own vassals in the course of his most just and upright conduct." In his search for corroborating documents he found only "one bill, which appears accurate as far as one can see, and that the debtor named Jorge Cherel is a man of ill repute." He offered as proof that the man had "disappeared, and has not yet been found in spite of all my efforts." He suspected that even if caught Cherel would not be able to pay his debt, so the desired outcome would be thwarted

> because he has no funds; if he ever had them, they no longer exist today. I have kept the Moor, who seems like an honest man, informed of all this; he has a well-founded fear of his emperor's wrath, so at his request and by virtue of my obligation I will continue to pursue [the matter], guided by the information I keep gathering.[22]

In the meantime Benhamet kept up his pressure on the Spanish authorities. On 30 May a public scribe in Cádiz reported that the Moroccan had asked him for a document that reproduced, almost word for word, Grimaldi's letter of 17 May to the governor of Cádiz. The crucial paragraph was the one in which the governor was instructed to satisfy Benhamet because justice was usually too

21 "[C]on conocimiento de los Documentos que me ha exivido, he dado principio a la práctica de las diligencias correspondientes para el Descubrimiento de los Yndividuos contra quienes resulta ser acrehedor, no obstante que según hasta ahora he llegado a comprehender ninguno es vecino de esta ciudad, y si de la de Sevilla, y la villa de la Ysla de Leon, sobre cuio particular tomaré todas las providencias combenientes": José Sentmanat to Marquis of Grimaldi, Cádiz, 30 May 1769, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

22 "…por no tener medios, pues si los tubo algún dia, ya el de hoi no existen. De todo tengo enterado al Moro quien me parece hombre de bien, i que pide con razón estar temiendo la cólera de su emperador i a petición suia, i en descargo de mi obligación la que prosigo i proseguiré guiado de la noticia que boi recogiendo": José Sentmanat to Marquis of Grimaldi, Cádiz, 6 June 1769, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

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slow and Spain needed to show Morocco how well it treated its subjects – all so as not to endanger "the peace that happily exists between this Crown and the Kingdom of Morocco." Even more important was the command to turn over to the Moroccan "immediately" the sum he was owed, so as to cause him "no delay or annoyance." In other words, the claim should be paid even before the case was adjudicated.[23]

On 13 June Grimaldi wrote to Benhamet expressing pleasure that he was now in Cádiz and that the search for Jorge Cheret and Antonio Gómez was in progress. He regretted not being able to intervene more actively in the affair. He proposed a small change in his orders to the governor: that Benhamet be given half the sum he was owed at once, with the other half to be paid after the lengthy suit against the debtors was resolved. His reasons were as follows:

> You [Benhamet] surely realize that even if you were a Spaniard and a vassal of the king the matter could not be handled more urgently or with greater speed. However, so you may be convinced of the esteem with which we treat all subjects of the King of Morocco here, I wish to propose a solution that I find highly convenient for you. It is that the governor should give you half the money that those individuals owe you, with which you may return to your country without delay and avoid any reason for the king your master to be displeased. I will take care to continue the suit against those debtors and extract from them all the money they owe, so as to send you the remaining half.

He added a piece of advice that would be repeated over and over to Spanish consuls and governors, and to Moroccans who planned to go to the royal court: that they refrain from doing so and instead try to resolve their problems in Cádiz or in the city where their cases first arose:

> As for coming to this court, it would be wholly fruitless because no judgment can be made here; the case against those debtors must be pursued in the city of Cádiz. And I may add that the King would not be pleased if you should make this trip again unnecessarily.[24]

23 Certified statement by Juan Ballés de Mérida, a public scribe in Cádiz, 6 June 1769, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

24 "Bien se hará Vm cargo que aun quando Vm fuere un español vasallo del Rey no se podía tomar el asunto con mas calor ni hacer mayores diligencias. Pero sin embargo, para que Vm se convenza de la estimación con que aquí se trata a todos los súbditos del Rey de Marruecos, quiero proponerle un medio que me parece mui conveniente para Vm mismo. Este es el de que ese Gobernador entregue a Vm la mitad del dinero que le deben aquellos

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Grimaldi told the governor of Cádiz that he knew of the unsuccessful pursuit of Cheret and Gómez, and sent him a copy of his letter to Benhamet in hopes that he would be encouraged "to return to his country as soon as possible." If Sentmanat were willing, he should give the man "half of his debt so that he will leave." He still ordered continuing efforts to find the debtors and force them to pay, and hoped that Benhamet would not try his luck in Madrid again:

> The Moor gives me to understand that Your Excellency counseled him to return to Madrid, but I assume that he says it to stress his desire to make the journey and that you have not suggested such a notion to him. For this trip would be useless and even harmful, simply encouraging others to make the same decision and to cause us trouble.[25]

Benhamet told Grimaldi of his satisfaction with "all you have been so good as to favor me with," for which he would be "eternally grateful"; he had reached an "agreement to receive from the governor the sum of ten thousand reales de vellón which he will give me tomorrow, with the proper receipt." He would leave "a power of attorney with a trustworthy person" to collect the rest of what his creditors owed him, "if they, or their funds, can be located; I am aware of the earnest efforts that have been made in this city and other towns to search for those debtors, and that they will continue."[26]

The report on the search for Cheret and Gómez's whereabouts included statements by several witnesses. José Gutiérrez de Morón, a public scribe from the Isla de León, testified that no one had been able to tell him whether Cheret, "a foreigner," possessed "any means to speak of." He knew only that Cheret had left for Morocco leaving behind a woolen jacket, a pair of worn-out white

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individuos, con la qual podrá Vm restituirse a su Pais sin dilación y evitar todo motivo de disgusto con el Rey su Amo. Y quedará a mi cuidado hacer que se continue el proceso contra dichos deudores y sacar de ellos todo el dinero que deben para embiar a Vm la mitad restante. … Por lo que toca a venir a esta Corte seria totalmente infructuoso por que aquí no es posible tomar disposición, debiendo seguirse en esa ciudad de Cadiz el asunto contra aquellos deudores; y antes puedo añadir que al Rey no le parecería bien que Vm hiciese de nuebo este viage sin necesidad": draft to Sidi Majamet Benhamet Serif, Aranjuez, 13 June 1769, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

25 "El Moro da a entender que V.E. le aconsejaba restituirse a Madrid, pero yo supongo que el lo dice por comentar su deseo de hacer este viage y que V.E. no le habrá sugerido tal idea; pues este viage seria inútil y aun perjudicial, sirviendo solo de dar pie a que otros tomen el mismo arbitrio para embarazarnos": Aranjuez to José Sentmanat, 13 June 1769, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

26 Mahamet Benhamet (who signed in Arabic with a six-pointed star) to Marquis of Grimaldi, 20 June 1769, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

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breeches, and a wineskin with one Andrés Pallardo, who traded in carriages. He had also heard that Cheret "was in charge of a warehouse containing some wineskins and furniture"; but a master tailor from Cádiz, Domingo Manero, declared in the name of the Franciscan Order that in 1767 Cheret had delegated him to remove all his goods from the warehouse and sell them. Manero obeyed, but could not recall what price he had obtained. On Cheret's return from Morocco he had sued Manero, but Cheret failed to appear in court in October 1768 and the case remained unresolved. Cheret had deposited with another Cádiz resident, Juan de Bonneval, a sum of money in reales, but had withdrawn it the year before and Bonneval had no fresh news of him. A business agent from El Puerto de Santa María, Antonio Hinabo, had received Cheret in his house four times before the previous May, during which visits Cheret had obtained sugar, cocoa, and indigo in loads of six to twelve arrobas apiece to ship to Granada by land. Later he had chartered a boat in Málaga and loaded a mattress, a chest, a saddle, and ten to twelve bundles of cocoa and indigo.[27]

Then reports began to arrive from Spanish representatives in Morocco. Jorge Patissiati, the vice consul in Tetouan, could say little about Cheret and Gómez because they were both in Larache, he himself was in Marrakesh, and his nephew Miguel Colety had gone to Cádiz. But he could state that according to Tomás Bremond, the consul general, "all these were schemes by the Moor and our Spaniards; the parties to the suit have no basis for their claims, their trading company has no financial base, and the Moor has no reputation in these kingdoms."[28] A undated, unsigned note claimed that Benhamet had formed a trading company with Cheret and Gómez on 23 August 1767, and Miguel Colety declared that the company had bought goods for a total value of thirty thousand reales.[29]

Governor Sentmanat considered the documents that Mahamet Benhamet had presented "fairly confusing." On interviewing him in the presence of a scribe

> I found that in total the amount came to thirty-one thousand reales de vellón, although in that debt was included the capital that he had invested

27 Certificate signed by Juan Ballés de Mérida, a public scribe in Cádiz, testifying that the military and political governor, José Sentmanat y de Oms, had given him the cited statements, Cádiz, 3 June 1769. A certificate issued by José Gutiérrez de Morón, a public scribe in La Isla de León, 2 June 1769. A certificate by Lorenzo Prior, a public scribe in Cádiz, 3 June 1769, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

28 Jorge Patissiati to Marquis of Grimaldi, Tetouan, 20 June 1769, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

29 Colety's statement of 22 June 1768, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

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> together with Cherell and Gómez to form a profit-and-loss company, half of which would have come to fifteen thousand five hundred reales. I explained to him that one thing was the base sum that each man had invested at his own risk, and another was the goods that he had placed with the company, and therefore I reduced the sum by ten thousand reales.

Therefore, by order of the monarch, he gave Benhamet

> half the cash, amounting to ten thousand five hundred, and out of this sum I agreed with him to deduct for now the five hundred reales. He pledged to accept this agreement voluntarily in the presence of the scribe. I did it because it seemed fair; if the debtors can be found we can determine with them the facts and whether the company has had losses or gains, something that neither he nor I can know.

The sum was handed over with a receipt and a letter of agreement, while the search for the debtors continued with the "greatest zeal." The governor denied to Grimaldi ever having counseled the Moroccan to present himself at court:

> Your Excellency may be sure that that was just the opposite of what I advised him; I saw it was impossible and judged how long he would wait for payment, [so I suggested] that he return home and leave in this city a reliable person with authority to pursue the case and collect what was available, assuming that the absent debtors could be located.

Benhamet, he went on, "is resolved to return to his country, but knowing that I will continue my pursuit of his debtors he is leaving a representative for whatever may be needed." Sentmanat begged that the Royal Treasury reimburse him for the ten thousand reales he had given the Moroccan, and that the vice consul in Tetouan be kept informed of all developments.[30] Grimaldi

30 "[E]ncontré que en globo, importaba la dicha cuenta treinta y un mil reales de vellón bien que en esa deuda yncluie el capital que el puso como los demás Cherell y Gomez formada Compañia a perdida o ganancia cuia mitad ubiera importado quince mil y quinientos reales. Ysele presente que una cosa hera el fondo que cada uno avia puesto a ventura y riesgo y otra cosa los generos que el avia dado a fiar para Compañía y que asi le revajava diez mil reales. … la mitad del liquido que importaba diez mil y quinientos, y de esta porción, ajusté con él revajar por ahora los quinientos reales a cuio convenio adirio en presencia del referido escribano voluntariamente, lo hize pareciéndome equitativo por si pudiesen ser avidos los deudores averiguando con ellos la verdad, y si en la Compª ha auido perdidas ó ganancias, lo que ni el, ni yo podemos sauer. … [P]uede V.E. estar cierto

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told the Secretary of the Treasury, Miguel de Muzquiz, the whole story of Benhamet and asked him to send the ten thousand reales to the governor of Cádiz:

> After the Moor named Sidi Mahamet Bengamet Serif came to me in Aranjuez complaining of some Spaniards who had formed a trading company with him in Tetouan, and then had fled without paying him what he was owed, the king had me send him to Cádiz with a letter for Don José Sentmanat, governor of that port. In it [Sentmanat] was advised to take notice of the matter at once and arrange for the Moor to have his money restored promptly, to avoid justifiable complaints by the king of Morocco, since we know that those Moors obey principles very different from our own and usually seize the recompense they think they are owed on their own initiative. … By virtue of this the king was pleased to order that for the moment the governor of Cádiz should give the Moor ten thousand reales de vellón (which is half of what is due to him), to make it possible for him to return to his country and so that he cannot tell the king of Morocco that he was denied justice in Spain.[31]

Shortly after Benhamet was paid his ten thousand reales the entire scheme was exposed as a fraud. The Secretariat of State received documents of Jorge Cheret's that described five receipts from Benhamet then in his possession:

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de que a sido tan al contrario como que desde luego le aconsejé viendo la imposibilidad, y lo que juzgaba se dilataría el cobre que se retirase a su domicilio, y dejase en esta ciudad, un yndividuo de su satisfacción con Poder bastante para seguir las diligencias, y poner cobro a lo que se encontrare siempre, que pudiesen ser auidos los deudores ausentes." The governor was repaid the ten thousand reales in July of that year: José Sentmanat to Marquis of Grimaldi, Cádiz, 27 June and 25 July 1769. Certificate of payment by Juan Ballés de Mérida, public scribe in Cádiz, 21 June 1769, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

31 "[Tras] habérseme presentado en Aranjuez el Moro llamado Sidi Mahamet Bengamet Serif quejándose de algunos españoles que hicieron con el compañía de comercio en Tetuan y después se huyeron de allí sin pagarles lo que le correspondía, me mandó el Rey embiarle a Cadiz con carta para D. Joseph Sentmanat Gobernador de dicha Plaza en que se le prevenía tomase inmediatamente noticia del asunto y dispusiese que el expresado Moro recuperase su dinero desde luego: para evitar justas quejas del Rey de Marruecos, quando sabemos que aquellos Moros se manejan por principios mui diversos de los nuestros y suelen tomarse por si mismos la satisfacción que creen se les debe. … En virtud de ello se sirvió el rey mandar que por el pronto entregase el Gobernador de Cadiz al expresado Moro diez mil reales vellon (que es la mitad de su crédito) para ponerle en el estado de restituirse a su Pais y que no pudiese decir al Rey de Marruecos se le negaba la justicia en España": Grimaldi to Miguel de Muzquiz, 4 July 1769, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

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> The first two, from 25 August, for one hundred fifty reales de vellón apiece; another of 20 September for three hundred, signed by me and Don Antonio Gómez; another of the same for fifteen pesos fuertes containing two more statements of profit, signed by Captain Manuel Díaz on 30 September; and the last receipt of the 27th of the same [month] for two pesos fuertes, signed by Gabriel Carreras. All are from the past year 1767. By virtue of the power of attorney that Benjamimi gave me to settle accounts with Don Antonio Gómez in Seville, once those [accounts] were settled and the company's funds distributed (as the three of us did on 23 August [17]67), the value of the receipts was reduced. And if it should not be so, Benhamimi required me to present them for a second time so that he could keep them.

One of the receipts stated:

> I, Sidi Hagmet Benjamimi, allow and give absolute power to Don Jorge Cherel to settle the accounts of the company that he, Don Antonio Gómez, and I formed in the port of Larache on 23 August of last year, 1767. And once that is done he may receive any balance in my favor, in accordance with the usual agreements. And in case Don Antonio Gómez, who resides in Seville, and with whom the account should be settled, does not consent as he ought, the said Don Jorge Cherel may bring him to court and oblige him to show everything he was given in Larache. This power of attorney may be delegated to such person as he may choose, who may act and sell movable property and real estate belonging to the debtor, for which I have given Don Jorge Cherel all the papers that may pertain to this matter.

It is clear from the documents, all contained in one folder, that the Moroccan's claim was fraudulent. Tomás Bremond, the Spanish consul in Morocco, was instructed to tell the sultan about the affair and reveal "the dishonesty of the Moor" who had managed, "through the generosity we have shown him here as a vassal of that prince, to be paid for the moment half of what he was supposedly owed by presenting a single piece of paper." The sultan should be asked to "force the Moor to pay back what he owes and has obtained unfairly in Spain."[32]

32 "…los dos primeros de 25 de Agosto, de ciento y cinquenta reales de vellón cada uno; otro de 20 de septiembre de trescientos, firmado este por mi, y D. Antonio Gomez; otro ydem de quinze pesos fuertes, expresando en el dos dichos mas de ganancia, firmado, por el

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A month later, news from Tetouan revealed how great a trick had been played on the Secretariat of State. Miguel Colety, Patissiati's nephew, had returned to the city after recovering from an illness and questioned the actions of Grimaldi and Sentmanat: "what that Moor alleged was invented and false, and in fact he is the one who owes Don Jorge Cheret the sum that has been mentioned." There could now be no doubt in the case:

> In June of last year Don Jorge Cherel arrived here pleading a case against the Moor Benjamimi, to make him restore the sum of fifteen thousand reales de vellón named in a bill he had given him against Don Esteban Joseph Rey, a merchant in the port of Larache, which he [Benjamimi] had cashed while Cherel was in Morocco. Therefore I called the Moor into court and explained the suit against him in the presence of several Moors of the city, including Samar, the administrator of the port of Larache and a protector of Benjamimi's. At first he denied the debt absolutely, but when we showed him a document signed in his own hand and threatened to put him in irons while we informed the Emperor (who had had him in irons shortly before, for other schemes), he begged me to settle the matter so that it would go no further.

The vice consul, "seeing how impossible it would be to collect," had agreed with Cheret to make copies that he himself would verify and, "in case more things occur with time," he would also copy the available documents from the

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Patron Manuel Diaz en 30 de septiembre, y el restante ultimo recibo de 27 del mismo, de dos pesos fuertes, firmado por Gabriel Carreras todos del año pasado 1767; los que en virtud del Poder que dicho Benjamimi, me tiene otorgado para tomar cuentas a dn. Antonio Gomez, en Sevilla, las que, ajustadas, que sean, y repartidos los caudales de la Compañía, que con fecha de 23 de Agosto de 67, se hizo entre los tres, se rebaje el Ymporte de dichos recibos; y siempre, que no suceda assi, me obligo a entregarlos segunda vez, al expresado Benjamimi, y para su resguardo. … Yo Sidi Hagmet Benjamimi, otorgo, y doy poder absoluto a don Jorge Cherel para que ajuste las Cuentas de la Compañía que entre el, Dn. Antonio Gomez, y yo, hemos hecho en el Puerto de Larache en 23 de Agosto del año pasado de 1767; y después de executado, lo que resultare a mi favor lo reciba en la conformidad que se acostumbra con los Ynstrumentos necesarios; y siempre que dn. Antonio Gomez, que reside en Sevilla, y es, a quien se le debe tomar el ajuste de cuentas, no quisiere concurrir como es devido, queda el dicho dn. Jorge Cherel ponerlo por justicia, obligándolo a manifestar todo lo que se le ha entregado en dicho Larache; pudiendo sobstituir este Poder a la Persona que el mismo eligiese para que, este, exequte, y venda muebles, bienes, y raizes del Deudor, para cuio efecto, he entregado a dicho Dn. Jorge Cherel quantos papeles puedan pertenecer al asumpto": Document signed by Cherel in Tetouan, 22 June 1768; another signed in Latin letters by Benhamet, also in Tetouan, 12 June 1768, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

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business dealings among the three partners. Those proved that the company had been formed only between Benhamet and Gómez and that Cheret had been involved in just "a few minor matters." Benhamet's documents consisted of some receipts and a power of attorney in Arabic

> prepared by the *adules* or scribes of their religion, in which Benjamimi affirmed that he could claim nothing from [Cheret]; and that if he should receive some of the fifteen thousand reales from Gómez, there was no further place to appeal to for satisfaction.

With those copied and witnessed documents Cheret left for Cádiz and then Seville in search of Antonio Gómez, but was unable to find either him or Benhamet, who

> left here a few days ago because he was not allowed to embark for Europe from any port here [in Morocco]; finally he traveled by land to Algiers, from which he sailed to Port Mahón and then to Gibraltar.[33]

Bremond wrote of Benhamet's utter untrustworthiness, since he also had problems in his native land. He had informed the governor of Cádiz about

> the deception carried out by the Moor Mahomet Benjamimi in relation to his complaint against Don Jorge Cherell and Don Antonio Gómez,

33 "En junio del año pasado se presentó en esta Don Jorge Cherel pidiendo justicia contra el Moro Benjamimi, a fin que le satisfaciese la cantidad de quinze mil reales de vellón, procedentes de una Letra que le havia entregado contra Don Esteban Joseph Rey, comerciante en el Puerto de Larache, y que cobró durante la estada de Cherel en Marruecos; por lo que, hize llamar a Juicio a dicho Moro, y haciéndole cargo de lo que se le pedia, en presencia de varios Moros de la Ciudad, y entre ellos Samar, Administrador del Puerto de Larache, y Protector del expresado Benjamimi; al principio negó absolutamente la deuda pero exponiéndole Ynstrumento firmado por su mano, y con amenazas de ponerlo en cadenas, hasta dar aviso al Emperador (quien, poco antes lo tenia assi, por otras picardías) me pidió mirase componerlo para que no pasase adelante. … hecho por los Adules, ó escribanos de su Ley, en el que, firmaba Benjamimi, no poder pretender de este cosa alguna, y si que quanto pudiese cobrar del expresado Gomez, lo percibiese, á cuenta de los quinze mil reales, pues que no havia otro arbitrio, de donde poder satisfacerlo. … [P]asados algunos días se ausentó de aquí, por no permitirle se embarcase en ninguno de los Puertos para Europa, y solo últimamente, que por tierra marchó a Argel, de donde pasó a Puerto Mahon y luego a la Plaza de Gibraltar": Jorge Patissiati to Marquis of Grimaldi, Tetouan, 20 July 1769 and 15 September 1769. Miguel Colety to Marquis of Grimaldi, Tetouan, 20 July 1769, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

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> who, he wickedly claimed, owed him the sum of twenty thousand reales, half of which was issued to him by the Royal Treasury. The governor of Cádiz told me of it on 23 July and on 24 July I replied about the Moor's dishonesty and how I was impeding his return to this country from which his crimes had expelled him, on the remote chance that he should return here.

He promised to inform the sultan of the "absurd" behavior of his subject "Mahomet Benjamimi, and to convince him of the generosity with which we restored half of his debt, out of respect because he was [the sultan's] vassal."[34]

Later it was learned that Cheret was in prison in Granada. In early October Grimaldi wrote to the governor of Cádiz enclosing the king's order to the president of Granada's Royal Chancellery to release Cheret and return his embargoed goods. As a result Sentmanat suspended the legal pursuit of Cheret and Gómez.[35] Almost three weeks later Grimaldi wrote to the president of the Chancellery once again, noting that Cheret (whom he called "Pedro Cerel") was still a prisoner and his goods had not yet been released, adding, "it is now established that all the statements and complaints by the Moor Mohamet Bengamimi were false, for the [the two men] whom he calles his debtors were actually his creditors"; he repeated that the king wanted Cheret freed at once and his property restored.[36] Writing again on the same day he said he had received via the French ambassador a report from Cheret, whom he considered clearly innocent based on information from the consul general in Larache and the vice consul in Tetouan. In the king's opinion the justice system had exceeded its authority with Cheret, who was now seventy years old and plagued with "many ailments." The Moroccan sultan had been urged to "punish that Moor severely and force him to pay the sums he ows to Spanish vassals."[37]

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34 "…el engaño usado por el Moro Mahomet Benjamimi, perteneciente a la queja que dio contra dn. Jorge Cherell y dn. Antonio Gomez, de quienes supuso siniestramente deudas a su favor hasta en cantidad de veinte mil reales, cuya mitad se le satisfizo del Real Erario, de que en 23 de Julio me dio parte el Governador de Cadiz, y en 24 de Julio le contesté la falacia de dicho Moro, y quanto yo dificultava viniese á estas Tierras, donde sus delitos le ahuyentaban, y assí en caso remoto buelva á ellas": Tomás Bremond to Marquis of Grimaldi, Larache, 7 September 1769, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

35 José Sentmanat to Marquis of Grimaldi, 2 October 1769, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

36 San Lorenzo [El Escorial] to Francisco José Velasco, president of the Chancellery of Granada, 19 October 1769. He was relying on the reports of Tomás Bremond: AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

37 San Lorenzo to the president of the Chancellery of Granada, 19 October 1769, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

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Cheret, now residing in Granada, certified having received the sums and documents that had been seized from him:

> I acknowledge having received to my entire satisfaction from the magistrate, scribe, and recorders of this city 620 *pesos sencillos*; a deed for five thousand four hundred reales de vellón; a paper for 7,239 reales de vellón; another for seven hundred reales, and one more for 180. All these are credits in my favor and against several other persons. And likewise all the remaining papers, letters, dispatches, and documents that were taken from me at the time of my arrest have been given to me in total and to my satisfaction.[38]

But Cheret also wrote a letter to Grimaldi to be forwarded to the king, decrying "the ill usage and abuse committed by the justice system in this kingdom to the French nation and to me in particular." In defective Spanish he explained that he was the creditor of both Benhamet and Gómez:

> It is true that I formed a company with a Moor and a Sevillian, and that Moor encouraged the Marquis of Grimaldi to abuse me and in fact they have done so when there was no reason for it nor have they given any reason or occasion for it. The Moor invested ten thousand reales in the company, the Sevillian another ten thousand, and I another ten thousand, making thirty thousand that the Moor kept in order to use them, and he did use them: he gave them to the Sevillian so that he could go to Seville to sell. And I have nothing from the company except the contract signed by the Moor and the Sevillian. I also have a paper signed by the Moor stating that he owes me eleven thousand reales, with the condition that at twenty days from that date he had to come to Cádiz to pay me, and also another paper signed by that Moor for twenty-one thousand reales, but he did not come or appear for more than a year. Then I crossed to Barbary in search of the Moor and found him in Tetouan; I presented

38 "[C]onfieso haver resevido a toda mi satisfacción de la Justicia, Escribano y depositarios de esta dicha Ciudad, Seiscientos veinte pesos censilllos; una escritura de cinco mil y quatrocientos reales vellón, papel de siete mil y doscientos treinta nueve reales vellon otro de settecientos reales y otro de ziento y ochenta, cuios papeles son créditos en mi favor y contra varias personas, Y asi mismo todos los demás papeles, cartas, despachos y documentos, que al tiempo de mi arresto se me habían sequestrado, y de darme por entregado íntegramente, a mi satisfacción": statement by Jorge Cherel, Granada, 26 October 1769, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

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> my papers to the vice consul of Spain asking for justice, and the consul agreed that the Moor must give me an accounting of the goods that he had given to the Sevillian. He also gave me an absolute power of attorney to solicit the Sevillian and demand from him the sum that the Moor owes me. [Because of] my health and my business affairs I have been unable to go to Seville to confront the Sevillian. The Marquis of Grimaldi wrote to the governor of Cádiz and that governor has sent a case against me to the court in Granada to have them accuse me, and they have done so without taking any statements or declarations.

He had been arrested and sentenced to prison "with a guard always present so that I could neither speak nor write," and stripped of 620 pesos fuertes and deeds for 5,500 reales, seven thousand reales, seven hundred reales, and 180 reales respectively:

> … and a variety of other bills for what I am owed in other places that were issued in Granada, but they took away the correspondence from my business. They have trampled on the treaties of peace and the privileges that His Majesty concedes to the French nation; they have taken away my documents and I am the only person in Spain who possesses them. They have also disregarded the passports given me by Don Juan de Villalba, general of El Puerto de Santa María. They have abused my seventy years while I am not in good health – my legs are swollen and covered with boils that ooze fluid continually – without any care for charity. It is no surprise, because the scribe is my mortal enemy: he went to take a statement from a man whom I have sued, so that I, knowing that the scribe had not fulfilled his responsibility, denounced him, and now he is taking vengeance with his actions. I beg you to give His Majesty this report so that he will have the goodness to order my funds returned to me and have me released; also that he command my honor and respect to be restored, for I have given no motive to be abused. As another favor I beg of His Majesty's charity (may God preserve him for many years!) to protect from Spanish powers the Moor's papers as well as everything else they have taken from me. The sum they took from me is more than five thousand five hundred pesos, and I beg you not to allow the justice system to consume them. In truth, my "crime" is that the justice system wants to keep my money and force me into poverty.

Cheret was convinced that if justice were not done, at his age and in his state of health "I will have to beg for alms." As a final plea he claimed that "By the law of

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the kingdom no one can be imprisoned at the age of seventy, and I am seventy and have committed no crime that justifies my imprisonment."[39]

A royal scribe in Granada, Fernando Pérez Lozano, verified that Cheret had been freed and given 3,197 pesos fuertes by order of the Marquis of Grimaldi.[40] The president of the Granada Chancellery hastened to deny that Cheret

39 "[E]s berda que tengo echa, Compañía con un Moro y un Sebillano y el dicho Moro a empeñao al Señor Marques de Grimaldi para que me atropelle con efecto me an atropellado sin aber motibo para ello ni aber dado motibo ni lugar para ello y tiene puesto el dicho Moro en la Compañía diez mil reales, el Sebillano otros diez mil y llo otros diez mil que son treinta mil que el Moro se quedo con el para emplear y lo empleo le entrego al Sebillano para que fuera a Sebilla a vender y llo no tengo nada de la Compañía, Solamente tengo el papel de la contrata firmada del Moro y del Sebillano y también tengo llo un papel firmado del Moro que me debe once mil reales, Con condision que a los veinte días de la fecha abia de benir a Cadiz a pagarme y otro papel también, firmado del dicho Moro de beinti un mil reales, y no bino ni pareció en mas de un año y entoses yo, pase a la Berberia en búsqueda, del dicho Moro y llo le encontré en Tetuan, y lo presente mis papeles al Señor SotoConsul, de España para que me ysiera Gustisia, y lo que saco el Consul de acuerdo que, el dicho Moro me entregase la Carta Cuenta, de los Generos que abia el Moro entregado al Sebillano y que me dio un poder al soluto para tomar Cuenta del dicho Sebillano y aplicarle llo la que llo cobrase a la cuenta del que me debe el Moro mi salud y los Negocios mios no me an dado lugar a pasar a Sebilla a tomar Cuentas al dicho Sebillano y Señor Marques de Grimaldi a mandado una carta al Señor Gobernador del Cadiz y el dicho Señor Gobernador a despedido una requisitoria contra mi a la Gusticia de Granada para que me atropellaran Como asi lo an ejecutado sin tomar ynformes ni declaraciones. … y mas diferentes papeles que me deben en otras tierras que son dilatadas de Granada mas me an quitado las Cartas de la Correspondensia de mi Comersio y an atropellado los tratados de pas y los pribilegios que tiene consedida la Magesta a la Nasion francesa y también me han quitado los dichos tratados que no ai mas que llo en España que los tenga y también an atropellado los pasaportes qe me [ha] dado el Señor D. Juan de Billarba General del Puerto de Santa Maria y también an atropelado la edad de setenta años y que llo no tengo salud que tengo las piernas ynchadas y con llagas que echan Materias continuamente por ellas sin mirad la Caridad no ai qe almirarse por que el escribano es amigo mortal Mio por el motibo que fue a tomar una declarasion a un hombre con quien tengo llo un pleito y llo conosiendo que el dicho Escribano no abia cumplido con su obligacion lo rrecurse y aora, a tenio la ocasión de tomar la bengansa como asi lo esta egecutando y llo suplico a vuestra Grandesa que se digne en Carida de representar a la Magesta este Memorial para que la Magesta me aga la Carida, de mandarme que, me buelban mi Caudal, y mandar ponerme en liberta como también mandar que se me buelba mi honor Respeto que no e dado lugar a que se me atropellase en semegante favor que llo suplico en Caridad de la Magestad a quien Ds.ge.ms.as., para el amparo de la Gerarquia de España los papeles del Moro como todo los demás que me an quitado y los dineros que me an quitado pasa de Sinco mil y quinientos pesos y suplico a buestra Grandesa de no consentir qe la Gustisia se los coma que el delito que llo tengo en sustasia es que la Gustisia pretende quedarse y aserme gastar mi pobresa": unsigned, undated petiton by Jorge Cheret to Marquis of Grimaldi, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

40 Fernándo Pérez Lozano, royal scribe in Granada, 26 October 1769, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

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had been badly treated: "everything stated in his report about poor treatment and severe imprisonment is without foundation, as I have determined; and the subject himself did not dare to contradict me in the presence of the judge and the scribe in the case, although he was fairly free in expressing himself."[41]

Surprisingly, Sidi Mohamet Benhamet reappeared in Spain in October 1770. In a new petition he alluded to another he had written "on 5 June of last year 1769," which had made a claim against Cheret and Gómez "for the legitimate sum of thirty-four thousand reales that they owed me." He admitted that the governor of Cádiz, by order of the Secretary of State, had paid him half of this debt and urged him to return to Morocco, "since he would oversee the process until he had obtained all the money from them, when he would send me the rest. And in fact I was given ten thousand reales de vellón."

After returning home, he had come back to Spain for the purpose of converting to Christianity:

> Now returned to Spain with the sole objective of embracing the Christian religion, to which I find myself spiritually attracted, with a petition on this date I inform His Majesty (may God preserve him) that I have heard that Cheret, a rash man who does not keep his agreements, has suits pending in every port in Andalusia, especially in Granada, Cádiz, Sanlúcar, and Gibraltar, like the suit I have brought against him. One of my relatives (who are great enemies of mine because I wish to become Christian) has informed against me to the consul, pretending that I am the debtor, or that things are otherwise than he supposed. But among the statements pending before the governor of Cádiz there are papers signed by Cheret and by the consul himself that attest that I am owed the aforementioned thirty-four thousand reales. I am telling Your Excellency this to justify my conduct and explain the calumny of the consul, not to recover that sum, something I do not expect; because I have abandoned greater things – my homeland, estate, parents, brothers, and sisters – simply to march under the banners of Jesus Christ and receive the most holy water of baptism, the only purpose of my coming to Spain, without any other object or temporal cause.

We hear no more of the story of Benhamet, who insisted that he was the creditor of Cheret and Gómez (whom he does not mention here, and about whom

41 Fernando Josçe de Velasco, president of the Chancellery of Granada, Granada, 27 October 1789, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

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no one ever learned anything). Benhamet must have been fairly well informed about how business was conducted in the Peninsula. He probably went to Spain in flight from enemies in Morocco, among them his own family; that might explain why he kept presenting himself, against all the evidence, as the victim of his former partners:

> I beseech Your Excellency to look kindly on this respectful request for satisfaction and keep it in mind, so that I will not be prejudiced by any false claims that have been imputed to me through the consul at the request of Don Jorge Cheret, who is in very good standing with him, and of my relations, who abhor me utterly because, abandoning their religion, I embrace the Catholic one, in which I shall be reborn through baptism.[42]

Unless new sources prove otherwise, it seems that Moroccans had limited opportunities to engage in commerce in Spain during this period. Perhaps they felt little interest in an activity that was so thoroughly controlled by European merchants; they enjoyed no competitive advantage if they tried to enter directly into Spanish-Moroccan trade. They would have to await a more propitious moment at which information, experience, capital, and initiative would combine to help them cross the Strait. The windows of opportunity thus opened surely helped the sorts of adventurers mentioned above to make their profits

42 "[V]uelto a España con solo el objeto de abrazar la Religion Christiana, á que sobrenaturalmente me hallo inspirado, como con Memorial de este dia lo hago presente a S.M. (que Dios guarde) he sabido que por sugestiones de Cheret, hombre intrépido, y que por no cumplir sus tratos tiene Pleytos pendientes en todos los Puertos de Andalucia, y especialmente en Granada, Cadiz, SanLucar y Gibraltar, á semejanza del que yo le he puesto; y asi mismo de mis Parientes, Capitales enemigos mios porque quiero ser Christiano, ha informado contra mi el Consul en fingir que soy yo el Deudor, ó en otra cosa de las que haya supuesto; pues en los Autos pendientes en el Gobernador de Cadiz existen los Papeles firmados por Cheret, y por el mismo Consul, en que se justifica, que soy Acreedor de los expresados 34 mil reales. Que esto solo lo hago presente á V.E. por dar satisfacción de mi conducta, y sincerarme de la calumnia del Consul; y no por cobrar aquella cantidad, que no pienso; pues dexo otras mayores, mi Patria, Hacienda, Padres, y Hermanos, por solo militar baxo las Vanderas de JesuChristo, y recibir el Agua sacrosanta del Bautismo, único fin de mi venida á España, sin otro objeto, ni causa temporal alguna. … A V.E. suplico se sirva admitir con benignidad esta reverente satisfacción, y tener la presente, á fin de que no se me perjudique qualesquier imposturas de las que por el Consul se me hubieren imputado, á solicitud de dn. Jorge Cheret, que con él tiene grande valimiento, y de mis Parientes, que del todo me han aborrecido, porque dexando su Ley, abraxo la Catholica, en que he de ser regenerado y con el Bautismo": petition by Sidi Mohamet Benhamet Charif "of the city of Tetouan, Empire of Morocco," who again signs in Arabic with a six-pointed star. Dated in San Lorenzo de El Escorial, 10 October 1770, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

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in any way they could, and can also explain why they figure so largely in contemporary documents.

8.2 Consolidation of a Moroccan Mercantile Colony (1780–1799)

The war of 1779–1783 between Spain and England, which coincided with the American Revolution, produced significant changes in Hispano-Moroccan trade relations. Ships sailing between the two countries no longer flew the British flag, and even the French and Spanish ones were seen more rarely as the Royal Navy patrolled the Strait and its base in Gibraltar. Yet the war made trade across the Mediterranean more essential than ever, as fewer vessels carrying wheat from the Atlantic and the Mediterranean were able to reach Spanish ports. Spain responded by relegating its war of 1774–1775 to the past and pursuing closer relations with the Moroccan sultan. The result was the *Convenio* or Agreement of 1780, signed in Aranjuez by Ibn Utman and the Count of Floridablanca, which ratified the earlier Treaty of 1767. It marked the reestablishment of peaceful relations after the 1774–1775 war, crucial to ensuring the supply of wheat imported from Morocco.

The Agreement revealed Moroccan merchants' increasing interest in conducting business on Spanish soil, which was evident in the preamble: it was made "for the mutual benefit of their vassals and the advantages of commerce between them."[43] Its first two articles spoke of the warm reception that Spaniards would find in Morocco: they would have to pay the usual duties, but those would be "fixed and guaranteed without any addition." Further, "The king of Spain shall do the same and no more for Moroccan merchants in his domains." Although North African commercial activity was limited to the ports of Cádiz, Málaga, Alicante, and Barcelona, the possibility of expansion to others was left open:

> Vassals of the king of Morocco may come to trade in the ports of Alicante, Málaga, Barcelona, and Cádiz, and in those and the others in these kingdoms they shall be well treated and well received and will be provided with what they need of victuals and the repair of their ships when they pay for their expenses and the items they purchase. [Article 3][44]

43 Cantillo, *Tratados*, 567.

44 "[L]os vasallos del rey de Marruecos podrán venir a comerciar á los puertos de Alicante, Málaga, Barcelona y Cadiz, y así en ellos como en los demás de estos reinos serán bien tratados y bien recibidos, y se les franqueará lo que necesiten en víveres, y para reparar

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The Agreement reaffirmed that the lives and property of Spaniards in Morocco would be protected: they would not be required to house or support anyone, their rental agreements would be respected absolutely, and they could build houses if they wished (Articles 7 and 8). In the same spirit of reciprocity as in the Treaty of 1767, these tenets would hold true for Moroccans in Spain (addendum to Article 2). The norms that regulated freedom of movement and of trade for North Africans on Spanish soil were broadened.[45]

Still, the most important feature of the 1780 Agreement resided in two earlier articles that show how eagerly Moroccan merchants sought to participate in trade between the two countries. They were given the opportunity to replace, at least in part, the Spanish ships that had to endure the Royal Navy's blockade, and to make up for the absence of the English merchant fleet since the start of the war:

> Our vassals the merchants of Tetouan, who used to trade in hides and other items in the port of Gibraltar, observed that English ships took these hides and items from Gibraltar to Barcelona, earning much profit from them. And since that trade with Gibraltar has ceased they have asked us [for permission] to trade in Barcelona, and to seek partners with whom to form companies for that trade, so as to have a fair share of this merchandise. When the same ships mentioned above unload their cargoes in Tetouan the tradesmen can load them with goods from our country and send them to Barcelona, where they will take on silk and other items. We give our royal word that these businessmen can be secure in their interests.

Spain responded that the Moroccans "may proceed freely to Barcelona in order to trade, and there pay the duties that have been fixed and established." Merchants from Fez were equally interested in trading in Cádiz:

> The merchants of Fez, who normally trade in the East, carry silver coin for their business and exchange it for gold, because in those parts they lose by paying in silver. Therefore they have asked us to allow them to send two representatives a year to Cádiz to exchange silver for gold, and to buy cochineal at the current price. For that product is desirable and

sus navíos pagando los gastos que hicieren y efectos que compraren": Cantillo, *Tratados*, 565–68.

45 Cantillo, *Tratados*, 565–68.

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> sells very well in Fez, and one who sells it can receive Spanish money if he wishes, otherwise he can be given hides or wax in exchange.

Once more the Spaniards gave a favorable reply:

> These merchants may come to Cádiz to buy cochineal and other Spanish products at current prices. As for exchanging silver for gold, so long as the latter metal is plentiful (because it is very scarce just now), it will be allowed if they pay for its extraction, and [pay] on other goods the same duty that the most favored nation pays in Spain; and we will accept Spanish coin and other products that they bring.[46]

These two articles provide abundant proof that merchants from Tetouan and Fez sought to participate actively in commercial activity with Spain. Prior experience of many Moroccan tradesmen in that country must have helped them envision the possibilities for profit offered by Spanish ports and cities.

Cádiz, because of its proximity and its importance in the network of Spanish ports, was especially attractive to Moroccans. Most of these, so far as we know, were representatives of the Moroccan government sent to conduct different kinds of business.

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46 "Los comerciantes de Tetuán, nuestros vasallos, que antes acostumbraban comerciar en la plaza de Gibraltar con pieles y otros efectos, observaron que las embarcaciones inglesas llevaban de Gibraltar estas pieles y efectos a Barcelona y que con ellos hacían muchas ganancias; y como ha cesado dicho comercio de Gibraltar nos pidieron de comerciar en Barcelona, y buscar compañeros con los cuales hagan compañías en dicho comercio para tener una misma correspondencia en estas mercaderías, y los mismos navios arriba dichos en descargando en Tetuan las provisiones, las cargaran los mercaderes de efectos del país, y las remitirán a Barcelona, de donde cargaran seda y otros efectos. Estos negociantes de vuestra Majestad podrán estar seguros en sus intereses bajo nuestra real palabra. … [L]os comerciantes de Fez, que por lo regular comercian en Oriente, llevan consigo moneda de plata para su comercio, cambiándola por oro, porque en aquellas partes pierden con la plata. Con este motivo nos han suplicado les permitamos que envíen dos comerciantes al año á Cadiz para cambiar la plata por oro, y que puedan comprar la grana cochinilla según el precio corriente; porque éste género se desea y tiene en Fez mucha salida, de suerte que el que vende dicha grana si quiere recibir por ella la moneda española se le dará, y si quiere en cambio pieles ó cera también se le dará. … [P]uedan estos comerciantes venir á Cadiz para comprar la grana y demás géneros españoles al precio corriente. Y en cuanto al cambio de la plata por oro, siempre que abunde este metal, porque ahora es muy escaso, se permitirá pagando por su estraccion y por la de los demás géneros los derechos que paga en España la nación mas favorecida; y se admitirán la moneda española y efectos que trajesen": Cantillo, *Tratados*, 565–68.

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In late 1781 the sultan decided to send a merchant from Tetouan to Cádiz to buy cochineal worth thirty thousand pesos fuertes, though in his first journey the man brought only fifteen thousand. The Spanish consul in Tangier was glad not to have any responsibility for the mission, because

> [errands] of this nature can be very harmful when their happy outcome depends on the will of two or three Moors who vie with each other for the sovereign's favor. If they are not well bribed they give an ill report of the quality [of the merchandise] so that it will not be accepted.[47]

The sultan assigned a Moroccan resident in Cádiz to receive a transfer of fourteen thousand duros or pesos fuertes, sent in April 1783 for making various purchases: "[the sum] should be given to the Moor who I am informed is the one to receive it."[48] In June of that year the Spanish consul in Tangier was instructed to allow "prompt passage to Cádiz for a Moor who is sent to buy ships' timbers. … A Moor will cross from this [port] to Cádiz to charter a ship for Larache, where he will load wood for making gun carriages; he will proceed to Gibraltar, where one hundred of them will be built."[49]

In April 1784 some "Moors" were sent to Cádiz to make purchases and oversee "the manufacture of tent awnings, glass windows, and a litter for this sovereign."[50] In 1786 the sultan's representative for foreign affairs, a Genoese named Francesco Chiape, told Floridablanca that by the sultan's orders the first ship to sail from Tangier to Cádiz must carry "four Moors and some money that the sovereign is sending to Smyrna; he has entrusted this mission to the French consul in Rabat, who has transferred it to his counterpart in Cádiz. He will ensure that those Moors and the money will reach Smyrna as soon as possible."[51]

In 1793 a captain from Rabat came to Cádiz in command of a tartane loaded with wheat; he bought some foodstuffs and requested a passport so that he

47 "…[L]as de esta naturaleza suelen ser muy perjudiciales quando su felicidad esta pendiente de la voluntad de dos o tres Moros que el Soberano diputa para que la reconozcan, quienes en no dándoles una buena gratificación informan siniestramente de su calidad para que no se reciba." The consul added that the former Dutch consul, among others, had been manipulated in this way: J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Tangier, 19 and 24 November 1781, AHN, Estado, leg. 4314.

48 J.M. González Salmón, Spanish consul in Tangier, to Count Floridablanca, Secretary of State: 4 April 1783, AHN, Estado, leg. 4317.

49 Two letters from J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Tangier, 4 June 1783, AHN, Estado, leg. 4317.

50 J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, 14 April 1784, AHN, Estado, leg. 4317.

51 J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Darbeyda, 27 January 1786.

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could not be detained by Spanish warships. The Spanish consul, who was in Cádiz at the time, gave it to him "to the captain's great satisfaction."[52]

Spain clearly tried to make sure that Moroccans were well treated on Spanish soil. In 1793 the consul wrote to the sultan's brother, Muley Absalem, assuring him that they would always be well received in Cádiz: "We will always show the same consideration and friendship that Moors now living in Cádiz, who have come from Tetouan on business, already receive."[53]

Spain, however, always tried to privilege the participation of its own fleet and merchants in direct trade between the two countries. When in 1782 several merchants from Tangier wished to accompany a shipment of oxen to Tarifa, the Secretariat of State instructed the Spanish consul in Tangier to facilitate cattle imports "and prevent, politely, the Moors from crossing to Tarifa."[54] But Moroccan merchants continued to press: in June 1784 the consul reported that "several Moors" from Tangier wished

> to ship livestock to Spain themselves, unloading it in Tarifa. And they have come back many times to ask for my permission, and lately Governor Ben Abdelmelek has done so; for himself he wishes to send two hundred oxen that he has here. For this I wrote to the governor, Don Nicolás de Macía Dávalos, [asking] if livestock belonging to Moors could be unloaded at that anchorage; and he answers that the same royal decree from the time of the Gibraltar blockade is still in force, [stating] that Moors can legally conduct trade only in Cádiz or Málaga. I have not told Ben Abdelmelek of this while I await Your Excellency's instructions on how to give a definitive answer to him and the other Moors who wish to pursue this line of business.[55]

52 J.M. González Salmón to Duke of La Alcudia, Cádiz, 11 October 1793, AHN, Estado, leg. 4331.

53 J.M. González Salmón to Muley Absalem, Cádiz, 28 June 1793, AHN, Estado, leg. 4330.

54 Count Floridablanca to J.M. González Salmón, San Ildefonso, 12 July 1782, AHN, Estado, leg. 4316.

55 "…llevar Ganado por su quenta a España desembarcándolo en Tarifa, y repetidas vezes me han vuelto ha hablar para que les de mi permiso, y últimamente lo ha hecho el Governador Ben Abdelmelek que quiere mandar por su cuenta doscientos Bueyes que tiene aquí, por lo que escribí al Governador Dn. Nicolas de Macia Davalos, si se podría desembarcar por aquel surgidero el Ganado que vaya por cuenta de Moros, y me ha respondido que aun subsiste la misma Real Orden que en tiempo del Bloqueo de Gibraltar para que los Moros hagan su trafico solamente a Cadiz o Malaga en derechura, lo que no he dicho a Ben Abdelmelek aguardando las instrucciones que V.E. tenga por conveniente para satisfacerlo de una vez como igualmente a los demás Moros que quieren seguir este negocio": J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Tangier, 11 June 1784, AHN, Estado, leg. 4317.

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The growing number of Moroccan tradesmen crossing to Spain must have given rise to some difficulties: just a few days after their request to convey livestock directly to Tarifa, the Spanish consul's superiors ordered him to make it harder for Moroccans to reach the Peninsula. He was prepared to comply:

> I will try to prevent the Moors who are asking to send their goods to Tarifa but, as Your Excellency instructs me, without denying them formally [the right] to frequent ports other than Málaga and Cádiz in Andalusia. In case the governor of this port should insist on sending the two hundred oxen he has spoken of (and of which I told Your Excellency in my letter of the 11th of this month), I will use all my skill to try to dissuade him and have him sell them here. But if I am unsuccessful I will suggest that they send them by some Spaniard who will care for them until he delivers them to the Moor who will receive them in Cádiz; then there will be no precedent for the others who wish to [engage in] the same trade, nor will it become known.[56]

Aside from Spain's attempts to limit or block the flow of Moroccan traders, an even more important factor would complicate the presence of North African merchants in Spain: the death of King Charles III in 1789, followed only a year later by that of Sultan Muley Muhammad ben Abdallah. The latter's death gave rise to open warfare among several of his sons who were rivals for his throne. Although Muley al-Yazid had himself proclaimed emperor and managed to conquer much of the country, his brothers continued to oppose him on the field of battle. Misunderstandings between the governments of Charles IV and Muley al-Yazid culminated in the Hispano-Moroccan war of 1791–1792. Still, commercial relations with Spain in the ports controlled by the sultan's quarreling brothers remained very fluid, and the sultan himself, like his father

56 "Procuraré impedir a los Moros que solicitan embiar efectos por Tarifa, sin darles negativa formal, como V.E. me ordena, frequenten otros Puertos que el de Malaga y Cadiz en Andalucia; y en el caso que el Govenador de esta Plaza insista en querer mandar los doscientos bueyes que me ha hablado y a V.E. noticie en una de mis Cartas 11 del Corriente, haré con maña todo lo posible para disuadirlo, y que los benda aquí; pero si no lo consigo le propondré los embien en Caveza de algun Español, que cuida de ellos hasta entregarlos en Cadiz al Moro que destine; por tal de no hacer exemplar con los demás que dessean igual trafico, ni que el se pueda resentir": J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, 11 and 23 June 1764. AHN,Estado, leg. 4317. The sources do not reveal whether the Moroccans were ever able to accompany their cattle to Tarifa.

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in 1774–1775, saw no reason for the new war to interrupt trade between the two countries.[57]

Shortly afterward a new factor favored participation by both Spanish and North African ships in direct trade with the southern shore of the Mediterranean: the French Revolution of 1789, which inspired the Moroccan sultan and the Spanish monarch to close ranks against a Republican France that had beheaded its king and claimed to be guided by reason, not religion. The subsequent war between Spain and France in 1793–1795 removed all French vessels from Spanish-Moroccan trade. As a result Moroccan, Algerian, and Tunisian merchant ships began to enter timidly into that trade, helped by the narrowness of the Strait of Gibraltar, which they could traverse as neutral parties.[58]

8.3 The Spanish Administration and Incidents That Arose from the Presence of Muslim Merchants

As more Moroccan merchants traveled to Spain they generated several kinds of problems: pretensions to a false rank (usually by claiming to be envoys of the sultan), attempts to avoid the health regulations,[59] participation in smuggling (often while acting as straw men for European traders),[60] avoidance of import and export duties, and false claims against Spanish businessmen. Most significant of all were their attempts to supply food to the port of Gibraltar while it was being blockaded by the Spanish army and navy during the late-eighteenth-century wars between Spain and Great Britain. There were Moroccans who committed robbery, failed to pay their debts, or became embroiled in a variety of schemes; I will comment briefly on each group and name the merchants involved in them. In section 8.5 of this chapter I study these men

57 The Spanish consul reported that Sultan al-Yazid had ordered ports from Tetouan to Agadir to admit any Spanish ships that arrived for trading purposes: J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, 17 May 1791, AHN, Estado, leg. 4330.

58 Although it concerns later years see Martín Corrales, "La flotte marocaine."

59 Moroccan vessels were subject to Spanish health legislation, which had been well organized ever since an outbreak of plague in Marseille in 1720. Its first objective was to prevent the spread of plague and other diseases, and with a few exceptions functioned well, at least until the spread of yellow-fever epidemics in the second half of the eighteenth century. Health policy was also a powerful weapon against vessels flying certain enemy flags and/or competitors of the Spanish merchant fleet. It was wielded particularly against British ships: Martín Corrales, *Cataluña y el comercio*, esp. Chap. 3.

60 There is abundant evidence that the presence of Moroccan tradesmen in Cádiz and other Spanish cities gave rise to illegal practices, and that Muslim merchants were involved in numerous episodes of smuggling. But in fact almost all merchants, of every nationality and religion, took part in such activities.

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of business in detail and describe the more than thirty incidents with which they were connected.

First, we find the Moroccans who presented themselves falsely to the authorities as holders of a given office. They demanded to be received in a manner appropriate to their supposed status, and claimed to be entrusted with missions that in fact did not exist. These deceptions have been detected in the cases of some ambassadors and envoys (Vasif Effendi, Assan Aga Giritri, and Sidi Mahamet Sarjony) and ship's captains (Ibrahim Lubaris and Mate Flores). There were also merchants who resorted to these tactics, with variable results. We have seen in this chapter the case of Abraham Benisso, and must add those of the traders Mahamet Sarrax (who tried to have Spanish authorities house and feed him) and Jamet Bigga (who exaggerated his "rank"). Along with these were men who claimed in the proper form, though without justification, reductions in tariffs or the right to transfer European goods bound for Morocco from ship to ship inside the Bay of Cádiz: they include Absalem Bargas, Hamete Bargas, Jamet Bigga, and Sidi Mohamed Ben Muchafi.

As a general rule, Moroccan merchants adapted more readily to the prevailing sanitary regulations in Spanish ports than ambassadors and ship captains did. Still, some claimed that the quarantine had made them lose their goods and property: among them were Hamet Federico, Jamet el Bacal, and Hach Hamed Erzini.

Cases of smuggling or contraband involved Absalem Bargas, Jamet Bigga, Absalem Karassi, Hamant Sidon, and Abdifadil Yallul. In connection with contraband we include attempts to bring goods or money into Spain without declaring them, claiming ignorance of Spanish law: guilty parties included Absalem Bargas and Jamet Shebany. Hamet Almanzor, Hamant Sidon, and Benamar all tried to take money out of the Peninsula without paying the required duties.

Jami Maduni and Absalem Bargas were among the Moroccan tradesmen who brought foodstuffs into the English stronghold of Gibraltar while it was blockaded by the Spanish army and navy. For many Moroccans the Anglo-Spanish war of 1779–1783 presented a fine opportunity to profit from both sides, and there are many documented instances of smuggling.[61] In 1780 it was

61 In November 1779 two Moroccans were arrested aboard an English vessel taking provisions to Gibraltar. They were handed over to the governor of Tangier, who detained them and notified the sultan, who nonetheless ordered them released as having suffered enough: J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Tangier, 26 May 1780, AHN, Estado, leg. 4314. In August 1780 the Moroccan brigantine *El Veloz* was seized in Algeciras and its captain and crew sent to the sultan for punishment: Count Floridablanca to J.M. González Salmón, El Pardo, 25 August 1780, AHN, Estado, leg. 4316.

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reported that Moroccans were buying raisins and other products in Málaga and shipping them to Gibraltar.[62] Although the sultan threatened those who indulged in this traffic, many were unable to resist the chance. In May 1780 the Spanish consul in Tangier reported on "the exorbitant profit accrued to these Moors by the foodstuffs (which they all have sent at their own expense): it has encouraged them to pursue this traffic ardently, for they have been offered as much as six hundred pesos fuertes for shipping forty oxen."[63]

The final group of Moroccans consists of those who stole (usually from their compatriots), failed to pay their debts (to Spanish merchants), were sent to prison, or committed other types of offenses. These included Caddur Ben Abú, Absalem Bargas, Hamete Bargas, Sarifey, Mohamed Barrada, Ahmed Karassi, Jamete Vinjut, Alraez Ben Alfaraed, Sidi Mahamet Mekani, and Zuizin.

8.4 Both Monarchies Seek to End the Abuses

The Secretariat of State, the consul, and local Spanish authorities were especially disturbed by actions of some ambassadors, envoys, captains, and merchants; they found their behavior incomprehensible and began to express their severe criticisms. Especially troublesome were the "envoys" who claimed false authority or rank, the presenters of impossible claims, and the liars. Soon their unease was extended to Moroccans in general. In 1784, during the negotiations for sending cattle to Tarifa that we described above, the Secretariat warned the Spanish consul not to trust North Africans:

> We have had so many instances of bad behavior by Moors in our ports that we should not allow them to enter any one that they wish. For the

62 "Moors … are in Málaga buying that fruit, in case the English ship it": J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Tangier, 19 February 1780. The parish priest of the Spanish hospice in Tangier claimed that a vessel with a Spanish captain had been chartered to take a load of raisins, by "a Moor called Sidy Mahamet Mamón, to ship to this port three hundred fifty-five packets of that product," assuming they had been sold to the English: Fray Pedro Bejarano de San Antonio, Tangier, 19 February 1780, AHN, Estado, leg. 3414. In May of that year Moroccans sold to a Gibraltarian ship a cargo of six hundred arrobas of oil bought earlier by Moroccans in Cádiz: J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Tangier, 12 May 1780, AHN, Estado, leg. 4314.

63 The port administrator of Larache, Tangier and Tetouan warned Moroccan smugglers that if the Spanish should seize them out of Moroccan or English ships and declare them slaves, the sultan would not object: J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Tangier, 4 March 1780, AHN, Estado, leg. 4314.

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> same reason I advise you, in reply to your letter of 27 March, that while not formally denying the Moors who wish to send goods to Tarifa you try to keep them from visiting any other ports except Málaga and Cádiz in Andalusia.[64]

Local authorities shared these feelings. José Veciana, military governor of the Granadan coast, expressed them after receiving instructions from the Secretary of State:

> Let Moroccan Moors be treated with all the fairness, ready assistance, and proper administration of justice that they are due in the name of the good harmony that prevails between our court and that of Morocco. Most of them, however, do not deserve it because of their bad behavior, trickery, and lies, like those Your Excellency has experienced from the two Moors Jamet Vargas and Sarifey, who have had the atrocious audacity to irritate you and try to deceive you.

He added that any who arrived on his coasts would be issued the necessary passport, but would be prevented from traveling to Madrid:

> I will ensure that none shall be given a passport or license to proceed to the Court unless there is an order from above, as Your Excellency tells me. But since they are able to leave without those documents and move without them from one town to another in the Peninsula – something I believe is not forbidden to them – we can only inform them when they reach our ports that they must not go to Madrid without obtaining permission from a superior, on pain of being treated and punished as vagrants.[65]

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64 "Son tantas las experiencias que tenemos de la mala conducta de los moros en nuestros puertos que no conviene facilitarles pasen á todos los que quisieran. Por lo mismo prevengo á Vm. en respuesta a una de sus carta[s] de 27 de marzo que sin dar una formal negativa á esos moros que solicitan enviar efectos a Tarifa, procure impedir que frecuenten otros puertos mas que el de Malaga y Cadiz en Andalucía": Count Floridablanca to J.M. González Salmón, 18 May 1784, AHN, Estado, leg. 4316; also the draft, Aranjuez to J.M. González Salmón, 18 May 1784, AHN, Estado, leg. 4317.

65 "[S]ean tratados con toda equidad, buena asistencia, y recta administración de Justicia los Moros Marroquíes, que aportaren a ellos, mediante la buena armonía, que reyna entre nuestra Corte, y la de Marruecos, sin embargo de que los mas de ellos lo desmerezcan por su mala conducta, artificios, y mentiras semejantes á las que ha tocado V.E. en los dos Moros Jamet Vargas, y Sarifey con la atroz audacia de molestar, y querer engañar a V.E. … Cuidaré de que a ninguno se le libre Pasaporte, ó Licencia para pasar a la Corte sin que preceda orden superior, según V.E. me lo previene; pero como ellos podrán marchar sin

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Problems must have begun soon, because in early 1787 the Secretariat of State told the consul that more and more Moroccans were arriving at court with their demands: "It happens that Moroccan Moors have decided with some frequency to come to Madrid, and they are causing annoyances both at court and at the summer residences." It was ordered that the ports specializing in trade with Morocco (Cádiz, Málaga, Alicante, and Barcelona) prevent those men from traveling further: "Let none of them come to Madrid without a prior permit or passport issued by this Secretariat of State; also, let the Governor of Cádiz understand that most of the Moors who travel to that city, having no funds of their own or reputation for commerce, are the conduit that some businessmen from there use for their contraband activities."

The Spanish consul was urged to make prudent use of any information he received, so that he could be seen to treat Moroccans properly, "not intending to cause these people any unpleasantness with [their] sovereign, but so it may never be thought that we fail to treat the vassals of that monarch with all possible attentions."[66]

In the same year Consul Juan Manuel González Salmón, who knew Morocco better than most men of his time, granted that Moroccans gave trouble at court but advised that it was better not to tell the sultan about it:

> … without reporting the least complaint about such people to His Moroccan Majesty, though I know that that monarch's intent is very different from the conduct that his vassals generally display in Spain: he absolutely wishes them to cause no scandal, especially to do with women or wine, and to commit no fraud, for he detests the very word *contraband* and when he hears it grows irritated and then enraged. Since [his subjects] know this, there is no better way to control them and make them hear reason than to warn them that they will be sent here [to Morocco] as prisoners with a report on their conduct, so that the king of Morocco may punish them as he sees fit. I know that by the order issued to the ports of Cádiz, Málaga, Alicante, and Barcelona they will be prevented from going to Madrid; but those who are there now can be asked or even forced to leave if they have no legitimate business. There is no fear that

tales documentos, asi como transitar sin ellos de unos Pueblos a otros de la Peninsula, lo qual me parece no estarles prohibido: Solo queda el arbitrio de hacerles saber quando arriben a nuestros Puertos, que no deven presentarse en la Corte, sin obtener superior permiso so pena de ser tratados, y castigados como vagantes": José Veciana to Count Floridablanca, Málaga, 8 June 1784, AHN, Estado, leg. 4317.

66 El Pardo to J.M. González Salmón, 16 January 1787, AHN, Estado, leg. 4319.

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> His Moroccan Majesty will cease to believe in and feel the attentions and favors that we offer his vassals. And I will do everything I can to ensure that from now on the Moors who come to our ports are men of good faith and guaranteed conduct.[67]

He agreed with the Secretariat of State about the Moroccans' behavior:

> The Moors, honored Sir, are generally arrogant and unruly when they are outside the control of their own sovereign if they realize that their impertinence is tolerated; and on the contrary, if they are made to feel fear one can do what one wants with them. They have a tendency to contraband because they are ruled by greed, but if [a Moor] is apprehended you would do well to send him here using the same deception in which he himself was caught. I dare say that making just one example of someone will serve as a warning to all the rest, since then no Moor will decide to engage in illicit trade on his own or others' behalf. But if you treat them with just a little special indulgence they become insufferable.[68]

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67 "…sin dar contra essa Gente la menor quexa a S. M. Marroqui, pero constándome que la intencion de este Monarca, es mui distinta de la conducta que generalmente guardan sus Vassallos en España, pues absolutamente quiere que dén el menor escandalo, particularmente si es con Mugeres ó por el Vino, ni tampoco que hagan fraudes porque hasta abomina la voz de *Contrabando*, y quando la oye, se irrita, y transforma en cólera. Conociendo ellos esto mismo, no hay mejor medio para sugetarlos, y hacerlos entrar á la razón, que amonestarles de que se mandarán aquí presos con noticia de su conducta, para que el Rey de Marruecos los castigue á su voluntad; bien que ya se de la providencia que se a tomado con la orden dada a los Puertos de Cádiz, Málaga, Alicante y Barcelona, se cortará el passo de ellos para essa Corte, pero a los que en el dia están, se les puede requerir, y aun obligarlos a salir de ella, al que no tenga ocupación legitima, sin el menor recelo de que caiga en la creencia y sentir de S. M. Marroqui las atenciones y condescendencias que usamos con sus Vassallos, y procuraré quanto me sea posible para que en lo sucesivo los Moros que passen a Nuestros Puertos sean hombres de crédito, y conducta abonada" (underline in the original): J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Tangier, 12 March 1787. AHN, Estado, leg. 4319.

68 "Los Moros, Señor Exmo, son generalmente altivos, y revoltosos quando se hallan fuera de la dominación de su mismo Soberano si llegan a comprehender que se les disimula sus impertinencias, y por lo contrario si conciven algun temor se hace de ellos lo que se quiere. Son propensos al Contrabando por que los domina el interez, pero si quando se coge alguno tiene V.E. a bien mandar que se envie aquí con el mismo fraude que se le haya encontrado, me atrebo a asegurar que con solo un exemplar de estos sirve de escarmiento para todos los demás, y que ningun Moro se determina á hacer Comercio ilisito, suyo propio ny ageno, pero en tratándolos con alguna indulgencia particular son insoportables": J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Tangier, 12 March 1787, AHN, Estado, leg. 4319.

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The sultan was equally unhappy with his subjects' conduct on Spanish soil. We recall that in the Treaty of Peace of 1767 and the Agreement of 1780, almost no attention was paid to the rights and obligations of Moroccan merchants in Spain, and the sultan hoped to suppress their illegal activity; he was afraid of its possible negative impact on his foreign policy. On several different occasions he commanded that his people not embark for a Spanish port without a passport from Spain's consul in Tangier.

In January 1788 the sultan alerted the consul: he had heard from "certain trustworthy persons that Moors who go to Christian lands to trade, and who embark in Tetouan, entertain themselves and do things that true believers should not do; and when we heard this we were seriously displeased." He therefore told the consul not to allow any Moroccan to take ship "unless you know that the Moor who seeks to embark is a man of good sense, good conduct, and religion." Besides, he should issue a letter of reference for the governors of the proposed ports of call, and a passport or safe-conduct stating "the length of time that [the bearer] plans to stay in the Christian land." The Moroccan traveler "shall not remain any longer than what the paper says, and if he does so no one shall be blamed except himself." The sovereign asked the consul to report to him monthly on the men who embarked and the merchandise they carried; further, if the merchants took servants those too should be "men of conduct and religion."[69]

The consul reported to the Secretary of State that in fact the sultan had received his information from "a Moor said to be Tunisian." That man had told the monarch that Moroccan traders who embarked in Tetouan for Europe "show bad behavior, being drunk and disorderly." Hence the sultan's orders, especially those ensuring that merchants had a permit issued by a European consul in Tangier. González Salmón suggested that his superior read the sultan's letter "to those Moroccan Moors who are now in Madrid or in this residence [Aranjuez], so that, if they do not withdraw as the sultan commands, they cannot claim afterward that the order was not explained to them or that they did not understand it."[70] Still, it does not appear that the prohibition was effective: later, Spanish authorities had to be asked again not to admit any Moroccan who lacked a passport from the Spanish consul.[71]

69 Letter from the sultan to J.M. González Salmón, 25 January 1788, AHN, Estado, leg. 4321.

70 The consul also reported having sent a copy of the letter to the governor of Cádiz, to be read to the "Moroccan Moors who are in that port": J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Tangier, 11 February 1788, AHN, Estado, leg. 4321.

71 Count Floridablanca to J.M. González Salmón, Aranjuez, 10 June 1788, AHN, Estado, leg. 4316.

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In June 1788 the sultan ordered "all Moors his vassals who are in Spain to leave it," granting them until year's end so that they could "finish off their business before their departure." The Spanish and Moroccan courts were sometimes surprisingly synchronous in their decisions: in July the Spanish consul learned from his superior that the king had heard about the sultan's command. A circular notice stated: "they [the Moors] should be told that it is His Majesty's wish that what that monarch [the sultan] has decided should be done." Again, they were allowed to remain in order to settle their affairs until the end of the year.[72]

The Spanish consul told the sultan the news, hoping that "he would be pleased to hear of it." He himself was glad that the Moroccans would be leaving: "it will be useful for us as well, for Spain will be rid of many Moors who usually take part in smuggling and other evil acts."[73]

We do not know if every Moroccan returned home, and in fact the passport requirement was often ignored by both Moroccan and Spanish officials. In 1788 Mahamet Sarjony appeared in Tunis, Palma de Mallorca, and Ceuta claiming to be an ambassador from Morocco, and without either a passport from the consul or a letter from the sultan he managed to be received as a diplomat in Palma and Ceuta. The Secretariat of State reminded the Spanish consul, the admirals of the various regions, and the governors of the North African presidios that a decree of 1775 had required "that when Moroccan Moors appear without a letter from His Majesty's consul in Tangier explaining their mission, character, and proper form of address, they should receive only the treatment necessary to maintain our good harmony with the King of Morocco."[74]

We observe a certain ambiguity in the requirement of a passport for merchants, travelers, and others. In any event, in spite of the difficulties that Moroccan merchants encountered, they did manage to form a permanent colony on Spanish soil.

72 The bulletin also repeated the order that "no Moroccan vassal shall be admitted to Spain unless he bears a passport or letter from you recommending him": Aranjuez, undated draft [June 1788] with no addressee, AHN, Estado, leg. 4321.

73 J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Tangier, 23 June 1788, AHN, Estado, leg. 4321.

74 Count Floridablanca to J.M. González Salmón, Aranjuez, 10 June 1788, AHN, Estado, leg. 4316.

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8.5 Members of the Moroccan Merchant Colony

In this section we will tell the stories of some of the Moroccan merchants who were active in Spain. They were numerous enough to allow us to speak of a permanent Moroccan colony, whose members spent shorter or longer periods in the country. Almost all of these were involved in some kind of problem with the authorities, in illustration of what we noted in the previous paragraphs.

Most of these traders and pursers, however, caused no significant conflicts and therefore leave no traces in documentary sources; therefore our information about this colony can be only partial.[75]

8.5.1 *Jachi Mostafá* (*1779*)

In October 1779 the military governor of Madrid, Cristóbal de Zayas, wrote to the Secretary of State (who was in San Lorenzo de El Escorial) about the arrival of "a Moroccan Moor named Jachi Mostafá, a free man and a trader by profession." He bore a passport issued by the governor of Cartagena that noted his arrival there in one of a fleet of Sicilian war frigates. He intended to go to Marseille "on personal business," claiming that "he has an urgent need to wait on Your Excellency, for which he asked asked me for permission to visit that residence [El Escorial]."[76] Permission was granted "provided that he plans and pays for the journey himself, because since he is traveling of his own will and is not sent by the king of Morocco there is no reason [for us] to bear the cost."[77]

8.5.2 *Ahmet Bodinach* (*1780*)

In about 1780 we find Ahmet Bodinach trading in hides in Málaga and Barcelona. In March of that year he was forbidden to sell in Barcelona a load of hides and other items that he had sent from Málaga, "from which he had taken them after not having found there the profits he expected from their sale." He petitioned the Count of Floridablanca and had the prohibition lifted.[78]

8.5.3 *Aly Castillo* (*1780–1787*)

Aly Castillo introduced himself as "a Muslim by birth, a citizen of Tetouan and a resident in this court [Madrid]." He had reached Spain as an interpreter to Ibn Utman during his first embassy in 1780: "He had the honor of acting as

75 I have not cited, however, documents related to dozens of Moroccan traders, captains, and pursers who conducted business in Spain but caused no detectable problems.

76 Cristóbal de Zayas to Count Floridablanca, Madrid, 21 October 1779, AHN, Estado, leg. 5802.

77 San Lorenzo de El Escorial to Cristóbal de Zayas, 23 October 1779, AHN, Estado, leg. 5802.

78 IMHB, FS, Serie V, leg. 11, fols. 119–20, 20 June 1780.

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Interpreter in the recent embassy that the king of Morocco sent to Your Majesty with Si[di] Mohajamet Benozman [Ibn Utman] in order to become acquainted with this country. Therefore the petitioner decided to come to this court to establish his business." That was what he did, "opening a shop and forming a company with Absalam Vargas [or Bargas] of his own nation."[79] In 1786 the *Diario de Madrid* reported that "in the past few months three shops belonging to Moroccan Moors have been opened in this city," one of them in "Puebla Vieja Street, whose merchant is named Alí, a native of Tetouan, and he sells the following: slippers for men and women, kerchiefs, skirts, and several other items made of cotton, as well as carpets and dates."[80]

As Aly Castillo was to explain in July 1787, problems soon arose with his partner Vargas:

> [Castillo]'s company lasted from the the king's soujourn in La Granja [in the summer] to his stay in Aranjuez [in the spring]. At the beginning of the latter Vargas asked for an accounting and claimed that he had lost two hundred duros through fault of the petitioner, who stripped him of everything and abandoned him without returning even what remained of his investment, which was twenty-five duros.

Aly claimed to be the victim of Absalem Vargas's "bad faith," and sought aid from

> the governor of the Council and that of the royal summer residence of Aranjuez, in whom he found all possible justice and protection. But since Vargas denied the facts, and proof of these was needed in Madrid, and since the petitioner saw in the courts the delays, annoyances, and heavy fees that any suit causes, which he could not assume by any means because he had no money, he has been obliged to defray [satisfaction] for his own country, where he will find justice without costs or delays.[81]

79 Petiton by Aly Castillo, Madrid, 7 and 16 July 1787, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803, Exp. 8 (34).

80 *Diario de Madrid*, 18 September 1786; cited in Sarasúa, *Criados*, 138.

81 "…cuia compañía ha durado desde la Jornada de la Granja hasta la de Aranjuez al principio de la qual figurando Vargas un ajuste de cuentas, y que de el resultaban perdidos doscientos duros por culpa del suplicante, le desposeio de todo dejándole abandonado sin darle ni aun el resto de su parte de caudal, que eran veinte y cinco duros…Governador del Consejo y el del Real Sitio de Aranjuez en quienes halló toda la Justicia, y Proteccion imaginable. Pero como Vargas negó los hechos, y estos se debían justificar en Madrid, y judicialmente viendo el suplicante las dilaciones molestias y crecidos gastos que ocasiona qualquier Pleito, y que el no podía hacer absolutamente por no tener dinero se ha visto

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Though discouraged and wanting to go home, "he also lack[ed] the means to return" and asked the Secretary of State for help, "some alms to help him go back to Tetouan." A note on his case suggests that he was believed: "There are bad reports about Abasalen Vargas even in Tangier according to a letter from [González] Salmón of 12 March of this year, after he also importuned us here with his demands." Aly's departure presented no difficulty: "Let him be gone," the note adds.[82]

8.5.4 *Hach Jami Maduni* (*1780*)

In September 1780 the Secretariat of State expressed satisfaction at the punishment imposed on Hach Jami Maduni "for having twice introduced foodstuffs into Gibraltar, breaking the Spanish blockade." It hoped that his case would set an example to others who might consider doing the same. At the same time, the Spanish consul in Tangier was ordered to "help ensure that the king of Morocco does not take Hache Jami Maduni's life or treat him harshly … the king does not require such an extreme measure to be assured of His Moroccan Majesty's good intentions in this regard."[83]

8.5.5 *Mahamet Sarrax* (*1781*)

The sultan sent this merchant from Tetouan to Cádiz to buy cochineal worth thirty thousand pesos fuertes. He enjoyed Spanish protection from the consul in Tangier and the governor of Cádiz, but before leaving Tetouan he clashed with the former: he claimed that by the sultan's order he should be lodged in the consul's house until he sailed for Cádiz. The consul's complaint is eloquent:

> He appeared at this house (with the pride and arrogance that these natives display when they come on an errand from their sovereign) with the said sum of money, telling me that His Moroccan Majesty had ordered him to come here and be my guest until he embarked. Knowing that it was all an invention – for I had heard from the governor of this port that his Majesty had only requested a ship for him to carry the money in – I answered that I had received no such order.

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precisado a dejarlo para su tierra, donde conseguirá justicia sin gastos, ni dilación": petition by Aly Castillo, Madrid, 7 and 16 July 1787, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803, Exp. 8 (34).

82 Note on his file with an instruction to inform Anduaga, 16 July 1787, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803, Exp. 8 (34).

83 The man is also called Tami Maduny and Tami Dun; the sultan had his sons put in chains. See two draft letters sent from San Ildefonso to T. Bremond, 19 September 1780; also T. Bremond to Count Floridablanca, 21 September 1780, AHN, Estado, leg. 4313.

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He refused to lodge Sarrax without an express written instruction from the sultan: "My reply annoyed him greatly, and he retorted that even though he had no explicit order from the king his master he did not expect to be received in such a manner."

González Salmón offered to receive him "as a private friend"; though that was "very strange, since I am in *his* country, I was happy to do it." The governor of Tangier, on being applied to, confirmed that Sarrax had no such order and "upbraided him severely." The consul knew that he would behave the same way in Cádiz: "The Moor obviously thought that just because he was charged with going to Cádiz on his sovereign's private business I should house him until he embarked. And I assure Your Excellency that he believes his stay in that city will come at the expense of the Royal Treasury." Further, Sarrax would not show gratitude for favors: "Any consideration offered him is fruitless, because this individual and many others of his type are incapable of ever acknowledging a benefit; and much less does he enjoy any credit with the monarch."[84]

The consul warned Governor O'Reilly of Cádiz that Sarrax would surely petition there for "what is needed for the daily support of himself and his family." He advised treating him "on the same terms as any other Moroccan subject, with only the preference needed for providing him with what is necessary for the speediest possible dispatch of his commission."[85]

8.5.6 *Caddur Ben Abú* (*Caddur de Bargas*) (*1781*)

In 1781 two Spanish merchants, José García from Málaga and Luis Gabarrón from Estepona, sent a petition to the king. They complained that Caddur de Bargas (actually Caddur Ben Abú) from Tangier had arrived in Málaga early that year and had dealt with them in cash, figs, raisins, and saffron. According to documents witnessed in Málaga, the Moroccan "would be up-to-date and make no delay in paying for everything," making Caddur's father Abdu Ben-Adrajama, "who was a rich man and respected in Tangier, site of his residence," the responsible party. García had given him a total of 12,227 reales de vellón and Gabarrón 326 pesos fuertes, both amounts in a combination of cash

84 "Se me presentó (con la sobervia y altivez que acostumbran estos Naturales quando trahen alguna comisión de su Soberano) con dicho dinero en esta Casa, diciéndome tenia órdenes de S. M. M. para venirse á ella y estar a mi disposición hasta su embarque. Conociendo yo todo era supuesto, pues solo se me havia prevenido por el Gobernador de esta Plaza, y de orden de S. M. M. le facilitase embarcación en que fuese con el dinero, le contesté que a mi no se me havia leído tal orden": J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Tangier, 3 December 1781, AHN, Estado, leg. 4312.

85 J.M. González Salmón to O'Reilly, Tangier, 3 December 1781, AHN, Estado, leg. 4314.

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and product; García's felucca had taken a cargo of raisins, figs, and saffron to Tetouan in June but were not paid by either Caddur or his father, who refused to receive them. The latter declared before the Spanish consul that he knew nothing about his son's contracts, and that "because he is in a state of extreme poverty he cannot respond to nor satisfy any demand at all." The consul investigated and concluded that this was true: the father could not even pay for his daily needs.[86]

Gabarrón and his purser were forced to sell their products cheaply to avoid further losses; they denounced Caddur and asked for recompense, claiming that the friendship between "the Spanish Crown and the Empire of Morocco" should not be endangered by such "serious inconveniences, with well-known harm to the state and the public trust." They demanded that Abdu Ben-Adrajaman, his son being insolvent, return the money invested in the expedition to Tetouan:[87] they set the amount at 13,117 reales de vellón. The Spanish consul explained that normally in Spain, when any loan was requested, the potential borrower was investigated thoroughly – among other reasons, to determine if he could replay the debt in case of difficulties. Therefore,

> it is strange how readily they entrusted their funds to the Moors, as we see with these two men: without any other assurance than Caddur's claim that his father was a rich and respected man in this [city], they handed him the sum in question in goods and cash. They did not consider that just as [the Moor] lacked enough for his immediate needs, his bad or irregular conduct in that city and his very character – which is clear at first glance – were sufficient warning of the blow they are suffering.

In this the Secretary of State agreed: he had thought that the Spanish businessmen had acted "too lightly" and should be "more careful in the future." The consul went further, expressing his "astonishment at our Spaniards' generosity with these natives." Almost all Moroccans who chartered ships for Spanish ports borrowed from their captains:

> One man four hundred, another six hundred, even a thousand pesos fuertes; and this from individuals who cannot command even one

86 J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Tangier, 30 November 1781, AHN, Estado, leg. 4314.

87 Petition by José García and Luis Gabarrón, Madrid, 4 October 1781. Count Floridablanca to J.M. González Salmón, San Lorenzo de El Escorial, 16 November 1781, AHN, Estado, leg. 4316.

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> hundred. If [the Moor] suffered a reverse of fortune our people would be left with nothing, and many would have fallen behind in their payments if I had not thought to tell them never to unload from their ships sufficient merchandise to satisfy their debts until the money had been paid.

The consul was proud that thanks to his intervention, no Spanish captain had emerged the worse from this kind of trade:

> Becoming aware of the harm done by Caddur Ben Abú (that is his true surname) in Málaga, in addition to asking the Count of Xerena on 26 June to force him to come to this kingdom, I informed Governor Ben-Abdelmelek. He promised me that as soon as [Caddur] returned to these domains he would not go again to those of the king our master; and that those who went in the future would be men of good behavior and repute so as to avoid disagreements. And in fact he has done this, for he does not give a license to everyone.

He decided not to tell the governor of Tangier about Caddur's debts – since neither he nor his father were able to pay them – until he had consulted the Secretariat of State. The notion of reciprocity is clear in this case: "Once the governor receives the funds, I believe he should do the same with the four thousand or so duros that Don Juan Miguel Díaz, a native of Vornos, still owed to several vassals of His Moroccan Majesty after the last peace."[88]

88 "[E]xtraño la facilidad con que franquean sus caudales a los Moros, como se bé en los dos mencionados que sin mas informes que haverles dicho el citado Cadur que su Padre era hombre rico y bien acreditado en esta, le proporcionaron en efectos y dinero hasta la expresada suma, sin considerar que por lo mismo que se hallava sin lo necesario para sus principales urgencias, la mala, o desarreglada conducta que el Moro tubo en aquella Ciudad, y su propio carácter que a la primera vista manifiesta lo que és, eran suficientes avisos para precaver el golpe que estan experimentando. … Quien quatrocientos, quien seiscientos, y mil pesos fuertes; y a sujetos que no son Dueños ni aun de ciento, de manera que si tubiesse un revés de fortuna se quedarían los nuestros sin sus caudales, y muchos hubieran experimentado considerables atrasos a no haver tomado yo la providencia de mandarles que jamas consintiesen sacar de sus Buques los efectos considerasen suficientes a cubrir sus créditos, hasta que estos se les satisfaciesen. … Noticioso yo de lo mal que se producia el referido Cadur Ben Abú (que es su lexitimo apellido) en Malaga, a mas de haver escrito en 26 de junio al Exmo.Sr.Conde de Xerena, lo hiciese benir a este Reyno, informé de ello al Gobernador Ben-Abdelmelek quien me prometió que luego que regresase a estos Dominios no volveria a los del Rey N.S. y que los que fuesen en adelante serian hombres de conducta, y crédito para evitar desavenencias, lo que en efecto cumple pues no le permite a todos la Licencia": J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Tangier, 30 November 1781, AHN, Estado, leg. 4314.

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8.5.7 *Absalem Bargas* (*1781–1787*)

In 1781 Absalem Bargas,[89] a "Moroccan Moor" from Tangier, was conducting business in Málaga and Barcelona. That year he sailed from the first city to the second in the caïque *Nuestra Señora del Carmen y Ánimas* under Captain Manuel González, with a cargo of hides. In Denia they loaded dried figs, raisins, onions, and garlic, "and in company with that Moor they were able to enter the enemy port [Gibraltar] on 13 November and sell all their products."[90]

We already met Bargas in September 1786, when he was operating a shop in Madrid with Aly Castillo as his partner; Castillo sued him for having appropriated part of his original investment.[91] The shop must have closed after that incident, since almost at once Bargas petitioned the Secretary of State: introducing himself as "a native and resident of the city of Tangier," he claimed to have been trading in Spanish ports, especially in and around Murcia, for seven years. Now he hoped to settle in Cádiz, and offered to serve without pay as an assistant to the port's interpreter:

> He has been trading in Spain for seven years, and therefore is used to dealing with the natives of these kingdoms; and he knows their peoples fairly well, especially in the seaports of the Mediterranean coast, the Kingdom of Murcia, and others farther inland, where he has dealt and traded with them. And wishing to settle in Cádiz to trade in products of his country, since that is the port to which most of his compatriots arrive and in which the greatest number of lawsuits and issues with them occur; and since the interpreter in that port is now very old and in very poor health and almost decrepit, so that the Moors do not wish to deal with him, and most decide to come to Madrid and annoy Your Excellency and the other ministers of His Catholic Majesty to arrange their affairs; that could easily be avoided if Your Excellency would honor and protect this petitioner by naming him assistant interpreter of the port and Bay of Cádiz and its environs, without any salary, while the one who is there now still lives. Likewise in view of the damage the petitioner suffered a year ago when, because of a violent storm, he lost a ship loaded with 2,300 fanegas of wheat off Cabo Espartel. Also, he has sufficient knowledge of the Islamic language.

89 He also appears in the sources as Absalem de Bargas, Absalen Vargas, and Absalem de Vargas.

90 J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Tangier, 5 February 1781, AHN, Estado, leg. 3414.

91 Petition by Aly Castillo, 7 July 1786, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

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At the same time he offered to transmit to the Secretary of State all the news about Morocco that reached him in Cádiz.[92] He also asked permission to import Moroccan wax into Cádiz, hoping to pay for the privilege at a rate of only three duros per quintal instead of the usual five; he would invest the profits in fabrics from other European countries and hoped to transfer them within the Bay of Cádiz so as not to pay the required duties. The Secretary of State, on receiving these requests, referred the matter to the Royal Treasury:

> The Moroccan Moor Arselen de Vargas stated four months ago that he asks to pay only three duros instead of five per quintal on a shipment of wax that he is expecting from his country. And since he cannot export the wax from Cádiz and plans to receive [its value] in fabrics that will come into Cádiz, he asks permission to transfer them without paying taxes. He is willing to have them inspected in case there is suspicion of contraband, and will ferry them to shore in a small boat.[93]

The Treasury noted that by the royal decree of 22 August 1786, goods could not be transferred within a port from one vessel to another because the practice

92 "Hace siete años está comerciando en España, por cuio motivo se halla ya impuesto en el trato con los naturales de estos Reynos, y tiene bstante conocimiento de sus Gentes de ellos, maiormente en los Puertos de Mar de la Costa del Mediterraneo, Reyno de Murcia y otros de tierra â dentro, con quienes ha tratado, y comerciado; y deseando establecerse en Cadiz con el comercio de generos de su Pais, siendo este el Puerto donde mas vienen sus compatriotas, y en el que mas acaecen algunos pleitos, e historias con ellos; siendo ya mui anciano el Ynterprete que ay en aquel Puerto, y estar mui achacoso, y quasi decrepito por lo que los Moros no quieren tratar con el, y para tratar de sus asuntos determinan los mas venir á la Corte a incomodar a V.E. y demas Ministros de S.M.C. lo que se impediría con gran fazilidad mereciendo el exponente que V.E. le honrase, y protegiexe con el nombramiento de ayuda de Ynterprete de dicho Puerto, y Baia de Cadiz, y sus inmediaciones, sin sueldo alguno, interin viva el que en el dia ay atendiendo a que el proponente tuvo la desgracia un año hace, de que por causa de un fuerte temporal, perdió una embarcazion cargada de trigo que aszendia a 2300 fanegas en Cavo Espartel; y posehiendo suficientemente el Ydioma Yslamico." Bargas signed his statement in San Ildefonso [El Escorial], 15 September 1786, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

93 "El moro Marroqui Arselen de Vargas dicho ha quatro meses que solicita la gracia de que solo pague 3 duros en lugar de 5 por quintal de una porción de cera que aguarda de su país; y mediante que no puede sacar de Cadiz el producto de la cera y piensa recibirlo en lienzos que vendrán al mismo Cadiz, pide el permiso de poderlos transbordar sin que paguen derechos, estando pronto a que se registren en caso de duda de contrabando, pasándolos a tierra en barco chico": unsigned report to the Secretary of State, 7 September 1786. The case was passed on 16 September to Pedro de Lerena, Secretary of the Treasury, for his opinion: AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

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facilitated fraud and smuggling. Granting Bargas's wish would set a bad example and every other "nation" would ask for the same favor: "therefore an exception has been denied to that Moor, and it would be imprudent to agree to the [request] Your Excellency has just sent."[94] In spite of this denial Bargas – because of his position or his doggedness – found it relatively easy to approach the Secretary of State, who confessed to having diverted him to the Treasury even after admitting that "his request is unfounded. … I have already told him so in person."[95]

Bargas had great enemies among members of the Moroccan colony. In August 1786 "a Moor from Madrid" (actually Aly Castillo, who signed his petition in Arabic) denounced him to the Secretary of State: he held a low opinion of Bargas and observed that "the laws of fairness prescribed by our religion may be corrupted and disrespected by men of no merit." He added,

> The Moor Bargas has arrived here with the view and claim that some gold dust seized in Cádiz from an Algerian (now returned to his own country), who had contracted with a Frenchman who owned the gold, should have yielded him forty reales, which it seems is half the worth of this amount of gold. If he kept his word to get him through the door [at court] it would be returned to him, he pretending to be the said Algerian. … As an honest man I must act to prevent such an abuse.[96]

The warning did not fall on deaf ears, and a note was added to the file on Aly Castillo: "There are bad reports of Abasalen Vargas even in Tangier, according to [González] Salmón's letter of 12 March of this year, after he importuned us here with his demands."[97]

Bargas, not surprisingly, complained about not receiving from "the Ministry of the Treasury several favors he ha[d] requested," so he applied for a license to

94 Pedro de Lerena to Count Floridablanca, San Ildefonso, 25 September 1786, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

95 Unsigned and undated draft, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

96 "El Moro Balgas ha llegado á este sitio con la mira y pretensión de que cierto oro en polvo que en Cadiz fue apresado a otro Argelino (quien se marchó a su tierra) que havia contratado con un Frances dueño de el expresado oro le havia de dar 40 reales que al parecer es la mitad de el importe de esta porción de oro si cumplia con su palabra de pasarlo de la puerta se le restituia á el pretextando ser el Argelino mencionado. … [C]omo hombre de bien devo impedir semejante abuso": Madrid, 11 August 1786. Signed in Arabic, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

97 Petition by Aly Castillo, Madrid, 7 July 1787. The note on his file, with a request to inform Anduaga, is of 16 July 1787, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803, Exp. 8 (34).

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take one hundred thousand pesos fuertes out of Spain, a sum he claimed was "the value of the goods he imported and the transfer of one hundred chests of linens." He also asked,

> to redeem some of the inconveniences he has suffered, to be allowed to pay four percent on taking out of Cádiz one hundred thousand pesos fuertes that he earned from the goods he had imported and has sold in that port. Also, to be able to transfer within that bay one hundred chests of linens so as to ship them to his country, without these goods touching any land in Spain: a Customs Minister can come aboard the vessel, as a pilot does, to guide them to his coast, being paid the usual daily rate until the date of sailing. This will obviate all suspicion or doubt of contraband, in which he has never intended to participate nor to disobey your royal decrees.[98]

Once again the petition was forwarded to the Treasury, though it was thought to have no merit: "tell the Moor to go there although his request is unfounded. I have already told him so in person."[99] Bargas obviously had little chance of getting his wish, since if granted it would further complicate the efforts to control smuggling in the Bay of Cádiz. In another petition he defended himself on the grounds that he was established "in business in Cádiz," and claimed that in Morocco Spaniards were treated better than other foreigners, a way of saying that the privileges the sultan offered the Spanish should be matched by those offered to Moroccans in Spain:

> Five months ago he came to your court and royal summer residences to discuss several business propositions with your ministers, promising to pay the necessary duties to your Royal Treasury. Everything he requested has been denied, perhaps because it would not profit your Royal Treasury.

98 "…para poder redimir parte de las vejaciones que ha experimentado, se digne concederle la grazia de que pagando el quatro por ciento, pueda extraher de Cadiz cien mil pesos fuertes que ha sacado de los generos que introdujo, y ha vendido en dicho Puerto. Y asimismo poder transbordar en la referida Bahia cien Cajas de Telas de Lenzeria para transportarlas a su Pais, sin que estos Generos salgan en tierra alguna de España; poniéndose como en practica un ministro de Rentas a Bordo de la embarcazion que los ha de conducir a su costa pagandole la dieta regular que se acostumbra hasta el dia que se haga a la Vela: con lo que se obiará toda sospecha ó rezelo de contrabando en lo que jamas ha pensado contravenir, ni quebrantar vuestras Reales Ordenes": petition signed in Spanish and Arabic, San Lorenzo de El Escorial, dated 3 November 1786, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

99 Unsigned draft, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

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> But since all was in accordance with usual business practice in Spain, it is strange that he has not been satisfied in part of what he asks for, since it is publicly known that in his own country, in every port and town, his monarch has assisted and favored all Spaniards above the other nations of the earth, for example: a Spaniard who buys loads of wheat pays duties of four reales less per fanega than other nations, of course when they export it to other kingdoms. If [Spaniards] purchase cattle they are done the same favor in that they pay only sixty reales per head, while other nations and foreigners who take them to Gibraltar and other places pay one hundred reales de vellón per head. And likewise with other victuals and goods exported from that kingdom: every Spaniard is charged at least one-third less than all other nations.[100]

Whenever a Spaniard asked a favor of the Moroccan sultan, "instantly, without the least delay, it has been granted, making sure that he incurs no expenses or disadvantage of any kind; and besides, with what one spends [in Spain] in a single day, anyone can live well there for a week." Bargas stressed his own uncomfortable situation, "stripped of all favor, and having spent a great sum of maravedís to support himself without any hope of relief, while neglecting the chief aim of his business affairs in Cádiz."[101]

Bargas does not seem to have received anything he asked. It was said of him in early 1787 that "he has done other extravagant things and is living in Madrid with a brother of his named Asmed."[102] In March of that year he asked the Spanish consul for a passport to Spain; as he took ship for Cádiz he was found

100 "Haze cinco meses que vino á vuestra corte, y sitios Reales a entablar barias pretensiones de su comercio con vuestros Ministros sin dexar de proponer pagaría los derechos correspondientes a vuestra Real Hazienda, y a quanto tiene solicitado, se le ha negado, tal bez por que no combendria a vuestro Real Herario: Pero haviendo sido todo con arreglo al comercio general de España, extraña que no se le haia atendido en parte de lo que [ha]impetrado; siendo asi que es publico y notorio que en su Pais en todos los Puertos, y pueblos, su Monarcha ha atendido, y favorece a todos los Españoles con particular distinción de las demas Naciones del Orbe, como es que a el Español que compra por carga de Trigo, paga quatro reales menos en fanega de derechos que las demas Naciones, y naturalmente, que lo sacan para otros Reynos: Si sacan Ganado Bacuno les haze igual grazia en que solo paguen sesenta reales por cabeza, lo que las demas Naciones y naturales que lo llevan para Gibraltar y otras Partes pagan cien reales vellón por cabeza; y a este tenor en los demas comestibles, y Generos que extraen de aquel Reyno se les hace a todo español, lo menos la tercera parte de Grazia que a toda Nacion": petition dated 3 November 1786, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

101 The same petition of 3 November 1786, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

102 El Pardo to J.M. González Salmón, 16 January 1787, AHN, Estado, leg. 4319.

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to have hidden "inside a mattress up to forty short lengths of muslin," for which the governor of Tangier sent him to prison and fined him

> one hundred duros to extricate himself and not have the matter come to the attention of His Moroccan Majesty. I tell Your Excellency this so you can form an idea of how they treat here those Moors who cross to Spain with the status of merchants. Of course any indulgence toward them or concealment [of their wrongs] is fruitless, because neither does the king of Morocco appreciate it nor are they themselves grateful for it: they are full of arrogance and passion and imagine or believe that just because they are Moors and subjects of His Moroccan Majesty everything is theirs by right.

The governor of Cádiz thought that "most of the Moors who cross to that city without any funds or reputation for business are the conduit that some merchants use for their contraband."[103]

Naturally enough, the Secretariat of State instructed the Spanish consul in Tangier to make Absalem return to Morocco at all costs: "I shall make sure to find a way to have Absalem Bargas return to that city [Tangier]."[104]

8.5.8 *Hamete Bargas* (*1784–1787*)

We know of Hamete,[105] almost certainly a brother of Absalem Bargas, at least from 1784: in that year José Veciana, military governor of the coast of Granada, called him a man "of bad conduct, full of wiles and falsehoods."[106] He traveled around Spain, especially to Málaga, Murcia, Alicante, and Madrid, between at least 1784 and 1787, and was involved in robbing his fellow Moroccans. The Spanish consul in Tangier told the Secretary of State that he had been wanting to locate Hamete for a long time

103 "…Cien Duros por salir del asunto, y que no llegase á noticia de S.M.M. el asunto. Refiero a V.E. esto para que pueda formar una idea del modo que por acá se tratan a esos Moros que pasan a España con titulo de Comerciantes, y desde luego qualquiera indulgencia, ó disimulo que se tenga con ellos es infructuoso por que ny el rey de Marruecos lo aprecia, ny los mismos interesados son capaces de estimarlo, por que estan llenos de orgullo y entusiasmos que se figuran ó creen que por solo ser Moros, y súbditos de S.M. Marroqui, todo se les debe de derecho": J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Tangier, 12 March 1787, AHN, Estado, leg. 4319.

104 Count Floridablanca to J.M. González Salmón, 13 April 1787. AHN, Estado, leg. 4319.

105 Also called Jamet, Jamete, and Ahmed Vargas.

106 José Veciana to Count Floridablanca, Málaga, 8 June 1784, AHN, Estado, leg. 4317.

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> at the urging of the honored Minister *effendi* and the governor of this port, so that if he were found anywhere in the domains of the king our master he could be made to cross to Morocco willingly or by force, because in Madrid a Sherif who was in Spain with Bargas has testified against him. In La Alcantarilla, in Murcia, [Bargas] "disappeared" a number of oriental pearls so that the Sherif could never find them again or recover their value, and had to appeal to the Effendi; who, for this reason, urged me to bring him here, as Ben Abdelmelek has asked me several times to do by request of Bargas's own family. Knowing the Moor's bad conduct there, they want to have their eye on him before some serious loss should occur.

Since Vargas was then in Madrid, the consul asked that he be sent to Tangier under arrest to be handed over to the Moroccan authorities. It was important that he be arrested,

> because if he is left at liberty he will certainly escape us, as he did two years ago in Alicante. Also at the urging of Governor Ben Abdelmelek, and when Don Antonio Oliver suggested that he should be brought here, he claimed that he was prepared to obey the order but asked for a few more days to complete some negotiations for saffron; and leaving the city on that pretext, he did not return to it.[107]

Indeed, in late 1786 and early 1787 Hamete was in Madrid, where he had gone to ask for an appointment as an interpreter in Málaga. The Secretariat of State

107 "…a Ynstancias del Ministro Effendy, y el Governador de Esta Plaza para que si se encontrase en algun parage de los Dominios del Rey Nuestro Señor, se le obligase pasar á Estos de Marruecos, por voluntad ó por fuerza, por haver representado contra él en esta Corte un Cherife que estubo en España en compañía del tal Bargas, y en la Alcantarilla de Murcia le desapareció este una cantidad de Perlas Orientales, de manera que el Cherife no se pudo hacer mas con ellas, ny con su importe, y se vió obligado a recurrir al Effendy, quien por este motivo me intereso para que lo hiciese benir, y Ben-Addelmeleck me lo á pedido varias vezes á instancia de la familia del mismo Bargas, que saviendo la mala conducta que guarda dicho Moro por allá, lo dessean tener a la vista antes que le suceda algun fracaso pezado. … en arresto por que si se dexa libre, seguramente se nos escapa como hizo ahora dos años en Alicante que haviendolo pedido también por instancias de este Governador Ben Abdelmaleck, e intimándole Dn. Antonio Oliver, la precisión de benir a Esta, le dixo que estaba pronto a obedecer la orden, pero que teniendo una negociación de Azafran entre manos le urgia esperar algunos días mas, y haviendo salido con este pretexto de aquella Ciudad no volvió a ella": J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, 12 March 1787, AHN, Estado, leg. 4319.

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reported that he had left the capital for that city and warned the authorities in Málaga about him:

> The Moroccan Moor Hamet Vargas has already left Madrid for Málaga to see if he can subsist in that town as an agent or interpreter for his countrymen. In general, Moors who have come here have not displayed the best behavior; rather they have given trouble through their scandalous dealings with women, their untrustworthiness in business, and their impertinent demands, which are usually unreasonable. Jamet Vargas has been one of these.

Still, following the policy of not dealing harshly with Moroccans out of consideration for their sultan, the Secretariat hoped that he might "change his ways and behave well." It recalled a decree of 31 October 1786 that forbade "any Moroccan or Barbary Moor to come to Madrid without prior permission or a passport issued by this Secretariat of State."[108] Hamete, a "Moroccan Moor," also aspired to the post of interpreter in either Málaga or Cádiz:

> For more than a year he has petitioned Your Excellency to be granted the post of interpreter of languages in the city of Cádiz or in Málaga, by virtue of being qualified to hold it, in particular with those of his nation, who would then have no reason to come to this Court nor any occasion to intrude on Your Excellency's attention. And since in all this time he has incurred too many expenses, he should withdraw to Cádiz.

In fact, however, Hamete Bargas cared more for acquiring privileges in trade with Morocco than for being an interpreter. He argued that if what he asked was impossible, he be recommended to the military governor of Cádiz "to consider him whenever goods from his country such as dates and slippers arrive, and look on him with fairness."[109] A marginal note on his petition reads, "Let

108 "Habia salido ya de Madrid para Malaga el Moro Marroqui Hamet Vargas con el objeto de ver si puede subsistir en ese Pueblo haciendo de agente ó interprete de sus paysanos. Generalmente los moros que han venido aquí no han tenido la mejor conducta antes bien han dado que hacer por su trato escandaloso con mugeres, poca fé en su trafico, y mucha importunidad en sus pretensiones por la mayor parte extravagantes. Jamet Vargas ha sido uno de estos": San Ildefonso to Marquis of Vallehermoso, 27 June 1787, AHN, Estado, legs. 5809–5810.

109 "[H]ace mas de un año que tiene echa la pretensión con V.E. a fin de que se le conceda el empleo de Ynterprete de Lenguas en la Ciudad de Cadiz, ó en Malaga, en virtud de ser Persona apta para su desempeño, y en particular con los de su nación, quienes con este motivo no tendrán que venir a esta Corte, ni Lugar para molestar la atención de V.E.; y

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him go and let the governors of Cádiz and Málaga assist him so long as he conducts his countrymen's business well." Another note observes that Hamete Bargas "says that Your Excellency has offered to pay him a sum and give him a letter of recommendation for Málaga"; someone at the Secretariat, undoubtedly irritated, countered, "I have offered no such thing, just make sure he leaves." The final determination was that "Anduaga told him on 16 July 1787 that he could leave at once and that the letter would be sent directly to Málaga."[110]

8.5.9 *Hamet Federico* (*1784*)

Hamet appeared at the Spanish court to demand recompense for goods lost when a ship of his was wrecked in the Bay of Cádiz. An examination of the case "showed that his tale is highly exaggerated and even false in some points, so his wholly unfounded claim was denied." He than asked for a sum to pay for his journey home and was allowed 1,500 reales de vellón. In January 1787 he was still in Madrid.[111]

8.5.10 *Sarifey* (*1784*)

"The Moor Sarifey" was another man whom José Veciana named in 1784 as an individual of bad conduct who was always trying to deceive the Spanish authorities. We know nothing further about him, however.[112]

8.5.11 *Hach Hamed Erzini* (*1785*)

Hach Hamed Erzini,[113] "a most distinguished vassal of the Emperor of Morocco," reached Barcelona aboard an English galliot in late November 1785. He would have been one of the merchants with a strong interest in trading directly with Spanish ports in general and Barcelona in particular, as allowed in the Agreement of 1789 with Morocco. He arrived with "eight companions, merchants of that empire, and three slaves." He presented a written statement "expressing the many inconveniences he and his companions had suffered because of the narrowness of the vessel," and complained that other ports required only ten days of quarantine; considering his confinement a personal affront, he asked to be admitted at once or serve out the time in a warehouse on shore. The

habiéndosele originado en todo este tiempo demasiados gastos, le precisa retir[ar]se a dicho Cadiz": petition by Hamete Bargas, Madrid, 7 July 1787, AHN, Estado, legs. 5809–5810, Exp. 6.

110 In the file on Hamete Bargas, AHN, Estado, legs. 5809–5810, Exp. 6.

111 El Pardo to J.M. González Salmón, 16 January 1787, AHN, Estado, leg. 4319.

112 José Veciana to Count Floridablanca, Málaga, 8 June 1784, AHN, Estado, leg. 4317.

113 Also called Hamet Cresiny.

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Board of Health responded only to a second complaint, and used the occasion to speak of "the need to build at least a temporary lazzaretto in this port for such cases, which occur continually." It was impossible to ensure that "persons of distinction" and their goods could serve the quarantine in comfort.[114]

8.5.12 *Lanaya Bohalel* (*1785*)

In 1785 the Moroccan Lanaya Bohalel traveled to Cádiz, Madrid, and other cities on business for the Moroccan Makhzen. The sultan, who did not know where he was, asked the Spanish consul in Tangier to make him return: "Let him write to the governor of the place where the Moor Bohalel is, so that he be sent in one of the ships that comes to Casablanca; he owes money to his uncle in a matter that interests us, and when he has paid it he may go wherever he wishes."[115]

The consul asked the Secretary of State for information about Bohalel, "in case the Moroccan Moor Lanaya Bohalel is in Madrid, so that Your Excellency may order him to leave and come to these domains." He wrote to the governor of Cádiz as well, "so that for his part he can search for that Moor and force him to come here if he is in some city or location in the Kingdom of Andalusia."[116] Almost two months later Bohalel was located in Gibraltar, and the sultan was informed in case he wished the English to surrender him.[117]

8.5.13 *Jamet Bigga* (*1786–1791*)

A Moroccan firmly established in Cádiz was Jamet Bigga,[118] according to the testimony of the consul in Tangier in 1786:

> They write me from Cádiz that the Moroccan Moor Jamet Biggá, who has been living in that city conducting business for some years, has gone to

114 The galliot, *Los Tres Amigos* under Captain Juan Piedra, sailed from Tetouan to Barcelona in late November 1785. In two written requests of 12 and 15 December Ramón Ayguals, a Barcelona merchant, asked the Board of Health to admit him to the port and let him serve his quarantine in a warehouse there; the second request was granted. Baron Serrahí to Junta de Sanidad de Barcelona, 15 December 1785, IMHB, FS. Serie I, leg. 16, fol. 86; Serie V, leg. 11, fols. 216–17, 20 December 1785. See Erzini, "British-Moroccan Relations," and "Hal yaslah li-taqansut?".

115 Translated letter from His Moroccan Majesty to J.M. González Salmón, 31 December 1785, AHN, Estado, leg. 4319.

116 J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, 3 January 1786. On 31 January the Secretariat was still urging the consul to locate Bohalel in view of the sultan's strong interest in him: AHN, Estado, leg. 4319.

117 J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Darbeyda, 27 February 1786.

118 He appears as both Bigga and Biggá.

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> Madrid in hopes of becoming an agent for Cherife, a Turk; it is to collect some small sacks of gold dust that a customs officer in Cádiz seized from Cherife last year. … He is among the many Moors who fly to seek their fortunes in Europe. As far as I know his conduct is not bad, and in Cádiz he encountered two or three trading companies owned by Irishmen who have helped him and generated some [business].[119]

But he warned that Bigga made excessive demands: "That Moor, in the requests he presents or has presented, exaggerates his rank as all of them usually do when they are in Spain; for there are few who do not try to make us believe that they have some commission from the sovereign himself, and that any special privilege they receive is much valued by their prince."[120]

Months later the Secretariat of State, denouncing the complicity of merchants from Cádiz and Morocco in smuggling, mentioned Bigga by name:

> In effect, some have said that the Moor Jamet Bigga, the representative of the Turk Cherif of whom you spoke in your letter no. 135 of 6 October, has practiced certain deceptions in Cádiz. It is suspected that these included the gold dust that was confiscated and was ordered returned as a favor to the Turk (whom the Count of Expilly had warmly recommended for having served and accompanied him in his negotiations in Algiers); the two individuals are still quarreling about [the gold dust]. Bigga went to Madrid to ask for the gold dust, claiming it was his [crossed out: "with several extravagant claims that were denied"]. And while no special irregularity in his conduct was observed we understood that his petitions were supported by companies in Cádiz.[121]

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119 "Me escriben de Cadiz, que el Moro Marroqui Jamet Biggá, que há algunos años reside en aquella Ciudad haciendo algun Comercio, ha pasado a esa Corte con motivo estar comisionado por un turco Cherife, para recoger algunos saquitos de polvo de oro que el año passado le quitó el Resguardo de las Puertas de Cadiz, al expresado Cherife.… [E]s un Moro de los muchos que bán volanderos á buscar su vida a Europa. Su conducta según tengo noticia, no es mala, y encontró en Cadiz, dos o tres Cassas de Comercio de Yrlandeses, que le hán dado la mano, y lo han fomentado algo": J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Darbeyda, 6 October 1786, AHN, Estado, leg. 4319.

120 J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Darbeyda, 6 October 1786, AHN, Estado, leg. 4319.

121 "En efecto no ha faltado quien diga que el moro Jamet Bigga comisionado del Cherife Turco de quien habló Vm. en su carta de 6 de octubre Nº 135 ha tenido parte en algunas ocultaciones en Cadiz, y rezelado que fuesen de esta clase los polvos de oro que se confiscaron y que por favorecer al Turco (que havia recomendado mucho el Conde de Expilly por haberle servido y acompañado en sus negociaciones de Argel) se mandaron devolver,

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Bigga also sought a special authorization, "An exclusive privilege for himself and all the Moors of his nation to transfer freely in the Bay [of Cádiz] all the goods that arrive from the North and from Italy bound for Barbary, and those that leave there for Europe." While the consul was not sure that the petition was genuine, he informed the Secretariat of State because the matter seemed important. Indeed it was, because if accepted it would have been a heavy blow to activity in the port of Cádiz and to the Royal Treasury.[122]

Bigga was still in Cádiz in 1790, since he attended Muhammad b. Abd Allah al-Zuwayin (Essuin), Sultan Muhammad Ben Abdallah's envoy and brother-in-law, during the latter's visit there; for those services the Spanish authorities paid him 3,530 reales de vellón.[123] But he returned to Madrid and was there at the outbreak of the Spanish-Moroccan war of 1790–1791. The Moroccan ambassador, Ibn Utman, who was in Spain at the time, lamented that "the Moorish merchant Ahmet Begge" and "a companion" had been put in prison, where they had found "another six Moorish businessmen" in violation of the Treaty of 1767. Ibn Utman asked for freedom for all of them so they could collect their debts and attend to their affairs; he also hoped that they could remain in Cádiz during the conflict, or at least be granted passports to another country.[124] Bigga had been arrested because of the justified mistrust he inspired in the Spanish authorities: the Spanish consul wrote from Cádiz that "we must be as wary of the Moroccan Moors in this city as of those over there." He was particular concerned about Jamet Bigga:

> He communicates to his home country whatever he wants, whether it is true or not. Therefore, if these people are not to be forced out of the kingdom, they should go elsewhere in the interior so that none of them will be in the ports or their surroundings. In Bigga's case, not even sending him inland is prudent; his acquaintance among foreigners here helps him to continue his contacts, so it would be best to force him to leave. He will

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y sobre los quales disputan todavía los dos sujetos. Bigga pasó a Madrid a solicitar se le entregasen dichos polvos alegando ser suyos [tachado: "con varias pretensiones extravagantes que le fueron negadas"] y aunque en su conducta no se advirtió cosa particular comprehendimos que estaba apoyado por casas de Cadiz para sus solicitudes": El Pardo to J.M. González Salmón, 16 January 1787, AHN, Estado, leg. 4319.

122 J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Darbeyda, 6 October 1786, AHN, Estado, leg. 4319.

123 J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Cádiz, 10 and 13 July 1790, AHN, Estado, leg. 4313.

124 Letter signed by Ibn Utman in Arabic and Spanish: "Ben Otoman" to Count Floridablanca, Ocaña, 18 September 1791, AHN, Estado, leg. 5818.

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> probably never go to Morocco, but he can be made to travel to any other place he prefers so long as it is not one of our domains.[125]

The Secretariat of State promptly ordered Jamet Bigga and the other Moroccans to leave the kingdom.[126]

8.5.14 *Mohamed Benissa* (*1786*)

Mohamed Benissa[127] sent a petition, dated in 1786 in Tangier, that described his services to Spain during the 1779–1783 war with Great Britain, particularly to the enclave of Melilla: "During the late war with England he had offered various services to the presidio of Melilla, supplying it with food, and consequently had lost two ships that the English burned. As a result he went to Algiers where he has an uncle, and recently crossed to Spain to request recompense or help with the cost of those services."

He had also provided aid to El Peñón de Alhucemas:

> During the siege of Gibraltar I managed to supply the presidio of Alhucemas with everything they needed. Also, having heard that some Moors from that region wanted to deceive the Christians by luring them into the countryside on the pretext of selling them food but really to kill them, on learning of this I sailed in my launch to warn the fort. When the Moors heard the news they pursued me in order to kill me, and they burned my launch; therefore I beg Your Excellency to arrange that I be given something to aid me for these two actions [that I took] in favor of Spain and at the risk of my life.[128]

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125 "[C]omunica a su tierra quanto quiere y se le antoja sea cierto, ó no, por lo que si no se piensa hacer salir á esta gente del Reyno, seria bueno fuesen a otros parages de lo interior para que no hubiese ninguno en los Puertos, ni sus inmediaciones, y a Bigga ni a tierra dentro será conducente embiarlo por que el mucho conocimiento que tiene aquí con los extranjeros le facilita la continuazion de la correspondencia por lo que no seria malo hacerle salir, bien que, probablemente nunca iría a Marruecos, pero se le puede obligar baya á otra qualesquiera parte que mas le acomode, con tal que no sea dominio nuestro": J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, 11 October 1791, AHN, Estado, leg. 4324.

126 San Lorenzo to J.M. González Salmón, 21 October 1791, AHN, Estado, leg. 4324. In 1800 the Bey of Mascara had a representative in Gibraltar: "our agent in Gibraltar named Ahmet, son of Muhamet Biggia." This may be our same man or a close relative: Duke of Frías and Marquis of Villena to Mariano Luis de Urquijo, Lisbon, 7 and 16 October 1800, AHN, Estado, leg. 5806.

127 He also appears as Mohamet Ben Yssa.

128 "[E]n el tiempo del sitio de Gibraltar e procurado proveer el presidio de Alucemas de todo lo que habían de menester y tambien que habiendo entendido que algunos moros de los de aquel Campo querían con cierta treta engañar a los cristianos haciéndolos benir á el

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The Secretariat of State investigated the matter but could find nothing "about this Moor and his services." It turned out that he had presented a similar petition, making the same claims, to the Secretariat of War, but it had been rejected based on information from "the Admiral of the Coast of Granada and the inspectors of Málaga and Alhucemas." Someone wrote on the edge of a page, "Let him be gone, for which he will be given four hundred reales."[129]

Benissa wrote from Cádiz again, however, on 26 June: he lamented "not knowing the Spanish language, and not being able to explain my petition face to face." Therefore he was writing "to tell you that I was unable to come earlier to pursue my request because Spain was at war with Algiers, at a time when I was in that city in flight from the violent men from Morocco of whom I wrote in my report to the Count of Floridablanca." After the peace treaty with Algiers he was allowed to travel to Spain to explain

> my good offices to the Spaniards in Alhucemas: Sir, I have pursued this claim for nine months, spending money I do not have, paying ten reales a day for my lodging, and in short, I am now reduced to the sad state of having nothing left with which to pursue my claim. Nor can I pay my debts in a foreign land, and have no consolation but God's providence, the mercy of our king, and the generosity of Your Excellency.

In these straits he asked for funds to support himself, but when the reply came in November it was negative. Further, Consul González Salmón had orders tell the sultan to punish him if he should be forced to return to Morocco,[130] but no

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dicho Campo con pretesto de venderles Biberes y era para matarlos sabiéndolo yo pase con mi lancha a dar aviso al dho presidio de lo que noticiosos los Moros me persiguieron para matarme y me quemaron la lancha por lo que suplico a V.E. se sirba mandar se me de algo para poderme socorrer de estos dos echos a favor de España y a riesgo de mi vida": petition in the original Arabic and in Spanish, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

129 "Because the Moor Mahamed Ben Ysa made the same appeal to the Secretariat of War [that is] in my charge as the one that Your Excellency sent me in your paper of the 26th of this month, the king asked for a report from the Marquis of Vallehermoso, Admiral of the Coast of Granada. He denied [the claim], citing reports on the matter by the inspectors of Málaga and Alhucemas": Pedro de Lerena to Count Floridablanca, Palacio, 30 December 1786, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

130 "…[los] buenos oficios hechos a los Españoles en Alhucemas: nuebe meses Señor llevo en pretensión, gastando lo que no tengo, pagando diariamente 10 reales de posada y en una palabra, ya me veo reducido a la triste suerte de no tener con que seguir mi pretensión, ni poder pagar mis deudas, en tierra extraña, y sin tener mas consuelo que la providencia de Dios, la piedad en nuestro Rey y la clemencia de V.E.": from Cádiz, signed in Arabic, 26 June 1786. " "In view of all this, last 4 November His Majesty refused everything the said

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one actually knew where he was: the Secretariat could not say "if he will have gone by now."[131]

8.5.15 *Mohamed Barrada* (*1786–1787*)

Barrada was one of the merchants from Fez whose interest in trading directly with Spain was noted in the Hispano-Moroccan Agreement of 1780. The *Diario de Madrid* reported that he had a shop in the city in 1786, in Jacometrezo Street "next to the Plazuela de Santo Domingo." He sold the same goods as Aly Castillo and Absalem Crassy: slippers, kerchiefs and other cotton clothing, carpets, and dates. "The merchant is called Bar[r]ada and is a native of Fez."[132] In 1787 he was one of three men accused of scandalous conduct with Spanish women and of having mocked the Sacrament:

> Mohamed Barrada, Absalem el Crasi, and his brother Ajmed are still living in Madrid operating a shop that sells goods from that country [Morocco]. It has been necessary to warn them to avoid causing scandal with women and not to fail in respect for the Most Holy Sacrament when it is carried along the street where they live. They have been told either to withdraw at that moment or to act as the Christians do.[133]

8.5.16 *Jamet Shebany* (*1787*)

Shebany, a merchant from Tetouan, frequented Spanish ports: "he has made several voyages to Spain and went as far as Holland." He tried to avoid paying the required duties on imported goods and capital, and was forced to protest "the confiscation or retention in Sanlúcar de Barrameda of two thousand two

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Mohamed demanded": Pedro de Lerena to Count Floridablanca, Palacio, 30 December 1786, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

131 Another document asserted that he had lost three boats while trying to aid Melilla: "he asks that we reimburse him for having supplied victuals to Melilla and having lost three boats during the last war." But the Ministry of War, "not in agreement with his explanation, denied his petition, as was confirmed later by this Secretariat": El Pardo to J.M. González Salmón, 16 January 1787, AHN, Estado, leg. 4319.

132 *Diario de Madrid*, 18 September 1786; cited in Sarasúa, *Criados*, 138.

133 "Todavia hay en Madrid actualmente un tal Mohamed Barrada, Absalem el Crasi y su hermano Ajmed con tienda de algunos generos de ese país, a quienes ha sido preciso amonestar eviten el escandalo que causaban con mujeres y el que han dado en faltar al respeto que se debe al Santisimo Sacramento quando pasa por la calle en que habitan, previniéndoles se retiren en aquel momento o que hagan lo que los demás Cristianos": El Pardo to J.M. González Salmón, 16 January 1787, AHN, Estado, leg. 4319.

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hundred fifty pesos fuertes found on the Moroccan Moor Jamet Shebany, without any paper or document that justified this amount."[134]

Shebany's brother ("who is [named] Talbe and is in the service of His Moroccan Majesty") learned of the situation, proof of the effective commercial and informational links between the shores of the Strait of Gibraltar. He wrote to both the governor and the Spanish consul in Tangier, insisting that "my brother is innocent in not having taken a document for that money, believing it was not needed. … Not having had that paper was an innocent act on his part." The governor also conveyed to the consul the opinion of the "*Qadi* or chief judge of the city of Tetouan." The Moroccans hoped that Shebany would be pardoned and that his case would serve as an example to other tradesmen:

> For this one time let the money be released; and if later some Moroccan vassal should remove funds from this kingdom and not declare them immediately on arrival in Spain with a paper from me or one of my confidants – [a policy] we have already decided and made public – then he will be the first to insist that the Moor who has done wrong be sent here, and he will punish him with his own hand to our satisfaction.

The consul asked that the governor's recommendation be followed, but observed that "if he had not intervened the Moor would be brought here under arrest, as is already the rule for all those who commit crimes in Spain."[135] Ben Abdelmelek, Tangier's governor, defended Shebany, but the consul could promise only that "he will be set at liberty at once if Spain acknowledges that his not having declared it at the time was a case of sheer ignorance, without any other reservation. But otherwise we cannot ensure it, because it has already been decided to send here every Moroccan subject who is caught in a fraud."

Consul González Salmón, in possession of letters from the governor of Tangier and the merchant's brother, was confident that if the Secretary of State found Shebany to be a criminal he would hand him over in Tangier, in accordance with the peace treaty with Morocco:

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134 J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Tangier, 23 May 1787, AHN, Estado, leg. 4319.

135 "…que por esta vez se dexe libre el dinero y que si en lo sucesivo ocurriese que algun vasallo marroquí saque caudales de este Reyno, y no los presentase inmediatamente que llegue a España con un papel mio o de mis Confidentes como yá esta resulto y hecho publico, él será el primero que inste para que embie aquí al Moro que falte, y por su propia mano lo castigará a nuestra satisfacion": letter from Shebany's brother signed in Arabic, 1 May 1787; J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Tangier, 23 May 1787, AHN, Estado, leg. 4319.

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> [If] he is found guilty Your Excellency should arrange for him to be sent to this [city] together with the money, all [to be placed] at the disposition of His Moroccan Majesty – who of course will feel no fondness for Shebany or for any other vassal of this monarch who commits fraud in Spain. I believe that forgiveness will harm the Royal Treasury, which should collect everything it finds that lacks a letter or other document, to remove suspicion or fear that it is involved in contraband. This example should be sufficient to frighten the Moors so they will not continue to abuse the favors and exceptions that are offered them there.

Governor Ben Abdelmelek should know that Moroccan tradesmen going to Spain needed a signed certificate from the consul declaring any money they carried, so that no one could plead ignorance:

> Moroccan subjects who travel to or through Spain henceforth must carry a paper from me or one of my commissioners in a port of these domains, declaring the sums they bring so there can be no doubt that they took them out of this kingdom. Otherwise they might negotiate the money in clandestine fashion, whether it belongs to them or to others, when they move from one port to another in Spain. And if they are apprehended by customs officers and seek to use the excuse that they brought the money from here, where a document of permission is not usually carried (although some people request one), they also use this as a justification when they are asked for their papers.

The governor of Tangier approved the plan and hoped that it would be enforced.[136]

136 "[S]i se halla culpado será bueno que V.E. disponga lo conveniente para que se remita á esta juntamente con el dinero todo a disposición de S. M. Marroqui, que desde luego no le quedará afición al mencionado Shebany ny a vasallo otro alguno de este Monarca hazer fraudes en España. Vien considero que esa providencia perjudica a la Rl. Hacienda por que deve tirar de todo lo que se encuentra sin despacho ú otro documentos que desvanezca la sospecha ó rezelo de que pase de contravando, pero este exemplar será suficiente para escarmentar a los Moros y que no abusen tanto de las condescendencias y disimulos que se les tiene por hallá. … que los súbditos marroquíes que vayan en lo sucesivo a España ó de transito, hande llevar precisamente un papel mio o de los comisionados que tengo en los Puertos de estos Dominios, en que se declare los caudales que llevan para que no se dude después que los han sacado de este Reyno, por que de lo contrario les queda arbitrio de negociar el dinero por alto bien sea propio o ageno quando en España pasan de un Puerto á otro y si llegan a ser aprehendidos por los resguardos de Rentas buscan para libertarse el refugio de que lo han sacado de este Pais, y como no

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8.5.17 *Jamet el Bacal* (*1786–1787*)

Another petitioner with unreasonable demands was "the Moor Jamet El Bacal," a merchant from Tetouan. He interested the sultan's brother Muley Abdessalam in his affairs and had him write to the consul in Tangier on his behalf:

> Sherif el Jach Jamet El Bacal has complained to us of having lost some money in your country, and he seeks no more than what is right: if through the courts he can obtain what he asks that will be satisfactory, and let him be given what is his. If he does not find justice with you he will remain as before, but if he receives justice under your law [do] not deny his petitions, and attend to our recommendation in this matter.[137]

The consul promised to look into the affair, but warned that

> I greatly fear it will do no good, since he does not have justice on his side; since he did not insure his money no one will advance it to him, and he will have to accept his bad luck. … [El Bacal] is asking to be reimbursed for 1,800 pesos fuertes that he claims to have lost in Cádiz aboard a Spanish ship that foundered in its bay; he bases this right on the fact that the Board of Health's felucca could have saved the money but refused to do it. This Moor speaks reckless nonsense as they all do when we do not agree with what they wish, though they know their petition is unfounded. … [The petitioner] was kept dangling with false hopes until finally, unable to support himself, he returned to Cádiz and went on to Mogador to meet Prince Muley Absalem. I realize he will have told him unfavorable things about us (though this is no obstacle for us), because I think the prince will have listened to him just as Ben Abdelmelek did. [Ben Abdelmelek] tells me that we are wrong to allow Moors to visit Madrid without any errand or commission from their sovereign; I assured him that we have

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es practica llevar Documento (aun que algunos lo piden) que lo acredite se disculpan también con esto mismo quando se les pregunta por los papeles": J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Tangier, 11 May 1787. Shebany's brother's letter is dated 1 May 1787 and signed in Arabic: J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Tangier, 23 May 1787, AHN, Estado, leg. 4319.

137 "Cherife el Jach Jamet El Bacal, quien se nos a quejado de haber perdido algun Dinero en vuestra tierra, y el no busca otra cosa que lo que es regular; por justicia si puede lograr lo que pretende está bien, y que se le entregue lo que es suyo, y si el no alcanza de Vosotros justicia, quedará como antes, pero si por vuestra Ley tiene justicia, no negarle sus pretenciones, y atender en este asunto a nuestra recomendación": Muley Abdessalam to J.M. González Salmón, 19 October 1787, AHN, Estado, leg. 4319.

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> taken steps to prevent it, but this leader wants us to expel those who are there now because he knows they go there to cause trouble.[138]

Everything indicates that our Jamet el Bacal was the same as "another called Hamet" who appeared in Madrid asking for restitution of the losses he suffered when a ship sank in the Bay of Cádiz. His tale "was found to be greatly exaggerated and even false in some details, so his wholly unfounded petition was denied."[139]

8.5.18 *Absalem Karassi* (*1787*)

The Secretariat of State became aware of Absalem Karassi[140] of Tetouan in 1781, when after his ship docked in Cádiz he was found to have lengths of muslin hidden under some mattresses; Spanish officials treated him leniently, allowing him to take the fabrics back to Tetouan. The consul was concerned that indulgence in such cases would only encourage merchants to attempt other frauds:

> At first he showed such alarm and fear that the king of Morocco would find out that he persuaded several Moors to ask me not to make a complaint against him; and I did not make one because I had no official notice of the event and heard of it only from those who spoke to me on Crassy's behalf. After he was able to negotiate to have his muslins returned on condition he take them to Tetouan he grew bolder, and I do not doubt

138 "[D]esconfio mucho no tenga efecto por la falta de justicia que le asiste, pues no habiendo asegurado su dinero nadie se lo puede abonar, y deberá conformarse con su suerte … [P]retende el reembolso de Mil ochocientos Pesos fuertes que dice se le perdieron en Cadiz a bordo de una Embarcacion Española que naufragó en dicha Bahia, fundando su derecho en que la falúa de Sanidad podía haber salvado este dinero, y que no lo quiso hacer. Este Moro desbarra y habla de disparates como todos ellos quando no se condesciende con sus desseos aun que conozcan su infundada pretencion. … [S]e le entretubo con buenas esperanzas, hasta que aburrido, y por falta de tener con que mantenerse, se volvió à Cadiz de donde pasó à Mogador, à encontrarse con dicho Principe Muley Absalem. Me hago cargo que le habra dado noticias poco favorables acia nosotros, aun que esto no nos embaraza nada, por que creo que el Principe lo habrá escuchado como Ben-Abdelmeleck quien me ha dicho que nosotros no hacemos bien con consentir pasen los Moros a Esa Corte quando no llevan Encargo ó Comision por parte de este Soberano; á lo que satisfize se han dado ya providencias para impedirlo, pero este Gefe dessea que se hagan salir à los que en la actualidad se hallen Allí, por que sabe que ban mas a que importunar": J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Tangier, 19 November 1787, AHN, Estado, leg. 4319.

139 He was granted only 1,500 reales for his return trip to Morocco: El Pardo to J.M. González Salmón, 16 January 1788, AHN, Estado, leg. 4319.

140 Also called Absalem El Crassy,

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> that given another occasion he will cheat. This would not happen if when they seized his smuggled goods they had sent him here with them for His Moroccan Majesty to administer justice.[141]

This must be the same Karassi from Tetouan whose shop in Jacometrezo Street in Madrid in 1786 carried "the same goods" as those of Mohamed Barrada and Aly Castillo.[142] The next year he was admonished by Spanish authorities together with Mohamed Barrada and his brother Ahmed, all three for behaving scandalously with women and mocking the Holy Sacrament.[143]

8.5.19 *Ahmed Karassi* (*1787*)

Ahmed Karassi[144] was also in Spain, almost certainly accompanying or subordinate to his brother Absalem. We know only that he was one of the three Moroccans accused in 1787 of scandalous behavior with women and mockery of the procession of the Holy Sacrament when it passed along Jacometrezo, "the street where they live."[145]

8.5.20 *A merchant from Fez Who Died in Málaga* (*1787*)

Other incidents that may or may not be related to commercial activity might have harmed relations between Spain and Morocco if they had not been dealt with promptly. In May 1787 the Secretary of State asked the Spanish consul in Tangier about the incident of "a Moor who was disinterred in Málaga."[146] The consul consulted the governor of Tangier, who confirmed that in the Andalusian city "a Moroccan Moor, a native of Fez," had died, and after his burial in a place indicated by the government his corpse had been dug up at night and thrown into a corral. The governor had received a complaint from the

141 "[A]l principio estubo con tanto miedo, y recelo de que lo supiese el Rey de Marruecos, que interezó a varios Moros, para que yo no diesse quexa alguna contra él; efectivamente no la di por que no tube de este passage ninguna noticia de oficio, y solo lo supe por los mismos que me hablaron interviniendo por el Crassy, y como después pudo este negociar el que se le volviesen sus Musolinas con la condición de traerlas a Tetuan, cobró animo, y no dudo que si se le proporciona otra occasión haga fraudes, lo que no sucedería si quando le agarraron los generos de contravando lo huviesen enviado aquí con ellos, para que S.M. Marroqui lo juzgase": J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Tangier, 12 March 1787, AHN, Estado, leg. 4319.

142 *Diario de Madrid*, 18 September 1786. Cited in Sarasúa, *Criados*, 138.

143 El Pardo to J.M. González Salmón, 16 January 1787, AHN, Estado, leg. 4319.

144 Also known as Ajmed el Crassi.

145 El Pardo to J.M. González Salmón, 16 January 1787, AHN, Estado, leg. 4319.

146 Aranjuez, Count Floridablanca to J.M. González Salmón, 15 May 1787, AHN, Estado, leg. 4319.

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deceased's brother and had convinced him to discuss the matter in Tangier before appealing to the sultan. He hoped to dissuade him from "expressing his complaint, because it will certainly make a bad impression on His Moroccan Majesty, not so much because the Moor was killed but because they disinterred him and threw his body into a filthy place." The consul doubted that all the details of the story were true, but promised to write to the Admiral of the Coast of Granada asking for information: if the tale were confirmed they must determine "who the guilty parties were, both in the Moor's death and in his disinterment; they will be punished as their crime requires and if they are apprehended we will not show them the slightest mercy." The governor of Tangier awaited the consul's conclusions, and the latter approved his caution.[147]

Having received information from Málaga, the consul provided a new version of the events: the Moroccan "was wounded and then cured, but after many days fell victim to malignant tertian fevers from which he died. He was buried by other Moors in the place designated for it, where Protestants are also buried." His brother claimed that his body had been exhumed and profaned by unknown persons, but the Spanish consul hastened to tell the governor of Tangier that the report was untrue. Armed with letters from the governor of Málaga, he told Tangier's governor that he possessed

> authentic justifying documents that reveal as imaginary and false everything that the brother of the dead Moor had told the governor. For although it is true that he was wounded and cured … On examining the spot where the cadaver was buried it was found to bear not the least trace of any person's having been there.

The governor of Tangier accepted the explanation, which demonstrated "the imposture and falsehood they have accumulated against us."[148] The important point here is that both governor and consul agreed in giving the lie to the false accusation, to keep it from harming the relations between the two countries:

147 J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Tangier, 3 May 1787, AHN, Estado, leg. 4319.

148 "…con documentos autenticos y justificativos, que dán por supuesto y falso todo quanto á este Governador le avia dicho el hermano del Moro Muerto; por que aunque fue cierto lo hirieron, curó y después de muchos días le acometieron unas Tercianas malignas de que falleció y se le dio Sepultura por otros Moros en el sitio señalado para ello, y donde se entierra a los Protestantes; que examinado el lugar donde se puso el Cadaver se encontró sin el menor indicio de que persona alguna huviese llegado a él": J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Tangier, 30 June 1787, AHN, Estado, leg. 4319.

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> A brother of the dead man who is now in Tetouan wishes to raise a complaint to His Moroccan Majesty about the whole affair. But he has written to him to desist and come to Tangier to speak to me before going to the Court. Ben Abdelmelek also told me that he was acting on the hope that once he was here he could be dissuaded from making that complaint, which would surely make a poor impression on His Moroccan Majesty – not so much for having killed the Moor as for having disinterred him and thrown his corpse in a filthy place.

The governor trusted the consul's account:

> He gave me to understand that he had no doubt of our honesty and fairness, but that the king his master would still be much displeased if he heard that after one of his vassals died in Spain he was thrown into a corral. And if the deceased's brother should come here, at least we can detain him while we obtain some report of what really happened. And I find the governor's decision a very prudent and correct one.[149]

The problem of Muslim burials in Spain – where by the late eighteenth century Muslims could live in total freedom – remained unresolved and would be deferred to a later date.

8.5.21 *Hamet Almanzor (1789)*

In 1789 Hamet Almanzor and Hamant Sidon, two "Moroccan Moors," filed a petition after having had 37,000 pesos fuertes confiscated in Cádiz: "they say they had sent them from Tetouan in a Spanish ship so that from Cádiz they could

149 "Que un hermano del muerto que en el dia se halla en Tetuan, quiere ir a dar quexa a S.M.M. de todo el echo; pero que él le ha escrito suspenda este paso, y que benga a Tanger para hablar conmigo antes de pasar a la Corte. Assi mismo me manifestó Ben-Abdelmeleck que hacía esto con la idea de ver si teniéndolo aquí, se le puede disuadir baya a dar dicha quexa por que seguramente hará mala impresión en S.M.M., no tanto por haver matado al Moro, como por que lo hayan desenterrado, y tirado su cadáver en un sitio inmundo. … Me dio a entender que no lo dudaba de nuestra rectitud, y justicia, pero que esto no quita para que desagrade mucho al Rey su Amo si oye que despues de haver muerto en España a un vassayo suyo, lo tiraron al muladar, y que viniendo aquí el hermano del Defunto, por lo menos se podrá entretener hasta que yo tenga algun informe de lo que en realidad haya ocurrido, y pareciéndome mui prudente y acertada la determinación de dicho Governador": J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Tangier, 3 May 1787, AHN, Estado, leg. 4319.

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send this money to the north." The local office of the Treasury investigated and found that

> the result is very different from what the Moors claim in their petition: there are reasons to suspect that the money did not come from Tetouan and may belong to some merchants from Cádiz. These, by using the Moors and abusing the privilege and tolerance we offer them, have fraudulently attempted to export that silver to the North.

Silver coins and perhaps gold ones also circulated in mysterious ways that were difficult to track and account for. Officials must be vigilant about the "sinister reports" that Moroccans would provide in their native land, and the vice consul in Tangier was instructed to inform the sultan himself or his minister about any cases. But there was no doubt that some customs officers were complicit, in light of

> the carelessness on the part of officials in Cádiz who at the moment of landing, and when the Moors deposited the boxes or chests of money in their customs house, did not demand the permissions or authorizations that I have ordered given to all those who take sums out of ports in Morocco for Spain and other destinations, if they have to touch at our ports.

The Moroccans Almanzor and Sidon, who were in Madrid at the time, were ordered to pursue the matter in Cádiz, and the Moroccan ambassador took an interest in the case. The two were found guilty but were allowed to "give themselves up to the Moroccans or whomever is responsible for them, with the requirement that they leave Cádiz and all other towns in His Majesty's domains without ever being allowed to reenter them. Otherwise the established punishment will be applied to them."[150]

150 "…[el] resultado hasta ahora es muy diverso de lo que los Moros representan en su memorial por lo que hay razones para sospechar que el tal dinero no ha venido de Tetuan, y si que pertenezca a algunos Comerciantes de Cadiz, que valiéndose de los Moros, y estos abusando de la condescendencias y tolerancias que se tiene con ellos, han intentado hazer fraudulentamente la exportación de dicha Plata para el Norte… descuido que ha habido de parte del resguardo de Cadiz, en no haber pedido a los Moros al tiempo de desembarcar, y depositar en aquella Aduana las Cajas o Baules con el dinero, las Guias o Despachos que tengo mandado se den a todos lo que por los Puertos de Marruecos saquen caudales para España u otros destinos, si tienen que tocar en nuestros Puertos." There were actually three Moroccans implicated in the affair: "Morocco, 1789, Cádiz, 1790, Madrid, 1791. On the smuggling and extraction of 36,933 pesos fuertes perpetrated on 1 October 1789 by the Moroccan Moors Benamar, Almancor and Amas Sidon." The case was

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This order does not seem to have been carried out: at the end of the century someone named Hamet Almanzor appeared in Cádiz once again and played an important role. We will return to him in the Epilogue.

8.5.22 *Hamant Sidon and Benamar* (*1789*)

As we saw in the previous section, the Moroccans Hamant Sidon and Benamar were implicated in 1789, together with Hamet Almanzor, in an illegal attempt to export currency. Benamar also drew the attention of Spanish authorities, probably for circulating negative information together with Jamet Bigga. In 1791 the Secretary of State ordered the Spanish consul to expel him from Cádiz "and from the kingdom."[151]

8.5.23 *Abdilfadil Yallul* (*1791*)

Yallul, from Tetouan, found himself in trouble in Cádiz in 1791 after the goods he was transporting were confiscated: he "crossed to Cádiz with some goods that were withheld by Customs as items that had lately been forbidden, although the petitioner was unaware of the prohibition." He offered to pay the customs duties in order to recover them.[152]

8.5.24 *Hach Abafidil Benchulona* (*1791*)

He was recommended by the sultan's secretary and ambassador Ibn Utman, who asked the governor of Ceuta, Luis Urbina, in 1791 if his friend Benchulona could be conveyed to Algeciras and then helped to travel to Cádiz by land. The Moroccan was granted thirty-seven pesos for his expenses and three horses to transport him and his goods.[153]

8.5.25 *Hamet Monfux* (*1791–1792*)

When war broke out between Spain and Morocco in 1791, according to the Peace Treaty of 1767 citizens of each country residing in the other had to return home within six months. Such must have been the situation of "the Moor Hamet Monfux, resident in this city" of Granada: around September 1791 he petitioned the king of Spain to let him remain until he had collected a series

still active in 1791: J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Madrid, 23 December 1789; Count of Lerena to Count Floridablanca, Palacio, 17 February 1791, AHN, Estado, legs. 5809–5810.

151 San Lorenzo to J.M. González Salmón, 21 October 1791, AHN, Estado, leg. 4324.

152 Report from the Cádiz customs house, 15 July 1791, AHN, Estado, legs. 5809–5810.

153 Arribas Palau, "La estancia en España de Muhammad Ibn Utman," 136.

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of debts owed to him, after which he would leave the country.[154] The debts originated in his "business of buying pearls for export, and also other types of clothing which he resells at retail to poor people for weekly payments; these people would suffer harm if he pressed them for the [full] amounts they owe him." Besides, he had a "suit pending in the Royal Chancellery over the transfer of the shop where he lives."[155] The authorities in Granada found it reasonable "to allow him a period of two months to put his affairs in final order and prepare his departure,"[156] and the king concurred.[157] The President of the Council of Castile conveyed these decisions to Granada, reminding officials there that Monfux had "appealed to the king asking that his departure not be hastened until he could collect several amounts that he is owed"; the king had granted him "a reasonable delay for making these collections, telling officers of the law to encourage them so that once the allotted time has passed this Moor shall leave Spain." But in case "his remaining should cause any inconvenience," the king instructed that he "depart leaving a list of his debtors, so that efforts can be made to make them pay and send the amount collected to him wherever he may indicate."[158]

8.5.26 *Sidi Mahamet Mekani* (*1793–1797*)

"The Moor Mekani,"[159] who had a relationship with the Spanish commercial house of Benito Patrón and partners, appears in the sources in 1783: the business specialized in importing wheat from Darbeyda (Casablanca). The French vice consul in Rabat, Monsieur Mure, told the Spanish consul that Mekani had lived in Cádiz: "as you have known for a long time, he crossed to Cádiz with his son to settle his accounts with Señor Patrón."[160] On his return to Morocco he

154 Count of Cifuentes, President of the Council of Castile, to Marquis of Contreras, 12 September 1791, Archivo de la Real Chancillería de Granada, Caja 4.405.

155 Felipe Gil de Taboada, judge of the military base, to Benito Puente, Granada, 26 September 1791, Archivo de la Real Chancillería de Granada, Caja 4.405.

156 He made his petition through a written report: Count of Cifuentes to Benito Puente, Madrid, 21 October 1791, Archivo de la Real Chancillería de Granada, Caja 4.405.

157 Count of Cañadas (in the absence of the President of the Council of Castile) to Benito Puente, 26 October 1791, Archivo de la Real Chancillería de Granada, Caja 4.405.

158 Count of Cifuentes to Benito Puente, Madrid, 17 January 1792, Archivo de la Real Chancillería de Granada, Caja 4.405.

159 Also called Mecany.

160 M. Mure, French vice consul in Rabat, to J.M. González Salmón, Salé, 18 June 1793, AHN, Estado, leg. 4330.

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claimed to have been well received, especially by the Spanish consul who was in Cádiz at the time.[161]

In January 1797 Mohamet Bargas, the governor of Rabat, complained to the Spanish consul ("our friend") that Mekany had been improperly detained in Cádiz by the Holy Office and accused of being a Jew:

> News has reached me of what happened there to the Moor Mecany, whom they put in prison without any motive. This is irregular, and besides they have supposed he is a Jew; you know his father and that they come from one of the principal families of Rabat, so the one who arrested him should have informed himself first among the Christians and Moors, to make sure of the truth and act justly.

He reminded the consul that, by the Peace Treaty of 1767, should "one of your nation commit any crime [in Morocco] we would either ignore it if it is minor or hand him over to your consul for punishment according to the laws of Spain." But Spain did not reciprocate, because "some of your judges act and proceed with Moors as they do with Spaniards, which is in opposition to the Peace Treaty." He resisted his first impulse to report the case to Sultan Muley Sliman before learning the consul's version of events, "since you have dealt with the affairs of this kingdom for many years, no one knows better the rules that prevail in it." He could understand that the consul might not wish to speak in Mekany's favor, but not that he should fail to report the incident. He also wrote to the governor of Cádiz, asking him "to punish the one who told the false tale that supposed Mecany to be a Jew; for if that person feels no consequence he will do something worse another day." Should Mekany die in prison "we would be much displeased with you, and if you do not remedy these offenses I cannot remain silent about them: I will write to Muley Soliman so that he can inform King Charles."[162]

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161 Letter from Sidi El Hadgi Abdalá Bargas, governor of Rabat, to Antonio González Salmón, AHN, Estado, leg. 4330.

162 "[M]e ha llegado la noticia de lo que ha acaezido ahí con el Moro Mecany que lo pusieron en la Carzel sin motivo alguno, y esto está fuera de regla, además de que le han supuesto que es Judio: Vosotros conocéis a su Padre y que proceden de una de las Casas mas principales de Rebat, y asi devio el que lo arrestó informarse primero de los cristianos y moros para certificarse de la verdad con lo que procedería según justicia." He added in a postscript: "We have always been friends and all the Moors of Rabat remember and recollect your generosity in arranging to send us wheat when we were in great need": Hach Mohamet Bargas to J.M. González Salmón, 16 January 1797, AHN, Estado, leg. 4338.

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The consul duly passed on to the Secretary of State the complaint about the Moroccan's arrest.[163] He thought it essential, to avoid "motives of mutual resentment," that Spain's justice system not violate terms of the Peace Treaty in its dealings with Moroccans; the treaty stipulated

> that a Spaniard who commits any offense in [Morocco] be handed over to his consul [struck out: "Commissioner"] so that, in trying him according to our laws, he receive the proper punishment and be sent to Spain; up to now the Moors have followed this scrupulously, and we should reciprocate as good harmony requires.

He recommended ordering the immediate arrest of the Moroccan who had borne false witness against Mekany, and that the individual be remanded to the Spanish consul to be sent on to the sultan and punished according to local law. That would eliminate any cause for complaint, and "keep Moroccan vassals more controlled, for without doubt they fear this outcome more than any punishment they might receive in Spain; and at the same time we would be observing what is agreed on this point [in the treaty]."

This policy brought other benefits as well:

> The Moors deal with our citizens in their country according to their laws, by virtue of which we do the same here with them according to ours (which are most benign and fair). Spaniards have suffered the cruel [punishments] that they inevitably impose, for just a small incident of smuggling causes delinquents to have their hands cut off; and very slight faults are in proportion, since raising one's hand against a Muslim is punished with hundreds of strokes that leave [men] crippled. Further, our good reputation would be much weakened if those citizens saw a Spaniard punished with the measures established for themselves.[164]

163 He struck out from the draft the phrase "on account of false information that he was a Hebrew."

164 "…que el Español que cometiere qualesquiera delito en el se entregase a su Consul [tachado: Comisionado], afin de que juzgándolo según nuestras Leyes se le impusiera el castigo correspondiente, dirigiéndolo a España, lo que hasta ahora han observado escrupulosamente los Moros, a que debemos corresponder, según lo exigen la buena armonía . … [L]os Moros tratan a nuestros Nacionales en su Pais con arreglo a sus Leyes, en virtud de que lo executamos nosotros aquí con ellos, conforme a las nuestras (que son muy benignas, y equitativas) sufrían los Españoles las crueles que irremisiblemente imponen, pues por solo un chico contrabando tiene la pena de cortar las manos a los delinquentes; y a proporción las mas ligeras faltas, como levantar la mano a un Musulman lo castigarían con centenares de palos, que los dexase inhábiles. A que se agrega que nro. buen concepto

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As a consequence of all this a royal decree proclaimed "that Moroccan criminals be remanded for judgment to their country with the brief about their case, the Commissioner being charged with forwarding it to their government."[165] The consul informed the governor of Rabat, Ibn Utman, and Tahir Fenis of "the treatment that in the future should be given to Moroccans who commit a crime." He hoped that this would satisfy them and they would "set aside the resentment caused them by the imprisonment of the Moor Mecany in this [city]. By this means we shall ensure that proceedings against delinquent Moors in Spain will correspond to those practiced in that kingdom against our citizens who commit some excess."[166]

8.5.27 *Taib Ben Cachet (1793)*

In September 1793 the governor of Tangier asked the Spanish consul general in the city, who was in Cádiz at the time, to protect Taib Ben Cachet, whom he was sending to Cádiz to buy for the sultan an assortment of fine textiles and linens worth 3,500 pesos fuertes.[167]

Because Ben Cachet had enjoyed the consul's confidence,[168] the latter could inform the Secretary of State that Ben Cachet's secret mission from Tangier's governor was to try to send Muley Sliman more than 36,000 pesos fuertes that had been seized from Moroccan merchants in previous years. He made clear

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se debilitaría notablemente si viesen aquellos Naturales castigar á un Español con las penas establecidas a ellos": J.M. González Salmón to the Prince of Peace [Manuel Godoy], Cádiz, 17 February 1797, AHN, Estado, leg. 4338.

165 Prince of Peace to J.M. González Salmón, Aranjuez, 3 March 1797, AHN, Estado, leg. 4338.

166 It was considered essential to inform the Moroccan authorities, especially Ibn Utman, of everything, since that information "will cause great satisfaction to that magnate. For he is persuaded by proof that his concerns merit Your Excellency's attention, and lends himself with energy to whatever is recommended as just and fair": J.M. González Salmón to the Prince of Peace, Cádiz, 10 and 21 March 1797. The Court responded that "efforts are being made to find and punish the offender, and the Commissioner [of the Holy Office] has been reproved, as the letter from the *talbe* requested": Prince of Peace to J.M. González Salmón, Aranjuez, 11 March 1797, AHN, Estado, leg. 4338.

167 Letter from Hach Hamet Dlimi in Arabic and Spanish translation: "The king my master ordered me to buy four lengths of fine cloth, twenty of the coarser variety [*estopilla*], and some of medium grade [*creas*]. Therefore I wish to send to that [city] Sid Taib Ben-Cachet so that someone you trust can guide him in performing this errand – that is, someone connected with Don Alexandro Risso – until all is accomplished." He offered to pay the price in Cádiz or to the Spanish vice consul in Tangier, and added that he had told Ben Cachet verbally "certain things for him to tell you in private": Hach Hamet Dlimi to J.M. González Salmón, Tangier, 1 September 1793, AHN, Estado, leg. 4330.

168 J.M. González Salmón to the Duke of La Alcudia, 6 and 27 September 1793, AHN, Estado, leg. 4330.

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that the sum "did not belong to the Moors, nor did they have any role except as an instrument for committing the fraud, and therefore nothing could be done in the matter."

González Salmón thought it wiser to send the sultan the fabrics as a gift, "since I believe this is his true desire. … The prince will be very grateful for this small attention and will punish the wrongdoers severely."[169] The governor of Tangier expressed his appreciation for the gesture.[170]

8.5.28 *Jamete Vinjut* (*1793–1794*)

In April 1794 Abdrajaman Vinjut, "a Moroccan Moor and native of Tetouan," sent two petitions from Málaga, one to the king and one to the Secretary of State. The first identified him as a brother of Jamete: "In the city of Granada, a year ago, a Moor named Jamete Vinjut died; [he was] a brother of the petitioner, settled in that city with a shop [that sold] a variety of goods."[171] He had made a will with the scribe Juan Polayno stating that Miguel Acosta would receive "whatever small or great estate he had; to whom he left sixteen thousand reales in cash, seven packets of emeralds, some furniture, and used clothing." Before his death he had also "agreed with another Moor to whom he transferred his shop; his goods had a value of fourteen thousand reales and they drew up a receipt for it to protect them both." After the decease, however, the Moor who had kept the shop "broke the agreement they had made" and "gave whatever goods he wished to the said Miguel Acosta." Abdrajaman claimed that Acosta "should not have received any item at all from that Moor because they had made their agreement, as is proved by the paper they drew up" and by the will. Later Acosta and the scribe Polayno decided that the former would take "a certain sum so that Acosta could receive the transferred goods," an action that showed "the twisted reasoning of Acosta and the scribe to obscure the truth: they believed that the deceased, being a Moor, would have no heir, so

169 J. M. González Salmón to Duke of La Alcudia, 6 and 27 September 1793. His proposal was approved on 4 October 1793.

170 Hach Ahmad al-Dalimi (who also appears as Amet Delimine and Hamet Dlemi) showed the consul "his gratitude for the fine treatment he received" and wrote him of "the constant friendship I have always had with you and with which you have treated me in that [city]": Hach Ahmad al-Dalimi to J.M. González Salmón, Tangier, 2 May 1793. J. M. González Salmón to Abdrajaman Ben-Nasar, governor of Safi, Cádiz, 3 Many 1793. J.M. González Salmón to Duke of La Alcudia, Cádiz, 10 May 1793, AHN, Estado, leg. 4330. See also Arribas Palau, "Ahmad al-Dalimi, gobernador de Tánger."

171 Both documents are dated 26 April 1794 and signed in Málaga in Arabic and Latin letters: AHN, Estado, leg. 5802.

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their deceits would not come to light and all would remain between the two of them."

The scribe, "in fees for [drawing up] his dead brother's will alone, robbed him of seven thousand reales." Abdrajaman felt that as a foreigner he was defenseless: "though the petitioner is a Moor and in a foreign land, powerful Sir, he can find no reason or motive for [the scribe's] having taken the seven thousand reales." He claimed that "various persons in Granada owed sums to his brother, as the account book shows," those debts adding up to six thousand reales; but the scribe had appropriated them also. Abdrajaman had traveled to Granada "as the heir, to take possession; and seeing that all that was done was unjust he reported it to the chief magistrate, who gave him no help." The Treaty of 1767 had made provision for the inheritances of Moors who died in Spain, and when the authorities in Granada ignored his demands he had filed his suit, as other Moroccans had done in similar circumstances. On his return to Tetouan he "informed his king of how that scribe in Granada had acted"; the sultan then wrote to the governor of Tetouan asking that he inform the Spanish consul general in Tangier. The consul, in turn, contacted the Admiral of Málaga requesting that the affair be brought before the president of the Chancellery of Granada, and Abdrajaman returned to that city to reopen his case. He still felt helpless, however: "Moors do not understand lawsuits nor does their religion allow for them, especially when there is no legitimate motive for them."

Abdrajaman pointed out that his brother had had no debts and yet he had been able to collect only eight thousand reales, while the scribe had received the other seven thousand plus six thousand collected from Jamete's debtors. Legally, then, the surviving brother should receive fourteen thousand reales. He asked the Chancellery and Admiralty of Málaga to force Juan Polayno to surrender the fourteen thousand and to collect "the fee for the testament" that his brother had drawn up.[172] His petition to the Secretary of State again stressed his helplessness: "finding myself in a strange land I am moved to implore Your Excellency's pity so that you may respond to the entreaties of your humble servant." Someone wrote on the margin "Recommend this to the Admiral," but we do not know the outcome of the case.[173]

172 The sums mentioned do not balance perfectly.

173 Abdrajaman declared his faith in the Spanish judicial system: "The justice that assists me." Abdrajaman Vinjut to Duke of La Alcudia, Málaga, 26 April 1794, AHN, Estado, leg. 5802.

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8.5.29 *Sidi Cassen Reisi* (*1793*)

In August 1793 a Spanish xebec from Ceuta captured the brigantine *Annuntiatina* with seventeen Frenchmen aboard, and it was judged a legitimate prize. It carried

> twelve Moors and one Hebrew with a Moroccan ensign and passport, and a certificate sealed and signed in Tangier by Consul Don Antonio Salmón, declaring the ship to belong to a Moor from Salé who is a friend of Spain. Therefore he requests assistance for the vessel, but in spite of these circumstances it is detained because it carries seventeen Frenchmen, two hidden cannons, and the flag of the [French] Assembly.[174]

Several Moroccan governors and merchants claimed that the brigantine flew their country's flag and was called the *Saida*, that its captain was Mohamed Ben Embark, and that the Frenchmen were merely passengers. They brought their protests before the consul and vice consul, and less directly to the Secretary of State; their action shows that the two sides enjoyed good relations, and that the Moroccans expected Spanish agents to intervene and resolve the issue in a way favorable to them. The governor of Tetouan, Ibn Utman, complained that the Moroccan flag had not been respected: "he was much surprised that the flag of these domains is not properly honored, which is a breach on our [Spain's] part." The problem was grave, for the brigantine could show passports issued by the sultan and the European consuls in Tangier together with "documents signed by the scribes of Salé that proved the legitimacy of its purchase by the Moors." The vice consul assured Ibn Utman that the Moroccan flag was scrupulously respected, and promised him to apply "the full justice that follows from the harmony existing between the two nations."[175] The governor of Rabat protested the Spanish decision to consider the Frenchmen crew members rather than passengers:

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174 "…doze Moros, y un Hebreo con Vandera y Pasaporte de Marruecos, y una certificación sellada, y firmada en Tanger por el consul dn. Antonio Salmon, en que acredita ser dicho Buque de un Moro de Salé con quien tiene amistad España, por lo que encarga se le auxilie, y sin embargo de dichas qualidades está detenido por traer á su bordo diez y siete franceses, dos cañones ocultos, la Vandera de la Asamblea": Marquis of Casa-Tilly to J.M. González Salmón, Isla de León, 21 August 1793, AHN, Estado, leg. 4330.

175 A. González Salmón to J.M. González Salmón, Tangier, 21 August 1793, AHN, Estado, leg. 4330.

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> I assure you that I have felt this action keenly, and for the moment do not wish to recount it to the king my master so as not to alter the good friendship that he professes toward your monarch. You well know that our sovereign (may God exalt him) loves yours very much; and the best proof of his esteem is the permission he has granted to Spaniards, excluding other Christian nations, to ship wheat out of these ports at a time when that commodity is still very expensive in our country and the Muslims complain of these exports. As for me, I am desirous that the king my master and yours may always continue to be in harmony.

The governor reminded the Spaniard that Moroccan merchants had set sail "after you had assured us that they could go wherever they wished without interference from anyone," and added that the captain's documents were in order. He was therefore surprised by the Spanish action:

> Since you are our best neighbors, and therefore the most beloved by our sovereign, why have you proceeded in this way against us, destroying all the ties that bind us and the assurances you have given us? Why are you committing such an irregular act toward our prince just for the sake of a few passengers who are protected by his flag?...As for us, because we have embarked passengers under our sacred flag you arrest and detain our captain, ship, and cargo, which belong to Moroccan merchants as proved by the documents that are in possession of the Moorish tradesman who is aboard our ship. You are making our captain waste his time, and you do all this at a time when other nations respect us; and it is customary that if passengers sail under the flag of a sovereign they shall in no way be molested.

He noted that he had provided a safe-conduct to the brigantine's French passengers to allow them to return home, and begged that the Spanish court be asked to release "without delay" the ship, its cargo, and "the passengers, since they are under the protection of our flag." He did not wish the matter to reach the ears of the sultan, who would take it very badly: "what you have done is improper, so I have concealed it from him that he may continue to feel the same sentiments of friendship toward you that you know he professes." The governor of Rabat also wrote to the consul asking him to mediate: "I will be grateful if you do all in your power to have orders issued as soon as possible to release Captain Ben-Embark."[176]

176 "Os aseguro que he sentido sobremanera éste proceder, de él que por ahora no quiero hacer sabedor al Rey mi Amo, por no alterar la buena amistad que profesa a vuestro

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The consul informed the Secretary of State that the brigantine had belonged to the French consul in Morocco, M. Mure, but that he had sold it at the outbreak of his country's war with Spain in 1793

> to a merchant of that city who, together with others, loaded it with different goods from that country to ship to Livorno. As for the seventeen Frenchmen aboard, I am convinced that they are the same ones belonging to its former crew, together with that of a tartane of the same nation that Mure also sold to the Moroccans. It sails from one port to another on that coast, and since these men have no money for returning to their country they have taken advantage of the occasion and the protection of the neutral Moroccan flag to go to Livorno and proceed from there to their homeland.[177]

Monarca, y bien saveis que nuestro Soberano (a quien Dios exalte) ama mucho al vuestro, y la mayor prueva de la estimación que le tiene, es el permiso que ha concedido á los Españoles, con exclusión de las demás Naciones Cristianas, para que extraigan trigo por estos Puertos en un tiempo en que dicho renglón se mantiene aún muy caro en éste Pais, y que los Musulmanes se quexan de dicha extracción, quando por mi parte estoy deseando que el Rey mi Amo y el Vuestro sigan siempre con buena harmonia… [V]osotros siendo nuestros mejores vecinos, y por lo mismo los mas bien quistos de nuestro Soberano, ¿como se ha podido efectuar de parte vuestra ácia nosotros semejante procedimiento, que destruye todos los vínculos que nos unen, y las Seguridades que nos haveis dado? ¿Que hagáis una cosa tan irregular para con nuestro Principe por solo el motivo de unos pasajeros que estan baxo la protección de su bandera?....Y Nosotros porque hemos embarcado Pasageros baxo el Sagrado de nuestra bandera, apresais y deteneis á nuestro arraez, buque y cargamento que es de cuenta de Mercaderes Moros según lo acreditan los Documentos que paran en poder del Comerciante Moro que se halla á bordo de nuestra dicha embarcación, haceis perder tiempo á nuestro arraez, y todo esto lo executais en una época en que las demás Naciones nos respetan, y que es costumbre de que si algunos Pasageros se embarcan baxo la Bandera de un Soberano, de ningun modo son inquietados": Sidi El Hach Abdallah Bargas, governor of Rabat, to A. González Salmón, August 1793, AHN, Estado, leg. 4330.

177 "…a un Comerciante Moro de aquella Ciudad, y éste, en compañía de otros, la ha cargado de varios efectos de aquel Pais para Liorna. Los diez y siete Franceses, que conduce, me persuado sean los mismos de su antigua tripulación con la de una Tartana de la propia Nacion, que también vendió dicho Mure á los Marroquíes, y hace viajes de un Puerto á otro en aquella Costa, y que no teniendo estos hombres proporción de regresar á su Pais, hayan aprovechado de la coyuntura y seguridad de la Bandera Neutral Marroqui con destino á Liorna, para desde allí transferirse á su Patria." The Spanish consul, who believed that Mure was sincere, considered it best to treat his French counterpart tactfully because his aversion to the French Republic (proclaimed in 1792) made him sympathetic to Spanish policies: J.M. González Salmón to Duke of La Alcudia, Cádiz, 23 August 1793. The seventeen Frenchmen were sailors from four French ships who had been sold

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He added that the matter must be dealt with so as not to prejudice relations between Muley Sliman and "important men of his faction," who "must find this highly irregular, since they had been solemnly promised that their mercantile flag would in no way be interfered with by our warships. Their distrust of us will only grow greater." He warned of "the damage that can ensue in our political arrangements with the Moors, if they do not see their brigantine released as soon as may be." He would be informing the sultan of the "reason that has been given for this detention, so as to dispel any bad impression the prince may have received from this event and so that he will have no motive for mistrusting our conduct and good faith."[178]

The Secretariat of State took at least some of the consul's pleas to heart: it ordered the Moroccans on board to be set at liberty while retaining the ship, its cargo, and the Frenchmen.[179]

More complications ensued when the Moroccans claimed that the brigantine's crewmen were mistreated in Ceuta, something that the city's governor denied. The vice consul, concerned for "the chief object of maintaining good harmony between the two nations," thought that the brigantine's documents should have sufficed to prove that it had been sold "to some Moors." He worried about how the detained Moroccans might react because of "the character of these people, who do not reflect on whether actions are proper if these inconvenience them in any way." "Ill-intentioned Moors" would exploit the incident, as would "Europeans [who] would find an excellent motive to make us uncomfortable on the pretext that we ignored the Moroccan flag, and would impugn our good faith." He thought it essential to inform Muley Sliman that "we have proceeded justly"; if this were done quickly "it would give him one more proof of our desire to strengthen our mutual friendship, acknowledging in his favor what public law granted to us; adding that the poor conduct of the captain gave reason to reprove him so as to avoid other cases of the same kind."[180]

The Spanish consul, for his part, told the Secretary of State "how resentful the Moors are because we do not immediately return or release their ship"; he feared that in retaliation they might interrupt grain exports just when Spain

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to the Moroccans. J.M. González Salmón to Duke of La Alcudia, Cádiz, 17 September 1793. Mure to J.M. González Salmón, Salé, 14 September 1793, AHN, Estado, leg. 4330.

178 The consul reported on "the feelings that this event have begun to arouse in those people," claiming that it was best to placate them "so that they do not grow inflamed": J.M. González Salmón to Duke of La Alcudia, Cádiz, 23 August 1793, AHN, Estado, leg. 4330.

179 Duke of La Alcudia to J.M. González Salmón, 3 September 1793, AHN, Estado, leg. 4330.

180 A. González Salmón to J.M. González Salmón, Tangier, 27 August 1793. Notice to the governor of Ceuta on 23 August 1793, AHN, Estado, leg. 4330.

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urgently needed them. He suggested that, "whether or not the detention is legitimate and well founded," the brigantine should be turned over "because the Moors will never accept that it was a legal prize, even if it were justified to declare it so. And if they note any reluctance on our part and grow displeased to the point of blocking our ships and funds, the value of the Moroccan brigantine's cargo would not make up for [the loss]."[181]

The king was persuaded to order the release of the ship and the Moroccans, while continuing to detain the French until it could be determined "what kind of men they are and the purpose of their voyage." His decision was to be conveyed to Muley Sliman "and the appropriate leaders," as "clear proof of the mutual regard and sincere friendship that the king still feels for him."[182] González Salmón notified Muley Sliman that "in accordance with the customs and rights of war that ship should be considered a legitimate prize, because among the men who make up its complement there is a larger number aboard from an enemy nation (that is, the French) than of Moors."[183] The measure was also announced to the governors of Rabat, Tangier, and Tetouan "and to the other leaders and magnates" to remove "any bad impression that this event may have made on them."[184]

Nonetheless, the Minister of the Treasury in Ceuta claimed to possess proof that the sale of the brigantine to the Moroccans had been "false and concealed."[185] The king therefore ordered the ship, cargo, and Frenchmen to remain under arrest, though he approved the Moroccans' release "as a sign of our particular regard and friendship." The consul had to write to Muley Sliman once more:

> The sale to the Moors is false, and arranged by the French themselves in concert with their friends; there is not the least doubt of this in view of

181 He also warned that delay in making a decision "can harm us greatly with every passing day": J.M. González Salmón to Duke of La Alcudia, Cádiz, 30 August 1793, AHN, Estado, leg. 4330.

182 Duke of La Alcudia to J.M. González Salmón, San Ildefonso, 3 September 1793, AHN, Estado, leg. 4330.

183 Spain wished to give a proof of its "considerate gesture" to show "how great and true is [its] mutual regard and sincere friendship" with the sultan: J.M. González Salmón to Muley Sliman, Cádiz, 10 September 1793, AHN, Estado, leg. 4330.

184 J.M. González Salmón to Duke of La Alcudia, Cádiz, 13 September 1793, AHN, Estado, leg. 4330.

185 The Secretary of State advised the consul: "once again: first look over the documents and arguments he presents, so that we may make no mistake": Duke of La Alcudia to J.M. González Salmón, San Ildefonso, 9 September 1793. J.M. González Salmón to Duke of La Alcudia, Cádiz, 17 September 1793, AHN, Estado, leg. 4330.

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> the documents, papers, and effects found on board, and the statements of the Moors and Frenchmen of the crew themselves. … Some Moors played a part in this affair, lending their names to disguise the truth of the matter. They deserve punishment because they have deceived both Your Highness and us: Your Highness because, on the pretext of having bought the ship, they received a passport from you; and us because while the ship and its cargo were French, as is now confirmed, they were favoring the interests of [the French] by means of dissimulation and pretense.[186]

Naturally, the "Moorish businessmen" from Rabat who claimed to own the brigantine and its cargo were very angry. They were Sidi El Hach Abdallah Bargas (Rabat's governor), his son El Hach el Miki Bargas, Sidi Cassen Reisi, Sidi Taib Reisi (the purser, nephew of the former), Sidi Lhage Hamet Feniche, and Captain Mohamet Ben Embark.[187] The governor claimed that the Frenchmen were not crew members but passengers, and therefore under the protection of the Moroccan flag; the captain could not leave Ceuta without them "because it would much offend our prince, since these men are under our flag."[188] The consul retorted that the documents seized, and the crew's statements, proved that the brigantine and its cargo were French, and that the Frenchmen could not be released "while we are in a state of war with them." He reminded the governor that freeing the Moroccans had been a demonstration of friendship.[189]

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186 "[La] venta á los Moros es falsa y supuesta por los mismos Franceses de concierto con sus amigos; no dexando la menor duda de todo esto los Documentos, Papeles y efectos encontrados á bordo, y las declaraciones de los propios Moros y Franceses de su tripulación. … Algunos Moros … han intervenido en éste asunto prestando sus nombres para disimular la verdad del hecho, son dignos de castigo, porque han engañado á V.A. y á Nosotros; á V.A. porque con el pretexto de que havian comprado la Embarcacion, alcanzaron el Pasaporte que les dió; y á Nosotros, porque siendo propiamente dicho Buque y carga de Franceses, como ahora se ha verificado, resulta que favorecían los intereses de estos por los medios de disimulación y fingimiento": J.M. González Salmón to Muley Sliman, Cádiz, 16 September 1793, AHN, Estado, leg. 4330.

187 Each one owned one-sixth of the ship, which they had bought in 1793 for six thousand pesos fuertes. The buyers pledged to take the French crews of four ships sold to the Moroccans to Genoa or Livorno. There was a certificate from the Chancellery of the French consulate general in Salé (6 June 1793) and another that recorded that the cargo (wool, hides, gum Arabic, and tragacanth valued at 8,366 pesos fuertes) had been sold to Cassen Reisi, Taib Reissi and another two Moroccans: Governor of Rabat to J.M. González Salmón, 28 September 1793, AHN, Estado, leg. 4331.

188 Governor of Rabat to J.M. González Salmón, 14 September 1793, AHN, Estado, leg. 4330.

189 J.M. González Salmón to Hach Hamet Bargas, Cádiz, 16 September 1793; also J.M. González Salmón to Duke of La Alcudia, Cádiz, 24 September 1793, AHN, Estado, leg. 4330.

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Ibn Utman, the governor of Tetouan, was also concerned, although it is not clear whether he was personally implicated in the brigantine and its cargo. He demanded of "our esteemed and beloved friend Manuel Salmón" the liberation of the Frenchmen "who are under the flag of the king my master." He hoped to strengthen the friendship between the two monarchies, since it was unfortunate

> to have any quarrel as we are beginning to renew our friendship. We continue in the same good harmony as always, and we hope with God's help that it will be greater than before; we trust that this time you will release the French, and that if another law should arise in relation to affairs of the sea you will inform us so that we can all obey it.[190]

The consul informed the Secretary of State that Ibn Utman "insist[ed] strongly" on the need to release the French. He would let the sultan know why Spain did not believe "the complaints that may reach him from the Moors about this affair."[191]

The brigantine's owners managed to attract Sultan Muley Sliman's interest to the case, though the sultan adopted a milder tone than theirs: he wrote to the vice-consul, "If you are at peace with us, you should not treat us worse than you do the Christian nations who are at peace with you." If the capture had been legal, he continued, both the Moroccans and the French should suffer the same fate; therefore he could not accept the release only of the former. Treating the two groups alike would be to the Spaniards' advantage: "Your generosity will be lauded if you put them all at liberty, or give all of them no cause for complaint against you." If Spain acted in accordance with the law of the sea that all nations accepted, it would have to mete out "severe" punishment to the captain "who exposed those Christians to danger and implicated us in an illicit act."[192]

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190 "…que haya disgusto en los principios de una renovación de amistad. Nosotros seguimos con la acostumbrada buena harmonia que siempre, y esperamos en Dios será todavía mas que la antigua, confiando en que por ésta vez soltareis á los Franceses, y si hubiese otra nueva Ley por lo que hace á la Mar, nos la comunicareis para que la observemos todos": Ibn Utman to J.M. González Salmón, Tetouan, 17 September 1793, AHN, Estado, leg. 4330.

191 J.M. González Salmón to Duke of La Alcudia, Cádiz, 27 September and 11 October 1793. The vice consul wrote to the sultan that the merchants had "deceived him with the documents that they presented to obtain his passport": A. González Salmón to J.M. González Salmón, Tangier, 24 September 1793, AHN, Estado, leg. 4330.

192 Muley Sliman to A. González Salmón, 20 September 1793, AHN, Estado, leg. 4331.

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Antonio González Salmón, in his reply to the sultan, assured him that Spain was treating the Moroccans well:

> It observes with the inhabitants [of Morocco] the same that it practices with friendly Christian nations. But in the case of this ship it has been even more considerate, ordering it released with its Moors and its cargo, even though by the general laws of the sea [the ship] was subject to being declared a legitimate prize by the mere fact that its crew included a majority of subjects of an enemy power.

Further, the French knew that "they were in danger of being seized by vessels of any power that is at war with France"; the captain had been warned both by him and by the consuls of Portugal and Venice that the Frenchmen could not ship as sailors. According to the "Public Law of War" the ship could legally be captured if more than one-third of its crewmen were subjects of an enemy nation.[193]

In another letter the governor of Rabat argued that the captain could not depart and leave the Frenchmen under arrest, "because he would fear displeasing our king under whose flag he had embarked them." The governor did not trust the documentary proofs found in Ceuta, claiming that the purser had been carrying "all the papers and documents concerning the purchase of the ship and its cargo issued by our public scribes and by the Qadi."[194] He could not understand why those documents were not accepted, unless Ceuta's "pirates and thieves" (a phrase crossed out in the translation) "wanted to take possession of Muslim ships." He assumed that the king of Spain had made his decision after having been "grossly deceived" (another crossed-out phrase), and added: "You know that I try by all means to maintain the good friendship that prevails between our king and yours, and between their respective subjects, so that harmony and proper proceedings may always be present between them."

193 "[O]bserva con sus habitantes lo mismo que practica con las demás Naciones Christianas amigas, sino que en el caso ocurrido con dicho buque ha tenido mas consideración mandando ponerlo en libertad con los Moros y su carga, no obstante que por las leyes generales del Mar estaba sugeto á que se declarase por buena presa por solo el hecho de ir tripulado con mayor numero de vasallos de Potencia enemiga": A. González Salmón to Muley Sliman, 25 September 1793. A. González Salmón to J.M. González Salmón, Tangier, 1 October 1793, AHN, Estado, leg. 4331.

194 Governor of Rabat to J.M. González Salmón, 28 September 1793, AHN, Estado, leg. 4331.

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> You offend me by not placing any faith in my words, instead believing some highway robbers who set themselves up as judges of their own case, producing testimony forged for their own convenience. … My probity is known to every Moor in the country, and these men trust whatever I tell them about you and your friendship. … My conduct and intervention established the friendly ties that exist between my master and yours; for when my master was here in Rabat I spoke much to him about this, and convinced him to allow you to export wheat from all his ports on favorable terms, something that no other nation has been able to achieve.[195]

He insisted that Spain had promised to protect Moroccan ships:

> The Moors did not decide to buy the ship commanded by Captain Ben-Embark until after I had assured them of the friendship I thought you professed toward us, trusting in what you had written to us: that our ships could sail anywhere without anyone hindering them. On this promise the friendship between us was based, and in return you have impugned my word before the king my master and all the Moors, so that in the future they will no longer believe what I tell them in your favor. … You who are our best and closest neighbors have treated us thus.

He had persuaded the brigantine's Moroccan owners not to go to the sultan, because their sovereign "would regret it very much, and that could alter the harmony that exists between ourselves and you: the ship belongs to his subjects and flies his flag, so I thought it best that they not complain to him." For his part, he "aspire[d] only to maintain the good understanding and friendship between the two nations," hoping that "you [Spaniards] will do the same, and make ever stronger the friendship between the two kings and their vassals." And he ended with a heartfelt lament: "We have always taken you for reasonable people of noble sentiments, and for this reason we wonder greatly that

195 "Me haceis la afrenta de no prestar fé alguna á mis palabras, y creeis mas bien a uno[s] salteadores que se establecen Jueces en su propia causa produciendo testimonios fraguados por su propia conveniencia". También se daba a valer: "mi probidad, que es notoria á todos los Moros del Pais, y estos se fian de quanto les aseguro de Vosotros y de vuestra amistad. … [P]or mi conducto é intervención se han establecido los enlazes amistosos que subsisten entre mi Amo y el vuestro; porque quando mi amo se hallaba en ésta de Rebat le hablé mucho sobre esto, y logré que permitiera la Extraccion de trigo á favor vuestro en todos sus Puertos, sin que otra alguna Nacion haya podido obtener semejante gracia": Governor of Rabat to J.M. González Salmón, 28 September 1793, AHN, Estado, leg. 4331.

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you can have done such a thing – something that no one in this world would have done, so as to avoid unpleasantness."[196]

In a later missive the governor complained that the brigantine's crew were being poorly treated,

> suffering many inconveniences and receiving justice from no one. If you wished to act honestly you would have the vessel, its captain, and its crew taken to Cádiz so that this matter could be litigated and settled there, so that the Moors might rest, for in Ceuta they are dying of hunger and are being mistreated in word and deed, which is unjust and goes against good friendship. … [The Spanish] in Ceuta wish to keep our money, our goods, and our ship; they are welcome to them, but let them at least give us back our Moors.

He reproached González Salmón saying, "How little have you kept your promises!", and ended by begging for the Moroccans' liberty once again, though in fact they had been detained only briefly after the brigantine had first been seized.[197]

The consul explained to his superior that he believed the brigantine and its cargo to be Moroccan property. The governor of Rabat had challenged him: if the authorities found "any item or merchandise that is not a product of the Kingdom of Morocco or does not belong to the individuals named in the

196 "[L]os Moros no se determinaron á comprar la Embarcacion que manda el Arraez Ben-Embark, sino después de haverles yo asegurado de la amistad que crei nos profesabais, fiado en lo que nos escribisteis de que nuestros Buques podían navegar en todas partes sin que nadie los inquietara, sobre cuya seguridad se ha cimentado la amistad entre Nosotros, y en pago de todo esto havéis desacreditado mi palabra acerca del Rey mi Amo y de todos los Moros, quienes en lo succesivo no creeran ya lo que les pueda decir en vuestro abono. … [V]osotros que sois nuestros mejores y mas inmediatos vecinos, haveis procedido asi con Nosotros. … Siempre os hemos tenido por Gente sensata y de sentimientos nobles; por lo mismo extrañamos sobre manera que haya podido suceder semejante cosa de parte vuestra, cosa que nadie en este mundo hubiera hecho para no dar margen á disgustos": Governor of Rabat to J.M. González Salmón, 28 September 1793, AHN, Estado, leg. 4331.

197 "…sufriendo muchas incomodidades sin que nadie les haga justicia; Si Vosotros quisieseis obrar según la verdad, mandaríais llevar á Cadiz la Embarcacion, su Arraez y Tripulacion, para que en dicho Cadiz se litigue y averigüe este particular, a fin que los Moros descansen, pues en Ceuta se mueren de hambre, y los maltratan en obras y palabras, lo que no es justo, ni se conforma con la buena amistad. … Los de Ceuta quieren quedarse con nuestro dinero, generos y Buque, háganlo en hora buena, pero siquiera que nos debuelban los Moros. … ¡y que poco haveis cumplido vuestras promesas!": Hadgi Abdalá Bargas to J.M. González Salmón, 18 November 1793, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

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documents," he would withdraw his complaint. Otherwise Spain should pay reparations for the damages incurred by the ship's detention, calculated by the governor at twenty-five percent of the value of the wool. The consul therefore advised that, to avoid further dispute, "even if the Moors did not claim the brigantine and its cargo (to which they have a right, according to their documents), it would behoove us to make Prince Muley Soliman a gift of the ship and its contents, while explaining to him the well-founded motives that led us to proceed as we have done." Handing over the ship and cargo as a special favor would demonstrate the Spanish king's generosity, while explaining the reasons for the seizure might "disabuse them of any notion that we proceeded out of self-interest and merely to exercise our power." If justice were seen to be done, Muley Sliman would be satisfied. The owners of the brigantine, however, "will never accept that there was justification for declaring the ship a legitimate prize, no matter how sound our reasons may be."[198]

The letters back and forth continued. Ibn Utman wrote again to the Spanish consul claiming that the accusation that the brigantine and its cargo were French had originated with both the captain of the xebec that had seized it and the Ministry of the Treasury of Ceuta, both of whom had a direct interest in the prize. He asked to examine the report drawn up in Ceuta: "If you would allow me to see these statements [by the passengers and crew], we could settle the matter at once. … [It is] a universal custom that an enemy flying the flag of a friendly nation should be free, this being the general law of all nations." Even if the ship were declared a legal prize and ceded to the Moors, claimed Ibn Utman, "you still have much scope for doing good; and the friendship between my king and yours is much greater than all this. We too have done far more that what the law prescribes in favor of the king of Spain. … If between ourselves and you, our neighbors, such a firm friendship reigns, you should not give so much importance to a petty affair like this."

Ibn Utman insisted that Muley Sliman objected to the arrest of the French "because to him, it is a great offence committed against his flag. … Do not continue this embarrassment for my master, because it would be a very bad thing. … The immunity given by the flag to the Frenchmen in that ship" had to be respected.[199] The governor also wrote directly to the Secretary of State,

198 In the consul's opinion, "It would be useful if we returned everything." In a sentence later crossed out he claimed that the return would be beneficial because of "the positive effects that it can produce, not only on Muley Sliman but on all the Moors of his states in general": J.M. González Salmón to Duke of La Alcudia, 18 October 1793, AHN, Estado, leg. 4331.

199 Ibn Utman, governor of Tetouan, to J.M. González Salmón, Tetouan, 1 October 1793. Draft letter from J.M. González Salmon to Ben Otoman, Cádiz, 17 October 1793. In November the governor insisted that swift action be taken about the brigantine, "suggesting that its

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"though in a different style," suggesting that "if there were no other solution," at least the Frenchmen who had traveled under Muley Sliman's flag should be set free. The Duke of La Alcudia reported to the consul that the king favored freeing the Frenchmen in spite of "the strange conduct of those people [the Moroccans]."[200]

Mure, the French consul, also wrote to insist that the Frenchmen aboard the brigantine were passengers. Its Moroccan owners, he said, "are extremely angry; I myself have had to absorb much invective and insults hurled against the people of Ceuta." The owners threatened to send a delegate to the sultan asking for "vengeance for such an obvious theft," and there was talk of detaining Spanish ships in Moroccan ports. Mure claimed that he and the qadi had calmed the waters by arguing that if an injustice had been done, it was because "the king of Spain has been fooled by the people of Ceuta," but that when the king saw the documents of the ship's purchase he would certainly see justice done.[201]

The captain and co-owner of the brigantine, Mohamed Ben Embark, also wrote to the Spanish consul, whom he considered his only advocate in Spain: "Our interests are in your hands, since we know no one else to [attend to] them in Spain, but I have not yet heard from you although you know I am your good friend and cannot forget the good you have done me. I hope that you will strive to let me be successful in my affairs."

He complained of the harsh treatment meted out to his crew by the "Christians of Ceuta," who

> have done us great harm, scarcely even giving us water. I went to the governor's house to tell him that this port was very bad and that he should send us to Algeciras or Málaga or some other port in Spain; and he replied

delay only causes complaints and disagreements between the two nations": J.M. González Salmón to Duke of La Alcudia, 29 November 1793, AHN, Estado, leg. 4335.

200 Duke of La Alcudia to J.M. González Salmón, San Lorenzo de El Escorial, 11 October 1793, AHN, Estado, leg. 4335.

201 Mure claimed to have owned the brigantine's cargo but to have sold it to Moroccans at the outbreak of the war between Spain and France. He had asked the captain to take on as passengers the crews of the four French ships sold to the Moroccans, confident that they would meet no difficulties while under the neutral Moroccan flag. He believed it impossible that any documents could prove the ship and its cargo to be French: "the Moors' ownership is sufficiently established by the papers they hold, and there should be no more doubt about it": Mure to J.M. González Salmón, Salé, 5 October 1793, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803. The consul considered Mure "a man of his word": J.M. González Salmón to Duke of La Alcudia, Cádiz, 18 October 1793, AHN, Estado, leg. 4335.

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> that he had no such order, so we should await the [order by] post; and from one post to the next they continue to hold us. The only three cables we have are in the water and totally spoiled, having been in use for three months; and I tell you, so you will be aware, that these Christians of Ceuta do not treat us by the laws of war or of peace, as you know better than anyone. They have also taken away our passport and our papers, even the ones certified by the consuls – even private letters from the pilgrims who were going to Alexandria and then to Mecca, as well as a small gold bar. When we ask for the papers, they reply that they are in Madrid. We are asking that our ship be taken to a safe harbor; if it is a true prize let them keep it, and if not, let them return it, but they want neither one thing nor the other. You should ask men of the sea if this ship can ride at anchor in this port for three months without damage.[202]

In another letter Ben Embark complained again about ill treatment in Ceuta: "These Christians do not act justly, for they commit fraud from the beginning and wish only to deprive us and our children of life. We are at your disposal and in your charge; you are the consul and protector of the Moors; you know us, and we know you."[203]

In an effort to recover the brigantine, the cargo, and the French crew, Cassen Reisi,[204] one of its co-owners and "a principal magnate of Rabat," arrived in Cádiz empowered to negotiate "to defend his rights."[205] He wished to proceed to the Spanish court but was dissuaded: he should not "doubt our fairness,

202 "[N]os han hecho muchos perjuicios, pues hasta el agua nos la escasean: fui á Casa del Governador, le dixe que éste Puerto era muy malo, y que nos mandara á Algeciras, ó Málaga, u otro Puerto de España; y respondió que no tenia orden, y que esperáramos el Correo, y de correo en correo, nos va deteniendo. Los tres cables únicos que tenemos están en el agua y enteramente hechados a perder pues hace tres meses que trabajan, y yo os lo aviso para que lo sepáis: y estos Cristianos de Ceuta ni nos tratan sobre el pié de guerra, ni de paz y vos lo saveis mejor que ninguno, igualmente nos han quitado nuestro Pasaporte y papeles, incluso en estos las patentes de los Consules, y hasta las cartas particulares de los Peregrinos que iban á Alexandria para la Meca, y también una barrita de oro; quando les pedimos dichos papeles responden que están en Madrid. Lo que Nosotros pedimos es que pongan en Puerto seguro á nuestra Embarcacion, que si fuere buena presa se queden con ella, y si mala, que nos la devuelvan, y no quieren ni uno, ni otro, pero vos podeis preguntar a gente de Mar si este Buque puede quedar, sin perjuicio, fondeado tres meses en éste Puerto": Mohamed Ben Embark to J.M. González Salmón, Ceuta, 4 November 1793, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

203 Ben Embark to J.M. González Salmón, Ceuta, 29 December 1793, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

204 He is also called Casem Reissy and, in French sources, Cassen Riya.

205 J.M. González Salmón to Duke of La Alcudia, 18 October 1793, AHN, Estado, leg. 4331. According to the letter Cassen Reisi bore from the French consul M. Mure in Salé, "he

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friendship, and good faith, nor that the king our master will attend to them." He appealed, unsuccessfully, for the brigantine and its whole file created in Ceuta to be taken to Cádiz to be examined by the Naval Court at the Isla de León. He also testified that when the ship's owners learned of its seizure they had tried to appropriate some Spanish ships, but that one co-owner, the governor of Rabat, had convinced them not to.[206]

From Cádiz Reisi wrote to the consul lamenting that "I am sick in bed and write you this letter because I cannot go to see you." He was worried that the brigantine might be lost "because winter has begun and that port is very badly [equipped]," and complained further that "a Christian from Ceuta stabbed my black slave, who is there with my nephew, and the wound leaves little hope that he will live." Since he considered the capture illegitimate he was requesting compensation for the expenses incurred for the vessel and its crew. He therefore asked González Salmón to

> attend to my affairs so that in some way or another the ship can leave that port. For this I wish you to write to your king about the expenses and damage the Moors have suffered since being detained there, for these are much increased; and I also wish you to request an indemnity, because the Moors have no one but you to advocate for them.[207]

Cassem Reisi heard from his nephew in Ceuta, Taib Reisi, with the news that Ibn Utman, normally favorable to the Spanish, had told Ben Embark during the latter's eighteen days in Tetouan that Morocco might declare war on Spain: "If they do not do you justice we will make war as surely as there is a God; yet he will be glad if things go well to everyone's satisfaction. Still, he has an order from the king his master to go to war over this matter and to seize the consul no matter what might ensue."

According to Taib, Ben Embark was glad that war had not broken out, believing that "Consul Salmón is working with the greatest zeal to have the court

himself could purchase the ship and its cargo and argue for their rights": 5 October 1793, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

206 J.M. González Salmón to Duke of La Alcudia, 18 October 1793, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

207 "[Que] miréis por mis asuntos para que de una manera ú otra salga del referido Puerto la Embarcacion por lo qual quiero que escrivais á vuestro Rey por el Gasto y perjuicios que han tenido los Moros desde que se hallan detenidos allí, que son muy crecidos, y asi quiero que soliciteis la indemnización pues los Moros no tienen mas que vos que miréis por ellos": Cassen Reisi to J.M. González Salmón, Cádiz, 14 November 1793, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

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do justice to you and restore your brigantine." Both Ibn Utman and the captain thought of the consul as the Moroccans' only friend.[208]

González Salmón informed his superior, the Secretary of State, of the complaints from the governor of Rabat, the captain, and Cassem and Taib Reisi. He shared their fear that the brigantine could be ruined "at the present season through the lack of shelter at that anchorage."[209] He also agreed with them on the urgent need for a solution so as to

> satisfy those people and avoid unpleasant consequences, such as Bargas himself has already suggested, though we are aware that they are in no position to threaten us, nor will this case lead to a breach for the time being. All in all, we should not incommode ourselves in the least in view of the reasons of policy and convenience that prevail in these circumstances.[210]

But the consul did not believe that Muley Sliman would declare war on Spain.[211] He assumed it was an exaggeration arising from the unceasing flow of complaints from the merchants of Rabat, who might have "put pressure on the sultan to satisfy them by issuing such an order; especially when, as now, he enjoys the favor of some subjects who support his faction."[212] The vice consul agreed: "Prince Muley Soliman has given repeated proofs of his sincere feelings for us and his wish to retain our friendship. It is very doubtful that he has given Ben Otoman the orders that the purser describes in his letter, of which we have heard absolutely nothing here." Still, he tried to find out what orders Ibn Utman might have received. While the affair would not "interrupt the good harmony that now exists between the two nations," there was a risk so long as

208 He added, "Send my greetings to Consul Juan Manuel Salmón": Taib Reisi to Cassem Reisi, Ceuta, 18 November 1793, AHN, Estado, leg. 4331.

209 J.M. González Salmón to Duke of La Alcudia, Cádiz, 29 November 1793, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

210 "…[dejar] complacidas ha aquellas gentes, y evitar conseqüencias desagradables, como ya las da a entender el mismo Bargas, aunque no se nos oculta de que no se hallan en estado de amenazarnos ni que llegue el caso de un rompimiento por ahora, con todo no nos combiene tampoco indisponernos en lo mas leve por las razones políticas y de combeniencia que militan en las actuales circunstancias": J.M. González Salmón to Duke of La Alcudia, Cádiz, 3 December 1793, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

211 J.M. González Salmón to Duke of La Alcudia, Cádiz, 10 January 1794, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

212 J.M. González Salmón to Duke of La Alcudia, Cádiz, 24 December 1793, AHN, Estado, leg. 4331.

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there was "pressure by the Moorish magnates of Rabat who are concerned with that ship."[213]

The consul said of Cassem Reisi that

> he displays very good conduct, as befits his birth, rank, and privileges in Barbary. And lately he enjoys much favor in Soliman's eyes, and in his native Rabat great acceptance and influence. All this forces me to keep him as happy as possible through courtesy and blandishments to soften his impatience. I will also do him some favor before he leaves, to maintain his devotion to us and gain the future advantages that his good opinion may bring.[214]

In view of Cassem Reisi's influence in Rabat it was best to keep him as an ally, so that everything possible was done to help him succeed in his suit.[215] When several months later Reisi planned to go to Madrid to plead his cause, González Salmón repeated that "this Moroccan is one of the most distinguished men of that city [Rabat]," and "through his character and kinship with the chief holy man of that province he enjoys much esteem in Prince Muley Soliman's eyes, while his conduct and good behavior deserve every attention." He recommended that the Secretary of State receive him warmly.[216]

As we noted above, the consul was in favor of returning the brigantine and its cargo to the Moroccans so as to convince them that, in spite of Spain's "having very just cause for declaring it a legitimate prize, we make them this gift out of pure generosity." He feared, however, that the step would be seen not as deference but as a way to avoid reprisals against Spaniards. Should any take place, a precedent would be established that might recur for any reason, "whenever

213 A. González Salmón to J.M. González Salmón, Tangier, 2 January 1794, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

214 "[S]e maneja con la conducta mas pausible, que esta es proporcionada a su Nacimiento, qualidad, y prerrogativas que obtiene en Berberia, y últimamente que disfruta mucha consideración en el concepto de Soliman, y que en Rebat de donde es natural goza de la mayor aceptación e influxo, todo lo que me obliga a conservarlo gustoso en lo que cabe por medio del buen trato y finezas con que procuro suavizar su impaciencia, y a demás pienso hacerle algún agasajo antes de su partida, a fin de mantenerlo a nuestra devoción, y conseguir las ventajas ulteriores que puede proporcionar su valimiento." Still, he thought that Reissi's complaints about the abuses against the brigantine's crew in Ceuta "may be greatly exaggerated": J.M. González Salmón to Duke of La Alcudia, Cádiz, 29 November 1793, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

215 J.M. González Salmón to Duke of La Alcudia, Cádiz, 15 November 1793, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

216 J.M. González Salmón to Duke of La Alcudia, Cádiz, 14 January 1794, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

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they imagine that they could gain advantage by it." Counter-reprisals against Moroccans in Spain would not work: "this is no way to calm people's spirits, so I believe the best course is to cut off any motive for resentment at its root." A decision should be made quickly: "if [the ship] is to be returned let it happen at once, so the Moors will not think it is the result of their violent protests, but rather a condescension that we wish to offer them."[217] While he considered the Moroccans fanatics, he hoped to placate them as far as possible while not bending to their threats:

> We shall not tolerate their notions or whims, because otherwise – if they realized that we needed their friendship or were desperate for it – they would become insufferable and would provoke us at every moment. … The people we are dealing with have a tradition of inconstancy and perfidy. Knowing Muley Soliman's character I do not expect him to declare against us of his own volition, but I do fear that suggestions from his vassals may cause him to act.[218]

As the affair grew more serious the Spanish monarch ordered that the decision taken by the Minister of the Treasury in Ceuta be reviewed by the Council of War, while the Moroccans be informed and made to understand "the fairness and solemnity with which their petitions will be decided."

Meanwhile Sultan Muley Sliman wrote to Vice Consul Antonio González Salmón to express interest in the case.[219] The recipient, following orders from the Spanish king and his brother the consul, told the ruler that he "may be persuaded of the fairness and seriousness with which his petitions will be

217 J.M. González Salmón to Duke of La Alcudia, Cádiz, 24 December 1793, AHN, Estado, leg. 4331.

218 "[N]o se les tolerará sus voluntariedades ó caprichos, porque de otra manera, y si comprehendiesen que necesitábamos de su amistad, ó la apetecíamos con ahínco se harían insufribles, y cada instante nos provocarían. … [S]e trata con unas gentes que son el dechado de la inconstancia y perfidia, bien que no espero del carácter de Muley Soliman se declare contra nosotros de su motu proprio, pero si, recelo que las sugestiones de sus vasallos lo hagan resolver." It was a matter of "avoiding an open breach; and at the same time the Moors must know that their threats do not frighten us nor turn us from what we think right. For to contain the Moors' pride (which they usually possess) it is essential to let them know that while we love peace we do not fear war": J.M. González Salmón to Duke of La Alcudia, Cádiz, 10 January 1794, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

219 Muley Sliman to A. González Salmón, 15 December 1793. A. González Salmón to J.M. González Salmón, Tangier, 27 January 1794. J.M. González Salmón to Duke of La Alcudia, Cádiz, 14 February 1794, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

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resolved on our side; which has also been hinted to Muley Absalem and the other magnates who surround him, so they will no longer listen to the insidious suggestions that people from Rabat may make against us."[220]

Muley Sliman wondered whether the seizure "was in accord with the Laws of the Sea observed among all Christian nations, or not." The Spanish reply reassured him: "We knew from your reply that the detention followed the proper rules."[221] The sultan rejoiced that the crewmen had been set at liberty, "because you have acted entirely rightly and justly with something that is ours. And this is what you have always observed, while your friendship toward us has been constant since the lifetime of our father (may he rest in God's peace), and now for our part we will continue the same, with God's help."[222]

We do not know how the affair ended, but the essential point is that channels of communication existed between Moroccan notables (provincial and military governors and merchants) and consular representatives of Spain that allowed for negotiating disagreements. While tensions existed, these channels helped to solve conflicts that arose between the two countries. Each side tried to persuade its own ruler by all possible means to intervene and find a solution satisfactory to all, even while individual interests were fiercely defended in every case.

8.5.30 *Alrahez Ben Alfaraed* (*1794*)

Alrahez Ben Alfaraed was detained by the governor of Ceuta for an unpaid debt of fifty pesos fuertes. The sultan's brother took an interest in his case and wrote to the governor:

> I understand that in that presidio there is a Muslim who wishes to leave in order to live among Muslims, but is detained because he owes a sum of money amounting to fifty pesos fuertes. If this is true I am forwarding a letter from Consul Antonio Salmón, who will arrange to collect that amount from me to put the Muslim at liberty. But if the man does not want to come to this country let his debt not be paid; this is my decision.

220 A. González Salmón to J.M. González Salmón, Tangier, 27 January 1794. Similar sentiments were conveyed to the governor of Rabat: A. González Salmón to J.M. González Salmón, Tangier, 16 February 1794, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

221 Muley Sliman to A. González Salmón, 5 January 1794. J.M. González Salmón to the Duke of La Alcudia, Cádiz, 11 March 1794, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

222 Translated letter from Muley Soliman to J.M. González Salmón, 5 February 1594, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

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> The Muslim is named Alrahez Ben Alfaraed. For this matter we have sent our interpreter Casem to that presidio [Ceuta].[223]

His case was not unique, because we know that there were other Moroccans in Ceuta at the time but not why they were living (or held) there. The governor of Tangier told his counterpart in Ceuta that "any Moors who are in that [city] who wish to come here [to Morocco] will be well received; as for those who do not wish it, may God help them."[224]

8.5.31 *Ziuziu (1795)*

Almost all we know of Ziuziu, a resident of Tetouan, is contained in a letter from his father, Abdelkrim Ziuziu of the same city, to J.M. González Salmón, whom he calls his friend.[225] He asks him to forward an attached letter "to my son who is in Cádiz or Madrid, so that by God's grace I may receive an answer by your hand." The father was involved in a lawsuit with Benito Patrón of the Spanish company in Casablanca: it concerned a matter of business in Mazagan that he had been unable to resolve through either the commercial tribunals or the consulate ("I begin to see that I cannot settle it unless the matter reaches the King of Spain"). He claimed to be the victim of an injustice, offering as proof "the documents that show my right against his, signed by our scribes and judge and declared legal by the consuls at Rabat and Salé." He had sent the documents to "my son in Madrid so that he may sue the aforementioned Patrón." The day before leaving for Madrid the son had written two letters. The first was to Hach Mohamet Bel-Larosy, Pasha of Doukkala, asking him to persuade Prince Muley Ychem to write to the Spanish monarch recommending Benito Patrón. The prince refused, because he was displeased with the actions of the Cádiz-based company; but the Pasha sent Ziuziu (the son) the letter in

223 "[T]engo entendido que hay en esa Plaza un Musulman el qual quiere salir para retirarse a vivir entre los Musulmanes; pero se halla impedido por estar debiendo un cantidad de dinero, eso es cinquanta Pesos fuertes. Si es verdad eso, os remito una Carta del Consul Antonio Salmon, el qual se encarga de tomar de mi el dinero de la dicha cantidad para la libertad de dicho Musulman. Pero si dicho hombre no quiere retirarse a este pays, no se pague por el la citada deuda, pues esta es mi voluntad: El tal Musulman llamase Alrahez Ben Alfaraed. Para estos asuntos hemos embiado a esa Plaza nuestro interprete Casem": translation of an Arabic letter dated 17 July 1794. The translator assumes it comes from Muley Soliman's brother from the initials "L.S.," although he states that the seal is illegible: AHN, Estado, leg. 5807, Exp. 9.

224 Letter from the governor of Tangier to the Count of Santa Clara, Tangier, 20 July 1794, AHN, Estado, leg. 5807, Exp. 9.

225 They belonged to a prominent merchant family in Tetouan: see a few references in Marín Niño, "Tetuán en la literatura colonial española."

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the prince's name without the latter's knowledge, so the letter was false. Ziuziu accused Patrón of lying: "He simply invents whatever he likes, to deceive and achieve his ends … while he follows his own ideas, always using falsehoods, toward both the Moorish and the Christian kings."[226] We know nothing of Ziuziu's efforts at the Court in Madrid, but it seems that matters did not go well for him; perhaps for that reason, his problems after his return to Morocco led to his imprisonment. In early 1797 the Spanish consul in Morocco intervened on his behalf before Muley Sliman, asking that he be set at liberty, and later expressed his thanks "for having the Moor Ziu Zin set free in response to Your Excellency's declaration in his favor."[227]

8.5.32 *Mohamed Ben Muchafi (1796)*

A merchant from Rabat, Sidi Mohamed Ben Muchafi,[228] wrote in 1796 to the Secretary of State, who was then Manuel Godoy, "the Prince of Peace." He introduced himself as a resident of Cádiz who had also lived in Seville. He wished to be charged only half of the usual export duties for ten quintales of cochineal, and hoped his request would be granted because "no one of our nation has failed to obtain what favors he asked from that royal court. This fact is well known to our sovereign and the whole royal family, who all praise Your Excellency's generosity." To inflate his own merits he added that in Morocco he had quarreled with a Spanish captain "who, according to the laws of our kingdoms, should have been beheaded; however my sovereign, out of deference to the Spanish nation, did not wish to proceed against him or exile him from his domains."[229] An Arabic interpreter at court, Elias Sidiac, found Muchafi's letter "very confused and written by an ignorant man; I have barely been able to understand it and extract its meaning." He suggested that the writer "come in person to express himself better."[230] We do not know how the story ends, only that the Secretariat of State forwarded the matter to the Treasury – though naming the quantity of cochineal as two hundred quintales rather than ten.[231]

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226 J.M. González Salmón to the Prince of Peace, Cádiz, 13 November 1795, AHN, Estado, leg. 4335.

227 J.M. González Salmón to the Prince of Peace, Cádiz, 13 January 1797; Prince of Peace to J.M. González Salmón, San Lorenzo de El Escorial, 31 December 1796, AHN, Estado, leg. 4338.

228 He also appears as Muhamet/Mohamet Ben Majamet Micari.

229 Document dated 22 March 1796, AHN, Estado, leg. 5818.

230 Elias Sidiac, Madrid, 4 April 1796, AHN, Estado, leg. 5818.

231 Report dated 8 April 1796, AHN, Estado, leg. 5818.

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We have seen how the 1767 Treaty of Peace, Friendship, and Trade between Spain and Morocco granted almost total freedom to Moroccan merchants to engage in commerce in Spanish cities and ports. It is also true, however, that such liberty was somewhat limited when Moroccans created problems. Both governments feared damage to the excellent relations between their two countries.

Still, the number and importance of those incidents should not be exaggerated.[232] The great majority of Moroccan tradesmen presented no difficulties at all and remain undocumented or perhaps mentioned only in passing, a probable sign of good behavior but one that tells us no more about them. The same can be said of Spanish businessmen and sailors who conducted their affairs in Moroccan cities and ports, though we have no monographic study of the subject.[233]

Of course the great majority of merchants, both Spanish and foreign, tried to evade the health regulations as often as they could and also engaged in smuggling – in the latter activity Moroccans were frequent "straw men" for European traders. There were numerous incidents of fraud, theft, etc., among this collective as well, whatever their nationality. Bearing this in mind we will avoid the impression that Moroccans were particularly guilty.

It is most important to stress that a merchant colony was formed whose members knew exactly where and to whom to appeal for solutions to their problems, even though many of them claimed ignorance of the Spanish laws, cases, and mechanisms required for negotiation. They appealed to magistrates, governors, admirals, boards of trade, Spanish consuls and vice consuls, ministers, and especially Secretaries of State (who often documented their contacts with Moroccan merchants) and the monarchs themselves, usually through written petitions. They entered into alliances with Spanish and foreign businessmen whose protection could sometimes help them.

Their frequent appeals to the Secretary of State and the monarch implied stays of varying length in Madrid or one of the royal summer residences; that, and Moroccans' insistence that their petitions be heard, developed into a serious problem. Repeated orders that they not come to court proved futile. Local

232 In fact, we have dozens of covers of reports on Moroccans that preserve only the man's name, without any date or place. The cases must have been opened on account of some problem, but for the moment we know nothing more about them.

233 In those cases as well, authorities on both sides limited the damage in any way they could.

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authorities in different cities and ports faced the same issue, including Spain's consul general in Morocco, especially when he traveled to Cádiz. A partial solution began to emerge during Spain's war with England in 1797–1802, as we shall see in the following chapter.

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CHAPTER 9

From a Moroccan Colony to a North African One

Between 1793 and 1814 the Spanish monarchy was wholly at peace during only two years, 1796 and 1803: in all the others it was fighting either France (1793-1795, 1808-1814) or Great Britain (1797-1802, 1804-1808). Those conflicts formed part of the long cycle of wars provoked by the French Revolution and continued by Napoleon's incursions.

Spaniards, Frenchmen, and Englishmen were involved in all these hostilities, a fact that gave great advantages to ships that sailed under neutral flags. Especially from 1797 onward, when the British Royal Navy blockaded Spanish coasts and ships during the Spanish-English war, sea travel became difficult in general and to nearby North Africa in particular. French and English merchant vessels that had monopolized trade between Spain and Morocco disappeared from that route once their countries were at war with Spain. Spanish ships, though their participation in that traffic was much reduced, did not abandon it altogether in spite of the conflict. Ships of other countries that were not at war began to take over the maritime routes between Spain and North Africa, particularly those of Morocco, Algeria, Tunis, Tripoli, and the Ottoman Empire.[1] By that time the Spanish crown had signed treaties of peace with all those nations: Morocco (1767), Ottoman Empire (1782), Tripoli (1784), Algiers (1786), and Tunis (1791). While Napoleon's troops were invading Spain North African ships were active in both its ports occupied by the French and those that remained free, especially Cádiz, throughout the war.

In these circumstances, what had been an overwhelmingly Moroccan merchant colony became a North African one with an influx of Algerian, Tunisian, and Tripolitan traders, though none of these formed such a permanent presence as the Moroccans did. In most cases a ship under a Muslim or other foreign flag would make a brief stopover in a Spanish port. It is essential to stress the large increase in the number of ports and cities where the presence of one or more North Africans can be documented between 1767 and 1814. In Map 2 below see the distribution of the Moroccan merchant colony, principally in the capital and in coastal cities.

1 For the phenomenon in general see Panzac, *Les corsairs barbaresques*, esp. Part 2. We will not deal here with Ottoman-flagged ships that came to Spanish ports during this period, because they were Greek: see Martín Corrales, "Capitaines et navires gréco-ottomans" and "Greek-Ottoman Captains."

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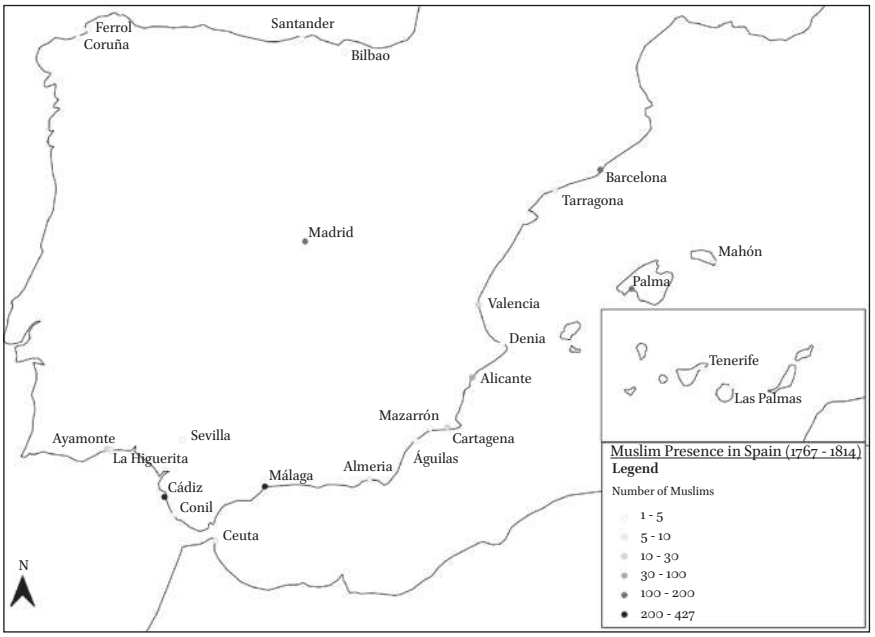

MAP 2 Muslim presence in Spain, 1767–1814

9.1 A Surge in Maghrebi Ships

Before the 1790s no Moroccan merchant ships seem to have entered Spanish ports. In October 1786 the kingdom's chief Board of Health asked its local branch in Barcelona how arriving Moroccan ships were dealt with, and received the reply: "In the port of this capital there has been no occasion to adopt any practice with regard to Moroccan vessels, because none has come here." Any ship proceeding from Morocco bearing a passport from the Spanish consul there underwent twenty days of strict quarantine.[2] In fact, until 1796-1797 very few Muslim ships arrived in Spanish ports, most of them North African corsair vessels in seach of repairs and provisions.

Spain's wars with England (1797-1802, 1804-1808) and France (1808-1814) allowed ships flying Moroccan, Algerian, and Tunisian flags to participate in direct trade between the Maghreb and Spanish ports. As neutral parties, furthermore, they assumed much of Spanish external commerce and coastal

2 Junta Suprema de Sanidad del Reino to Junta de Sanidad de la Real Audiencia de Barcelona, 25 November 1786, IMHB, FS, Serie V, leg. 12, fols. 33-36.

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trade.[3] North African captains and their pursers played an active part in this traffic. We have figures for the period 1792-1813:

TABLE 6 Maghrebi ships arriving in Spanish ports

Year	Cádiz	Málaga	Barcelona	Palma de Mallorca	Alicante
1791				1	
1792					2
1793	3				3
1794	2			1	6
1795	5				
1796	21	2	3	2	2
1797	44	157	39	5	27
1798	104	111	7	4	
1799	1	131	23	13	21
1800	6	46	16	27	
1801	9	3	11	14	
1802		8	4		6
1803	3	4	1	–	3
1804	2	1	3	2	
1805	1	10	9	2	
1806	5	58	28	21	
1807	4	53	48	58	49
1808	2	18	19	49	
1809	1	–	–	15	
1810	13	–	–		
1811	31	–	–		
1812	14	–	–		
TOTAL	271	602	212	214[a]	119

[a] Moroccan, 15; Algerian, 22; Tunisian, 1: Martín Corrales, "Comercio de las Islas Baleares con el Norte de África"

Sources: For Cádiz, Barcelona, and Alicante: *El Diario de Barcelona* (1792-1808), *El Correo Mercantil de España y sus Indias* (1792–1808). For Cádiz 1810–1812: López Molina, *Comercio marítimo*, 66. For Palma de Mallorca: *Seminario Económico* (1791–1809). For Málaga 1786–1794: Archivo General de Simancas, Dirección General de Rentas, 2ª remesa, legs. 1006-1020; for 1795–1808: *El Diario de Barcelona, El Correo Mercantil de España y sus Indias*

3 These ships allowed exchanges among ports along the coasts from Barcelona to Ayamonte, and even as far as Portugal and the Bay of Biscay. Of 212 Maghrebi ships that reached

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As we have mentioned, the figures are incomplete because for a variety of reasons the sources are not complete or do not offer information for every year:[4] those reasons include the wars that blocked maritime routes, and the epidemics of yellow fever that ravaged several southern and eastern Spanish ports, especially Cádiz and Málaga, in the early eighteenth century. There is no instance in which we can add up the figures for each port and arrive at a total number of North African vessels. First, nearly all the ships registered touched at several Spanish ports in one voyage, including, obviously, ships engaged in coastal trade. Second, a large proportion of the registered vessels and captains made several trips to ports in Spain. Third, at least in Cádiz – the principal receiving port together with Málaga – every arriving North African ship was not registered in some years. When the number of ships docking in Cádiz in 1799 was published, it was stated that "the names of some Moroccan [vessels], because the goods they brought to this port were insignificant or they came only with ballast, have not been recorded in the lists."[5] Some of these irregularities arose during states of war between Morocco, Algeria, Tunis, and Tripoli and European powers, or among the North African nations themselves. Both corsair and merchant ships enter into the statistics, though the latter formed a large majority. Our figures also mix vessels from Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli.

Of course we cannot assume that all these ships were really North African. In many cases they would have been Spanish, and perhaps of some other

Barcelona between 1792 and 1808 only 63 came directly from North Africa; the rest had been trading along the coast or with other European countries: Martín Corrales, "La flotte marocaine."

4 One of the least complete cases is that of Alicante: I have used the *Diario de Barcelona* which, though wholly trustworthy for the Catalan capital, is much less so for Alicante and Málaga. Those two ports are also imperfectly represented in *El Correo Mercantil de España y sus Indias*. The collection consulted for Palma de Mallorca, *Seminario Económico,* lacks several volumes and besides, the figures on ships that entered that port each year do not always add up to the total given in each volume. For example, the volume for 21 March 1801 relates that twenty North African ships (11 Moroccan, 5 Algerian, 4 Tunisian) reached Palma in 1800, but the sum of those registered individually is twenty-seven. Aside from errors in compiling these statistics, some of those ships may actually have been Spanish but sailing under a flag of convenience or of a neutral nation.

5 The total number was published on 20 January and the clarification ten days later: *El Correo Mercantil de España y sus Indias*, 20 and 30 January 1800.

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country, with a Moroccan captain and crew so as to avoid confrontation with English or French corsairs and warships.[6]

In spite of all this, there was certainly a significant increase in the size of the various North African merchant fleets. In Morocco, for instance, the sultan tried (not very successfully) to encourage the purchase of European merchant ships and attract experienced European sailors who could train Moroccan crews in commercial navigation.[7] Men of the sultan's court and his Makhzen bought European vessels to stimulate their country's maritime economy, at a period that favored the participation of neutral countries in trade. In 1780 a group of businessmen from Rabat bought a half share in a xebec and sent it with foodstuffs to Gibraltar,[8] and in the same year *Alcaide* Abdelmagid Ben Zerak asked Spain to let him go to Gibraltar to buy a ship.[9] In the previous chapter we also related the purchase – genuine or feigned – of a French vessel by six important men of Rabat.[10] In the present chapter we will see how Captains Ataib, Hamet Yngles Salazar, and Alhach Malamud Amasaid acquired a polacre in Gibraltar in 1799. Caddur Ben Gileli also owned several merchant ships. In 1799 Alfach Muhamed, a Rabat resident, bought the mistico *Envía* with all its appurtenances from Juan Capuano of Genoa for ten thousand reales de vellón.[11] The port of Gibraltar became an important market for ships, thanks to those seized by

6 In 1797 a settee under Captain Josep Pujol arrived in Barcelona from Ayamonte with a cargo of sardines and figs, flying the Moroccan flag: *Diario de Barcelona*, 7 February 1798. Also in 1797 the English captured a mistico owned by Alonso de Casas, a scribe from Estepona, which was sailing with "a Moroccan patent and papers claiming falsely that it belonged to subjects of the Emperor of Morocco." It was taken to Gibraltar and declared a legitimate prize. Report without names but probably meant for the military governor of the Campo de San Roque, dated 24 March 1801, AHN, Estado, 5807.

7 Lourido Díaz, *Marruecos y el mundo exterior*, 106-08.

8 J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Tangier, 4 May 1780, AHN, Estado, leg. 4314.

9 Abdelmagid Ben Zerak asked the Spanish consul to solicit Antonio Barceló, who led the blockade of Gibraltar, for permission to enter that port. The consul did not wish to comply, since "the object of his trip to Gibraltar, according to him, was to buy a ship; and even you suspect that this was a pretext and not his true purpose": J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Tangier, 6 May 1780, and Floridablanca to J.M. González Salmón, Aranjuez, 9 May 1780. Shortly after it was learned that the *alcaide* was aboard a Moroccan sloop that had come from Málaga with a cargo of figs, raisins, and lard and had anchored in Gibraltar: J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Tangier, 26 May 1780, AHN, Estado, leg. 4314.

10 Governor Hadgi Abdallah Bargas, his son Meki Bargas, Cassen Reisi, his nephew Taib Reisi, Hach Hamed Fannis (brother of a distinguished *alcaide* of the sultan), and Captain Ben Embarck. See Chapter 8, section 8.5.29.

11 Archivo Provincial de Málaga, scribe Joaquín Ruiz Rando, leg. 3773, fol. 394. In Málaga in 1810 the Algerian Alí Solimán bought the felucca *San Juan* from José Aguirre for 25,000 reales de vellón: APM, scribe Francisco Joaquín Zumaque Rueda, leg. 3852.

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English and other foreign corsairs, so that a good number of North Africans went there to make their purchases.[12]

Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli also sought to develop merchant fleets devoted to trade.[13] All these countries gained larger shares of direct commerce between the two shores of the Mediterranean, to the detriment of the clear dominance that England, France, and Spain had previously enjoyed. Yet Morocco was frustrated in its efforts to create a true merchant marine.[14]

9.2 The Spanish–Moroccan Treaty of Peace of 1799: Adjustment to a State of War

In previous pages we have spoken of the importance of Spanish-Moroccan trade from 1767 onward. As we saw in Chapter 8, almost all exchanges were performed with ships and merchants from Spain and other European countries, while those from Morocco were late in appearing in Spanish ports. There were, naturally, some incidents and conflicts (as happened with Spaniards in Morocco as well). Relations between the two countries grew tense at two specific periods that culminated in the brief wars of 1774-1775 and 1790-1791, and to resolve these problems their monarchs entered into new negotiations that culminated in the Treaty of Peace, Friendship, and Trade of 1799. It was an explicit continuation of earlier treaties, as its first article states: the Treaty of 1767, the Agreement of 1780, and the Arrangement (*Arreglo*) of 1785 "are renewed and confirmed in all that is not contrary to the present treaty." Its thirty-eight articles prove that both sides wished to avoid any negative consequences on their mutual alliance from mercantile issues; this new pact sought to lessen the impact of disagreements that might arise in the future. Twelve articles are devoted exclusively to commercial matters, which appear in a few others as well. Specifically, it was made clear that "Moroccans in Spain will pay the same fees of import and export on goods they own, whose exit and entrance is permitted, as they have up to the present time" (Article 26). The related Articles 27, 28, and 29 fix the import and export duties that Spaniards would pay in Moroccan ports. Article 32 established the anchorage fee. Several more were concerned with sea travel, e.g., "Merchant ships of both nations may anchor in the ports

12 Marina Alfonso, "La procedencia de la flota del Libre Comercio."

13 Panzac, *Les corsairs barbaresques*.

14 For the difficulties in establishing Maghrebi merchant fleets see, aside from works by Lourido Díaz and Panzac already cited, the classic studies by Mathiex, "Sur la marine marchande barbaresque"; Emerit, "Essai d'une marine marchande barbaresque."

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of the other if they are furnished with papers from the proper authorities" (Article 16). Two articles referred to problems caused by corsairs of third nations. Article 19 stated that Moroccan corsairs had to free Spaniards and their goods from third-country ships they captured:

> As proof of the good harmony that should prevail between the two nations, if Moroccan corsairs should seize any enemy vessel that carries Spanish sailors or passengers, merchandise, or any other property of subjects of His Catholic Majesty, they shall release them to their consul general with all their goods and effects. … Spanish ships shall do the same with the subjects of His Moroccan Majesty that they may encounter in captured enemy ships.

By extension, the rule required

> granting freedom to the subject persons and goods of powers that are enemies of either one of our countries, who sail in Spanish or Moroccan ships with legal passports that make clear what baggage and effects belong to them, unless those should be forbidden by the laws of war.

Under Article 20 there could be no sale of either Spanish ships seized by enemies of Spain and taken to Morocco or Moroccan ships seized by enemies of Morocco and taken to Spain; their crew, passengers, and cargo were likewise protected. Article 25 stipulated that there could be no claim for "restitution of Muslims from any country who were brought to a Spanish port in a Moroccan warship."

An important provision was the sultan's concession to Madrid's Five Guilds (*Compañía de los Cinco Gremios Mayores*) of exclusive rights to export grain from Casablanca, "Paying sixteen reales de vellón for each fanega of wheat and eight for each one of barley, thus continuing in force and value the agreements to the purpose that have been made previously with His Moroccan Majesty." The door was left open to the Spanish monarch's extending that privilege to any subjects he wished. The text explicitly recognized this right as a gift: "His Moroccan Majesty shall declare that he offers exclusive rights in that port not out of respect for the said company but as a gift to the king of Spain." The same Article 30 granted similar rights to the Benito Patrón company of Cádiz.

It is significant that, if the Moroccan sultan were to find "some just motive for forbidding the export of grain, or any other commercial goods or effects,

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from his domains," the measure would not affect any grain or merchandise that Spaniards might have purchased before the prohibition (Article 31). Under Article 33, hemp fiber and timber could be exported to Spanish shipyards.

Several articles reflect the wishes of both nations that their subjects not cause problems or commit crimes in the allied country. Moroccans traveling to Spain had to show passports issued by the Spanish consul in Tangier or the vice consuls established in other Moroccan ports, and without them could be denied entrance:

> Those who do not present such documents will not be admitted on any pretext. But if they possess them in good order they shall be offered every protection and surety, and the government shall ensure that they not suffer any ill treatment or vexation, punishing severely anyone who interferes with them; and to this effect His Catholic Majesty shall issue the strictest orders to the governors of the various ports. (Article 3)

In matters of trade there were provisions for breaches of agreements or contracts by either side, "in every claim over payment of debts, fulfillment of a contract, or any kind of disagreement." Moroccans must appeal to Spanish authorities if they had been treated unjustly, since there was no Moroccan consul in Spain: "The administration of justice must be reciprocal and performed in good faith as a firm principle of friendship and good harmony between the two nations" (Article 5).

Other articles addressed violations of Spanish law. Measures were taken to prevent smuggling by Moroccans on Spanish soil and by Spaniards in Morocco:

> Any Moroccan apprehended with contraband goods in the act of taking them in or out of a port in Spain shall be sent as a prisoner with his goods to the Government of Morocco, with a report to the Consul General so that he may be punished in proportion to his offense. But if the goods belong to a Christian they will be retained and decommissioned in Spain, sending only the perpetrator. Should a Moroccan subject arrive at a [Spanish] port with goods of this kind or introduce them not knowing they were prohibited, he must declare them; otherwise he shall be subject to the punishment described above. (Article 34)

A separate article decreed that goods to be traded had to be declared at customs:

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> Therefore both Spaniards and Moors who engage in trade between Morocco and Spain must declare in the customs houses of His Catholic Majesty, by means of a certificate from the Consul General, vice consul, or commissioner in a Moroccan port, the goods and effects that leave the latter for [Spain], [stating] exactly where they will be introduced. Without this they shall receive no reduction in the duties described in Article 28 and will pay the same as other nations who do not enjoy the privilege. (Article 38)

Moroccans who committed any "scandal, insult, or crime" in Spain were to be turned over to the Spanish consul in Tangier, with no more than a written notice from the local Spanish authority; Morocco would then impose the appropriate punishment. Spain would protect the goods of any Moroccans who died in Spain. Citizens of the North African nation could buy land in Spain and build on it, then rent their buildings on whatever terms they wished. They could not be forced "to lodge or maintain anyone in their homes." They enjoyed limited religious freedom: "Moroccans living in Spain may perform privately, as they have up to now, the acts required by their religion." They could leave Spain at any time, so long as they had paid their debts and settled their affairs; otherwise, they would have to answer to the Spanish consul and vice consul.[15] Spaniards in Morocco were assured of the same treatment as Moroccans in Spain, who in turn enjoyed in that country the same privileges as any other foreigners. While all these measures were well intentioned, the mechanisms for overseeing them and imposing the appropriate punishments were not always effective.

9.3 Spanish–Moroccan Cooperation to Prevent Smuggling

The concern about smuggling in the Peace Treaty of 1799 was entirely justified. During Spain's war with England in 1797-1802, Moroccan captains and traders saw a golden opportunity to enrich themselves by supplying food to Gibraltar, blockaded by the Spanish army and navy. They were not the only ones guilty of such activity: in most cases North Africans were acting as agents for European, especially Spanish, merchants. Below we will examine the cases of Captains Tuffe, Haslem el Rubio, Absalem el Jedit, Hamet Ford, Abdasalem Buasa, and Hamet Absalem.

15 Cantillo, *Tratados*, 685-91.

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It is not surprising that Spanish authorities were so worried by the new contraband activity involving Gibraltar. In July 1798 the Spanish consul in Morocco told the Count of Cumbre Hermosa, the assistant tax collector in Cádiz, that he had been ordered to prevent Gibraltar's provisioning with goods from Morocco: "the enemy are very short of these necessities, especially sheep, and try to obtain them by all possible means." The consul knew that "some feluccas flying a Moorish flag have loaded up with those animals, ship's biscuit, and other kinds of refreshments for Gibraltar, moved by the great wealth that these can earn them." To conceal this traffic, captains filed customs documents that claimed the goods were bound for Ceuta. To prevent such actions, the consul advised customs inspectors

> not to provide papers to any Moroccan ship loaded with foodstuffs that claims to be bound for one of the ports along our coast, or for Ceuta (I understand that they load them in El Puerto de Santa María or Isla de León). If these precautions are not taken we will be the ones who are indirectly supplying our enemies with goods that they need badly.

He thought that Moroccans were merely lending their names to the enterprise, at least in the first years of the war: "the Moors need only provide their names, for I presume the business is done by Christians." But since real Moroccan ships also participated in the illicit trade, he suggested that

> the Coast Guard's feluccas watch for Moroccan vessels that sail from this bay [of Cádiz] or from Santi Petri; and if they find one loaded with victuals they detain it and inform me. Then I can send the captain or captains who commit this offense as prisoners to Tangier, where they will surely be punished severely by their sovereign, for he is determined that the English not receive this type of aid.[16]

16 "…no habiliten de Papeles a ninguna Embarcación Marroquí que con carga de Viveres diga que ba para alguno de los Puertos de nuestra costa, para Ceuta, (que según tengo entendido los cargan por el Puerto de Santa Maria, ó Ysla de Leon), pues de no tomar estas precauciones se verifica que Nosotros mismos somos los que indirectamente proveemos a nuestros enemigos de unos renglones que, les estan haciendo suma falta. … [S]e previniese a los Faluchos del Resguardo para que vijilen sobre los Barcos Marroquies, que salgan de esta Bahia, o por Sti.Petri, y si se aprende alguno cargado de refrescos, se detenga y se me de parte para mandar al Arraez ó Arraezes, que incurran en este delito, arrestados a Tanger, que seguramente serán castigados con el mayor rigor por su soverano, pues justamente está empeñado en que los Yngleses carezcan de estos auxilios": marked "Private," J.M. González Salmón to Count of Cumbre Hermosa, Cádiz, 20 July 1798, AHN, Estado, leg. 4340.

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The consul told the Secretary of State of his efforts to put an end to the practice, "news having reached me that some ships flying the Moroccan flag but of Spanish ownership are carrying refreshments to Gibraltar." He also informed the squadron commander, José de Mazarredo, "in case one of them can be caught." But he was aware of the difficulty of thwarting this activity in light of the large profits to be made from selling North African foodstuffs in Gibraltar: "a pound of mutton there has sold for fifteen reales and a pound of beef for twenty-four, of the small amount that reaches them from Arzew."[17] Still, the consul hoped that preventive measures would be approved.[18]

The Spanish consul reminded the Secretary of State of the policy applied in 1798 to Moroccan ships that tried to enter Gibraltar with provisions. Spain had not notified the sultan formally "that we consider the port of Gibraltar blockaded by us, and therefore hold as a legitimate prize any effects that neutral nations bring to it." Therefore the Secretary should order that Moroccan vessels not be stopped, only "Moorish boats".[19]

Naturally enough, problems arose from this incomplete blockade (which was not communicated to all the interested parties), initiated by the Spanish and exploited by Moroccans who, as neutral traders, could profit from the ambiguous situation. In September 1799 the governor of Tangier complained of "a Moroccan tartane that, on its way to Gibraltar with a load of oxen, was detained by a mistico of the king and taken to Algeciras." The oxen, he said, belonged to Moroccan subjects who were shipping them "as payment for the gunpowder that the English gave them to satisfy export duties." He wanted them returned, "especially since this has happened at the beginning of [my] service in the honored post that his sovereign Muley Soliman has conferred on [me], that of Director of Foreign Trade." The consul, as he waited to hear to whom the animals really belonged, suggested to his superior that they "force the captain to sell the cattle in Algeciras, or at least urge him to go to Tangier."[20]

17 J.M. González Salmón to Francisco de Saavedra, Cádiz, 20 July 1798. There were many complaints about the behavior of "bad Spaniards" who supplied Gibraltar: J.M. González Salmón to Francisco de Saavedra, Cádiz, 4 September 1798, AHN, Estado, leg. 4340; also J.M. González Salmón to Mariano Luis de Urquijo, Cádiz, 3 May 1799, AHN, Estado, leg. 4341.

18 On the same subject, and on sales of gunpowder to the English by the Spanish squadron: J.M. González Salmón to Mariano Luis de Urquijo, Aranjuez, 10 June 1799, no. 92 (on the same subject as no. 68). J.M. González Salmón to Mariano Luis de Urquijo, Aranjuez, 10 June 1799, no. 93 (on the same subject as nos. 68 and 92).

19 Presumably, from other North African countries: J.M. González Salmón to Mariano Luis de Urquijo, Tarifa, 21 September 1799, AHN, Estado, leg. 4341.

20 J.M. González Salmón to Mariano Luis de Urquijo, Tarifa, 21 September 1799, AHN, Estado, leg. 4341.

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It hardly mattered if the cargo belonged to the English or the Moroccans; the point was that "this sort of traffic is useful to [the latter]." It was best to be flexible in this case "because safeguarding the Moroccan flag against the English (who also use it sometimes) better protects our commerce."

The prudent course, he concluded – "since we do not enjoy superior force in those waters" – was to set the prize free; otherwise Spain would not gain "the principal object of preventing supplies from reaching the enemy port." That task could be assumed by the English fleet on its own or as escorts to Moroccan supply ships. In either case, "without wishing to we tacitly reveal to the Moors our inferiority at sea, and indirectly allow them to be angry with us because they think we oppose their use of that trade." If the prize were returned to the Moroccans "as a considerate act" Spain would preserve "our commerce, which still operates under the Moroccan flag between our own ports." The gesture would strengthen Spain's request to Muley Sliman that he demand English respect for "said flag in ships that leave or enter our ports, in exchange for the freedom we allow it when sailing to Gibraltar." If the English declined to impede "ships of His Moroccan Majesty that traffic in our Peninsula, that sovereign will not object nor will he make claims on those of the same class that we may intercept as they enter Gibraltar." Once the case was explained at court, the king ordered that "the captain be made to sell his cattle there, leaving the ship and its crew at liberty." The captain was allowed to continue his journey.[21]

We cannot tell how many Moroccan ships, or ships displaying that flag, tried to evade the Gibraltar blockade. José Coronel, commander of the corsair felucca *Vigilante*, heard that the *Misiana* under Captain Hach Hamet Absalem had been detained and remarked that he engaged in the same trade, like others who flew the same flag: "several Moroccan boats and cargoes have been taken as legal prizes."[22]

Other Moroccans were detained for the crimes of smuggling, non-payment of debts, fraud, etc.,[23] but Spanish authorities, while confiscating their goods,

21 J.M. González Salmón to Mariano Luis de Urquijo, Tarifa, 21 September 1799. A note on the cover of the file reads: "Let it be stated that this prize may be sold in the place where it is held, giving the sale price to the Moroccan, with which all is concluded; let orders for this be given and let the consul be advised of the decision": AHN, Estado, leg. 4341.

22 José Coronel to Count de la Haye St. Hilaire, Algeciras, 20 February 1800, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

23 As an example, in Alicante in 1800 Captain Miquessi, a Moroccan, had four barrels of tripe confiscated for not having paid duty on them. He was suspected of being one of many Moroccan captains who were trading with Gibraltar in spite of its blockade. For reasons of political convenience, however, the tripe was returned to him "out of our lord King's sovereign consideration for His Moroccan Majesty," and of course the sultan was informed of the gesture: Antonio González Salmón (substituting for his brother Juan

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usually did not impose the penalties called for in the Treaty of Peace. They were not turned over to the sultan for fear that their punishment might be too severe. The Secretariat of State, local governors, and especially the Spanish consul in Morocco would try to have the sultan himself, his ministers, or his *alcaides* or governors promise that the guilty man would be spared the worst. Their motive was to create no enemies while retaining friends and allies who could defend Spanish interests in Morocco.

At this point the sultan acted to limit sharply any possibility of forming a Moroccan merchant fleet. In 1799 he forbade any ship flying the Moroccan flag to engage in foreign trade, and ordered the return of those that were abroad:

> At the end of 1799 His Moroccan Majesty forbade all sailing under his flag in the seas and ports of Europe. He reduced [the ships' range] to that of his own domains, granting a stay of six months to the vessels that were far away. He informed the diplomatic corps in Tangier of this decision so that each member could make it known to his own government, to avoid the repeated abuses that were being committed under the shelter of that flag.
>
> Once the period had elapsed, the ministry Your Excellency heads sent out the necessary order so that in our ports no items at all would be loaded onto Moroccan ships bound for other ports in Europe.

The Spanish press of the time took note of a measure so damaging to Morocco's maritime economy. The *Semanario Económico, Instructivo y Comercial* of Palma de Mallorca printed the royal decree, which stated that the sultan,

> to avoid continual claims for return of property intercepted or confiscated from ships flying the Moroccan flag, was going to withdraw his patents and thereby cut off his commercial navigation in Europe, by ordering that his ships be employed in nothing else but carrying products of his country, belonging to his subjects, from one port to another in his own domains. But he granted a period of months for ships that were sailing in distant waters, so as not to harm the interests of nations that might have goods among their cargoes.[24]

Manuel as Spain's consul in Tangier at the time) to Secretary of State Mariano Luis de Urquijo, 4 March 1800, AHN, Estado, leg. 4358.

24 "A fines de 1799 prohibió S. M. Marroqui la Navegacion de su Bandera en los mares y puertos de Europa, y la reduxo á los de sus Dominios, concediendo seis meses de plazo para los buques que se hallasen distantes, noticiando ésta Providencia al Cuerpo Diplomático en Tanger, con objeto á qe cada Empleado la hiziese saber á su respectivo Gobierno para evitar los repetidos abusos que se cometían al abrigo del mencionado Pabellón. Cumplido el

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The sultan asked European countries, once that period had elapsed,

> not to allow any ship flying the Moroccan flag to be loaded in their ports, but to oblige them to return to their country, those vessels being the legal property of Moors. And since there are many Europeans with false contracts of sale in favor of Moors, Moroccan passports should be taken away from all those who hold them; their Moorish crewmen should be made to disembark and should be sent back to their own country.

The *Semanario* reported, however, that Moroccan-flagged ships continued to sail in Spanish waters even after the grace period had expired.[25] Cádiz's tax collector was holding up a Moroccan ship being loaded in his port with products for Morocco:

> A Moorish ship came to this [city] a few days ago from Tangier with the proper authorization from that government, bringing silver coin to invest in products of our Americas and the Peninsula such as cochineal, sarsaparilla, saffron, Barcelona silk kerchiefs, etc., that were destined for the same port of Tangier. Your Excellency's penetrating mind can understand how much it pleases us that any enemy nation should bring cash to our country to buy a surplus of our products.
>
> Once most of the cargo was on board the Moorish ship and it prepared to return to its country after serving the quarantine, this government took notice of the abovementioned order not to load anything under a

referido término, circuló ese Ministerio del cargo de V.E. la correspondiente orden, a fin de que en nuestros Puertos no se cargase efecto alguno en Barcos Marroquies para otras Plazas de Europa.…[P]ara evitar las continuas reclamaciones sobre restitución de propiedades interceptadas ó confiscadas baxo pabellón Marroquí, iba á retirar sus patentes, y cortar de este modo su navegación mercante en Europa, mandando que sus buques no se empleasen mas que en conducir de un Puerto á otro de sus dominios las producciones del país y propias de sus súbditos; pero que concedía el plazo de meses en favor de los buques que se hallasen navegando en parages remotos para no perjudicar los intereses de las potencias que pudiesen tener efectos embarcados en ellos": *Semanario Económico*, 2 August 1800.

25 "…no permitiesen que en sus Puertos se cargase Buque alguno baxo pabellón Marroquí, sino que los obligasen à volver á su país siendo las embarcaciones propiedad legitima de Moros; y que siendo de pertenencia de Europeos (como hay muchas) con contratas simuladas de venta en favor de los Moros, se retiren los pasaportes Marroquíes de manos de quien los tenga, se hagan desembarcar las tripulaciones Morunas, y se las obligue à regresar à su tierra": *Semanario Económico*, 9 August 1800.

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> Moroccan flag; and the director of customs here refused to allow the rest of the purchases to be loaded.

The Spanish consul in Tangier believed that these actions harmed Spain's interests; it was better to facilitate such purchases, after ensuring that they were actually bound for Morocco. Therefore, "foreseeing the ill will the Moroccans would feel from such a refusal on our part," he asked the city's governor for permission for those purchases to be made. The latter "agreed to my suggestion at once, but since new cases like this one may arise" wished the Ministry of the Treasury to

> issue an order to our customs houses that, when the proper health precautions have been taken (though plague has been eliminated in the whole Kingdom of Morocco), they allow goods to be loaded under the Moroccan flag, when those goods are bound for those domains, on the sole condition of requiring a deposit and the return of an official guide certified by the vice consuls and commissioners of His Majesty in the ports of that kingdom.[26]

9.4 Continuity of the Moroccan Merchant Colony

The colony of merchants from Morocco continued to be the largest one, with some members established in Spain for long periods; it eventually grew to include many ports as well as towns in the interior. It was perhaps not as

26 "Llegó días pasados de Tanger á ésta, y con la competente habilitación de aquel Gobierno, un Buque Moruno, trayendo plata efectiva para imbertirla en frutos de nuestras Américas y Peninsula, como son grana, Zarzaparrila, Azafran, Pañuelos de seda de Barcelona, & cuyos renglones iban destinados al mismo Tanger. De esto puede colegir la sabia penetración de V.E. quan agradable nos debe ser el que qualqueira Nacion amiga trayga Numerario á nro. Pais para comprar el Superfluo de nuestras producciones. Teniendo ya la mayor parte de su cargo á bordo el enunciado buque Moruno para regresarse en qüarentena á su tierra se tubo presente, por parte de éste Gobierno, la orden, arriba expresada, de no cargar cosa alguna baxo Bandera Marroqui, y se negaba el Administrador de ésta Aduana á dexar embarcar el resto de lo comprado. … [P]ase orden á nuestras Aduanas á fin de que, usando la Sanidad de las correpondientes precauciones (no obstante haberse extinguido enteramente la peste en todo el Reyno de Marruecos), dexen cargar efectos baxo el Pabellon Marroqui, quando dhos renglones vayan con destino á aquellos Dominios, sin mas condición que la de exigir fianza y vuelta de guía legalizada por los Vice-Cónsules y Comisionados de S.M. en los Puertos de aquel Ymperio": A. González Salmón to Pedro Ceballos, Cádiz, 10 February 1801, AHN, Estado, leg. 5821.

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permanent in this period as in the earlier one, since most of its members moved back and forth between Spain and Morocco. Corsair captains sometimes joined it as commanders of merchant ships and even as traders. The sorts of troubles they were involved in were much the same as in the three previous decades. Here again, an account of its individual figures and the difficulties they caused will fill out the picture we have been drawing up to now.

9.4.1 *Arráez Tuffe* (*1796-1800*)

Captain Tuffe,[27] "a pilot in war and a vassal of the king of Morocco residing in Cádiz," sent a petition to the Secretariat of State:

> Since the year [17]96 he had sailed in the post of captain in the Moorish mistico *El Mesouda* out of Salé, which he owned, bringing successfully into that port – even during the blockade – cargoes of Barbary wheat and other foodstuffs that he collected in Moguer, through the Five Guilds and others that supplied the squadrons of His Catholic Majesty.

In 1800 he sailed from Ayamonte to Reus (in Tarragona) with a load of sardines on behalf of Spanish merchants. After arriving he learned of the sultan's order that Moroccan captains must return home, and he tried to profit from his homeward journey by taking on paper and hazelnuts in Tarragona, Salou, and Barcelona, on account from Spanish traders, which would be delivered to their purchasers in Cádiz. His papers confirmed this plan, even though "to protect Spanish property from risk by [Spain's] enemies he brought documents stating that the whole cargo was his own property."

On 27 May, off "Tanginola, six miles out to sea,"[28] he was intercepted by an English corsair who ordered him to proceed to Gibraltar and placed three of his own men on board. The captain and his coastal pilot, a Spaniard named Antonio Macías, changed course while the Englishmen were asleep and headed for Estepona in search of refuge; but three miles from their destination the English corsair realized what was happening and fired on the mistico in an attempt to stop it. He abandoned the chase, however, when two armed Spanish feluccas, the *Escorpión* and the *Vigilante*, appeared. After a five-day quarantine the feluccas' commander ordered the pilot of the mistico to turn over the cargo, and on being refused had the captain and crew imprisoned. The captain

27 He also appears as Yuffe.

28 This place name has not been identified, but might be Fuengirola.

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claimed that sailors from the felucca had insulted the Moroccan flag, "trampling and slashing it."

Once freed from prison the captain sailed to San Roque to demand the return of his ship and crew from the military governor of the Gibraltar region (Campo de Gibraltar), but he was not received and his protest went unheard. His Spanish pilot fared no better after repeating the appeal and stressing his knowledge of the circumstances, while claiming to be responsible for the cargo to its owners; besides, he was threatened with prison if he returned to Estepona. The captain and pilot decided to go to Cádiz "to inform the interested parties of the operation." The captain noted that the ship flew a Moroccan flag that had been offended:

> And this – in spite of the proper orders of His Catholic Majesty – is the answer to the generosity of a vassal of a friendly power that, as a neutral nation, redoubles its efforts to preserve the property of Spaniards: … the Moorish flag has been mistreated, and the sailors of the feluccas have mocked aspects of the religion that the crewmen of the mistico profess.

He added that the affair would cause "displeasure to the king my master, from whom these facts cannot be hidden": especially, that the ship and its cargo had been taken as a prize "without hearing from the interested parties." The captain and pilot, "risking the loss of everything, had decided to flee from the English corsair and approach the Spanish coast"; therefore the Spanish feluccas had not performed a recapture, which would have legitimated the prize. They did admit that in the worst case, since they had been seized for less than twenty-four hours, they would have to pay a fee to be agreed on with the cargo's owners. Spain's consul general in Morocco, Antonio González Salmón, had been apprised of the matter. The petition ended with a request for restitution of all the confiscated goods with payment for damages, and "satisfaction for the outrage performed by the sailors on the Moorish flag."[29]

29 "[D]esde el año de 96 navegava en calidad de tal Arraez con el Mistico Moro de Salé, nombrado *el Mesouda*, de su propiedad, introduciendo en dicho Puerto felizmente, aun en el tiempo del Bloqueo muchos cargamentos de trigo de Berveria, y otros viveres que hacia en Moguer, por cuenta de las Casas de los Cinco Gremios y otras que servían para el abasto de las Esquadras de S. M. C. … [A]si es correspondida, bien a pesar de los justos encargos de S. M. C., la fineza de un vasallo de Potencia Amiga, que redobla los esfuerzos por salvar bajo su nombre neutral las propiedades de Españoles. … El Pavellon Moro ha sido ajado, y aun ridiculizadas por otras gestiones de la Marineria de los Faluchos ciertas previsiones que dicen relación á la observancia de la Religion, que profesa la del Mistico": Petition by Captain Tuffe signed in Arabic, Cádiz, 27 June 1800, AHN, Estado, leg. 5820.

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The Secretariat of State asked the commander of the Spanish feluccas to explain himself.[30] Captain José Coronel of the *Vigilante* insisted that the mistico had been seized legally and that his sailors had not insulted, slashed, or trampled the Moroccan flag. He had ordered the mistico unloaded because it had sprung a leak, and its captain had been told to keep a record of the cargo, which would be warehoused with one key for him and one for Coronel until the matter was settled. He, Coronel, had obeyed the corsair rules whereas the Moroccan captain "insulted me in a thousand ways in front of the Board of Health of this city; he refused to witness the unloading and departed at once for that headquarters."

> The remaining Moorish crewmen, who did not wish to stay on board or assume any responsibility for the goods being unloaded, took up lodging in an inn of this town, where they were supported with four reales de vellón per man per day. The Moroccan flag was kept flying from the mistico's mast until the ship and cargo were declared a legitimate prize. At that point, a judgment having been made, its contents were sold and distributed in accordance with royal decrees. … [The captain] argues only about supposed insults, and changes the facts completely; and I must not fail to defend a group of sailors who so often have shown proper consideration and respect for our neutral and friendly powers, as well as a most intrepid spirit against enemies of the Crown.[31]

Finally the Secretariat of State told the military governor in Gibraltar that it approved "everything that has been decided in that tribunal,"[32] while that official assured him that he could prove that the Moroccan captain's account was false, speaking of

30 San Ildefonso to the military governor of the Campo de Gibraltar, 4 July 1800, AHN, Estado, leg. 5820.

31 "[L]a restante tripulación moruna, que no quiso mantenerse a bordo, ni llevar quenta alguna de los Efectos que se desembarcaban, se alojó en un Meson de esta villa, y la socorrió diariamente, con 4 reales de vellon por individuo, dejando el Pavellon Marroqui arbolado en el Mistico, hasta que declarado Buque, y Carga, por de buena presa, y pasado ya en autoridad de Cosa Juzgada, se bendio y repartió su importe con arreglo a las Reales Ordenanzas. … [S]olo se apoya en supuestos ultrages recibidos, y en variar enteramente los hechos; y esto me obliga a omitir la justa defensa de una marineria, que en tan repetidas ocasiones ha manifestado tanto la debida contemplación y respeto a nuestras Potencias neutrales, y amigas, como el mayor espiritu e intrepidez, contra los enemigos de la Corona": José Coronel to Count de la Haye St. Hilaire, Estepona, 14 July 1800, AHN, Estado, leg. 5820.

32 San Ildefonso to military governor of the Campo de Gibraltar, 31 July 1800.

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> the falsity the Moor commits, and the great moderation and propriety that this good officer [José Coronel] has shown: offering daily proof of his activity, knowledge, and zeal, with the various seizures and recaptures he has performed. One of them was the ship that the said *arráez* sailed in, and my Council of War declared it and its cargo a good and legitimate prize and its value was paid out according to His Majesty's decrees, the parties consenting to the sentence without presenting an appeal.[33]

He ended by recalling a very important factor in such incidents: that the sentence conformed to royal decrees about the taking and retaking of prizes, intended to ensure that "prize-takers not be denied frequent opportunities to be compensated for their risks and efforts."[34]

9.4.2 *Haslem el Rubio* (*1797*)

This captain of a felucca named *El Sid* or *Sahin* weighing 450 quintales petitioned the Secretariat of State in March 1797. Together with Carlos Grima, a businessman from Cádiz, he had chartered a ship intending to sail to the Bay of Gibraltar and take on whatever cargo the charterer desired. From there he would make a brief layover in Tangier to obtain the necessary documents and then continue on to Cádiz. If he did not load a full complement in Gibraltar – where his sixteen-day stay would cost him five pesos fuertes per day – he could fill the rest of his hold in Tangier. The captain had been forbidden to load any cargo belonging to himself or anyone other than the charterer. On arriving in Cádiz he was to receive 250 pesos fuertes and a supplement of five more, while the port and anchorage charges would be paid by the ship.[35]

On 6 April 1797 the Moroccan felucca, on its way from Gibraltar to Tangier, was detained by launches from Algeciras and a goulette of the Spanish navy under Article 88 of the rules of the royal fleet. The Algeciras Board of Health

33 "…la falsedad con que se produce el Moro, y de la mucha moderación, y arreglo con que se maneja este buen oficial, repitiendo diarias pruebas de su actividad, conocimientos, y celo, con los varios apresamientos y represas que ha executado, siendo una de ellas la Embarcación en que hiba el citado Arraez, y aunque declarada por mi Tribunal de Guerra buena, y legitima Presa con su cargamento y distribuido el importe, según lo mandado por S. M., porque las partes consintieron la sentencia sin haber interpuesto apelación": Count de la Haye St. Hilaire to Mariano Luis de Urquijo, Campo de Gibraltar, 10 July 1800, AHN, Estado, leg. 5820.

34 Count de la Haye St. Hilaire to Mariano Luis de Urquijo, Campo de Gibraltar, 21 July 1800, AHN, Estado, leg. 5820.

35 Petition by Haslem el Rubio, Cádiz, 1 March 1797, AHN, Estado, leg. 5818.

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stated that the felucca was loaded with "dried beans, raisins, hides, bundles, and baggage that he loaded there for Tangier." The crewmen, four Moroccans and five Christians, were Juan Camina and Juan Pedro from Gibraltar, Juan González from Ayamonte, and Mallico and Juan García from Algeciras. Passengers were the "Hebrew" Sebastián Coto, the Genoese Miguel Supard, two Maltese named Miguel Pou and Juan Adán, Francisco Grimas from Gibraltar, and an Englishwoman, Anna Lee. Two of the Spanish sailors carried no passport. "The captain of the felucca submitted reluctantly and the Spaniards resisted," so all of them were placed under arrest.[36]

The felucca had been captured for sailing through enemy waters (the blockaded port of Gibraltar) and because its contract aroused suspicion, especially the plan to obtain new documents in Tangier and then return to Cádiz. The ship and its cargo of Moroccan products belonged to Caddur Ben Gileli of Tangier, and in the end was released while the Spanish crewmen remained in detention.[37]

9.4.3 *Absalem el Jedit* (*1798-1800*)

In July 1798 supply launches from Santi Petri seized a ship flying the Moroccan flag "with a cargo of biscuit and 250 sheep. We will show the origin of this illicit commerce and who has been and is performing it." The Moroccan captain, Absalem el Jedit, went immediately to the Spanish consul general in Tangier, who was in Cádiz at the time, to declare that "although the load of sheep is in the name of another Moroccan, it is not true that he is the owner nor even that such a man exists, for even his name is false; and the animals belong to some Maltese from the Isla de León, who chartered the ship."

The consul took this as proof "that it was not Moors who were actually carrying out this trade, but certain Christians in their name."[38] He thought that El Jedit was guilty of smuggling: "I consider him a criminal, but there is [the temptation of] excessive profits, these people's lack of knowledge, and the fact that our fellow citizens, during the entire blockade, have assumed their names in order to simulate ownership of their vessels, so in a way he may be forgiven." He recommended "setting them free with their ship, to avoid deceptions and so that [Muley] Soliman will not think we have seized it unjustly, on the pretext that he was bound for Gibraltar while his papers said the opposite." If the

36 Report by the commander of the Algeciras launches, 6 April 1797, AHN, Estado, leg. 5818.

37 Marquis of Roben to the Prince of Peace, Campo de Gibraltar, 10 April 1797, AHN, Estado, leg. 5818.

38 J.M. González Salmón to Francisco de Saavedra, Secretary of State, Cádiz, 24 July 1798, AHN, Estado, leg. 5802.

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Moroccans were pardoned they could be handed over "to the Moorish captain who comes to take command of the corvette, so he can take them both away" and bring them before the sultan; the ruler would then see "the generosity and impartiality" of the Spanish king.[39]

El Jedit's freedom did not dispose him more favorably to the Spanish authorities, for as soon as he arrived in Tangier he began to attack the Spanish justice system. Although he had been released,

> he claims that the Spanish have used him ill, making him lose 3,159 reales that he had to pay in court costs; that many items were stolen out of his felucca; and that while giving testimony he was shut up in prison, when his only part in the offense was to have chartered the felucca. At the same time the Christians who were the true criminals and owners of the sheep were left unpunished.

The consul added that, although he was unfamiliar with the conduct of the case, El Jedit's version was biased: he had failed to state that two Maltese and a customs employee had also been detained, and that six more Moroccans were implicated in the affair:

> Two Maltese were arrested as suspects; the action of this customs house had been circumvented, so one of its employees was also seized. Six open cases were discovered [supposedly] against Moors but actually against Maltese in this Health Office, as was later revealed; and other avenues were not pursued, to the detriment of discovering the truth. Finally, it seems that this affair has been covered up, since all involved have been freed; this makes me think that the Tribunal of Foreign Affairs or of War has been either very generous or dishonest. Otherwise it would be almost impossible that the true culprits, and others like them, would not be found, since it is well known that several previous attempts at apprehension have been made in cases where Moors had merely lent their names and their ship.

He asked to be sent "all the minutes of this case with all the other incidents that have resulted from it," so that he could study them and try

39 J.M.González Salmón to Francisco de Saavedra, Cádiz, 10 August 1798, AHN, Estado, leg. 5802.

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> to discover the offenders and impose the appropriate punishment, and with it put an end to excesses that are so scandalous and prejudicial to the State. And also so that the French may learn that the Spanish Cabinet will strive to end such abuses; for there are republicans who believe that they are tolerated and hidden, through a secret understanding between ourselves and the English.[40]

González Salmón also reproached the court for its slowness, leading him to speak to the city's governor,

> to whom I confided what the Moor was claiming against us in Tangier, and how desirable it was to pursue the case with the greatest exactitude and promptness, because otherwise there could be unwelcome consequences. To this he replied that in any event the licenciate Don Luis Juan de León Sotelo, as assessor, would provide satisfactory answers to all of this, for the case had been handled very badly.

He claimed not to know enough jurisprudence to determine who was right, but was inclined to believe the licenciate.[41] He reported that the governor of

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40 "[H]a propalado, de que los Españoles solo havian usado de rigor con él, ocasionándole el quebranto de 3.159 reales que se le exigieron por costos Judiciales; que le han robado muchas cosas de su Falucho; y que durante las declaraciones ha estado en un encierro en Prisiones, quando no ha tenido mas parte en el delito que se le acumulaba, que el haver fletado su falucho; y que a los Cristianos, verdaderos reos, dueños del Ganado, los dejaron indemnes. … [S]e arrestaron dos Malteses por sospechosos; que se justificó ser suplantado el Despacho de esta Aduana, de cuyas resultas se prendió también a un Dependiente de ella; que se delataron seis expedientes a nombre de Moros, pero de pertenencia a Malteses en la Oficina de esta Sanidad, que efectivamente se encontraron, y se omitió toda otra diligencia, en perjuicio de la averiguación de la verdad; y por ultimo parece que a este asunto se le ha echado tierra, pues se han puesto a todos en libertad, lo que me hace presumir de que por parte de este Juzgado de Extrangeria, ó Guerra, ha havido mucha condescendencia, y disimulo, por que de otra manera se hace poco menos que imposible se dejase de descubrir los verdaderos reos, y aun otros de la misma naturaleza, quando por notoriedad se save que anteriormente se han hecho varias expediciones iguales a la susodicha aprehensión sin tener los Moros en ellas mas que el prestar su nombre y Buque. … descubrir los Reos para aplicarles el condigno castigo, a fin de cortar, con el escarmiento, excesos tan escandalosos y perjudiciales al Estado, y por otra parte para que conozcan los Franceses que el Gavinete Español zela, y procura, cortar tales abusos, pues hay Republicanos que creen que se toleran, y disimulan por inteligencia secreta que tenemos con los Yngleses": J.M. González Salmón to Francisco de Saavedra, Cádiz, 20 November 1798, No. 153. AHN, Estado, leg. 5802.

41 "[A] quien, confidencialmente, le insinue lo que dicho Moro propalaba contra Nosotros en Tanjer, y que convenia mucho se siguiese la causa con la mayor escrupulosidad y

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Tangier had made no official protest over the El Jedit affair, but had asked González Salmón in confidence if he were trying to discover the true story; on the latter's affirmative reply the governor had seemed satisfied. The government of Morocco was collaborating in the effort to end the practice of contraband, and he noted "the Moroccan government's willingness to prevent Moors from smuggling in our domains, nor shall any of their other abuses be tolerated. This makes it even more necessary that we try to discover the true offenders in the case of El Jedit and apply swift and merited punishment."

The consul also observed that El Jedit continued to request recompense for "the harm he received from his arrest in Cádiz": he presented to González Salmón a complaint against Juan Fita, a Maltese resident in Cádiz, who had appeared in Tangier to offer the Moroccan five hundred pesos fuertes "if he would say no more about the matter of the sheep." Fita fled to Gibraltar and then to Málaga, "for whose magistrate our consul gave the Moor Jedit a report or letter to the effect that he should aid in the arrest and detention of that Maltese, as long as Jedit identifies him and requests it."

González Salmón discovered that before the El Jedit incident two other Moroccan ships chartered by Fita and loaded with biscuit and sheep had sailed from Cádiz for Gibraltar, making it urgent to detain Fita "so that, once under arrest, he may reveal the true authors of this illicit, harmful, and scandalous trade."[42]

Months later, the consul reminded the Secretary of State how important it was "in the service of the king" to inform the Moroccan government "about the complicity or indemnification of the Moors who claim to have joined in illicit commerce with the enemies of Spain: particularly the one named El Jadit [*sic*], who was apprehended with a cargo of sheep and biscuit on his way to Gibraltar."

He claimed to have documentary proof of the breadth of contraband activity involving the port of Gibraltar, in which even local institutions took part: "I have obtained certain documents that exist and are in my possession that, in my opinion, will reveal at the proper time not only the true offenders in this case but the intrigues with which [people] have tried and are still

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prontitud, porque de lo contrario podía tener resultas poco gratas, a lo que me contexto diciendo; que en todo evento satisfará a ellas el Licenciado Dn. Luis Juan de Leon Sotelo como Asesor, por haverla dirigido pesimamente": J.M. González Salmón to Francisco de Saavedra, Cádiz, 11 December 1798, No. 163. AHN, Estado, leg. 5802.

42 J.M. González Salmón to Francisco de Saavedra, Tangier, 26 January 1799, AHN, Estado, leg. 5802.

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trying to impede it." He alluded in particular to the "suit regarding fraud" brought against Licenciate Sotelo ("about which, I understand, testimony has already been sent to the Supreme Council of War") and against Bernardo de la Calle, Joaquín Zúñiga, and Francisco Sánchez. He advised that the documents he had collected "be reviewed and confirmed by the Admiral of this province, with absolute discretion and precautions, with those involved acknowledging their signatures"; thus once the Secretariat of State and the Supreme Council of War had been informed, "all these matters may be untangled, and an exemplary punishment meted out to the guilty to cut off at the root these scandalous abuses so prejudicial to the State."[43] González Salmón argued that if a judge were sent to Cádiz to investigate the case "innocence will not suffer and malice will be punished, whoever the guilty party may be."[44]

It is clear that Moroccans would scarcely have been able to indulge in smuggling in and out of Gibraltar without the complicity of Spanish merchants and bureaucrats, as well as other European traders settled in Cádiz and other port cities of Andalusia.

9.4.4 *Hamet Ford* (*El Sordo*) (*1798-1803*)

This was another case of contraband activity involving the introduction of foodstuffs and animals into Gibraltar. Its pivotal event was "the deliberate killing of the Moor Hamet el Sordo."[45] José Fabri, Manuel de Arriola, and Félix Gatt were accused of the crime and presented an appeal from their prison in Cádiz in 1803. While not denying that the Moroccan had been killed in the room they shared, they attributed the crime to a plot: "On the morning of 26 July 1798 the body of the Moroccan Moor Hamet Ford was found in his own room, murdered by stabbing; and immediately the evil group of swindlers accused José Fabri of the murder." The object of the conspiracy was to hide the identity of the true culprits who were smuggling sheep into Gibraltar: "The swindlers had ascribed the exporting of sheep to the Moor Hamet Ford, who was unknown and ignorant of the plot. And this circumstance provided knowledge of

43 J.M. González Salmon to M.L. de Urquijo, Cádiz, 3 May 1799, AHN, Estado, leg. 4342.

44 The Secretariat of State sent Judge Francisco Pérez de Lerma to Cádiz with instructions to inform himself about the case against the adviser Luis Juan León Sotelo: two letters from J.M. González Salmón to M.L. de Urquijo on the same date, 7 June 1799. Francisco María de Peralta, in Luis Sotelo's name, sent him the statement of his defense: Madrid, 7 June 1799, AHN, Estado, leg. 4342.

45 A. González Salmón to J.M. González Salmón, Tangier, 2 August 1798, AHN, Estado, leg. 5802.

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the iniquitous plan against the unhappy petitioners, who had heard about the Moor's death only from the public crier."

The imprisoned men claimed that the true perpetrators had convinced a prostitute to accuse Fabri of the murder, in exchange for a pardon in a criminal case of her own. We do not know how the affair ended, but it continued to appear in documents as late as 1816.[46]

9.4.5 *Mahamet Chandri* (*1799*)

In 1799 the whole Spanish coast was warned that Mahamet Chandri, captain of the Moroccan mistico *Embarek* with six crewmen aboard, had left Cádiz bearing two patents, one dated October 3 for Tetouan and another dated later for Málaga. The captain had the "sinister intent" of proceeding to Málaga if he could not find someone to charter his ship in Tetouan.[47]

9.4.6 *Hamet Bohelen* (*1799*)

This "Moroccan Moor residing in Cádiz" declared in 1799 that he had "dealings and negotiations useful for commerce and advantageous to the nation." In a petition he complained of the poor cash flow he suffered as a result of the Spanish-English war and the English blockade of Spanish ports, and of the plague that Tangier was suffering that year:

> Having established mutual dealings between this country [Spain] and his own [Morocco], throughout their ports as well as inland, he has both active and passive accounts with several individuals, as must occur in all trade. Timely remittances from his country, while his business was active, kept him prosperous and solvent until the unfortunate plague that ravaged Tangier for a time interrupted his receipt of any money or effects from that country, because of the well-founded legal prohibition imposed. At the present day this interception continues, although it is well known that Tangier enjoys the end of the ills that had assailed its inhabitants. This situation should be favorable to the petitioner, who needs to satisfy several debts that have fallen due but has no cash with which to do so.

46 Petition by José Fabri, Manuel de Arriola, and Félix Gatt, signed in the royal prison in Cádiz on 28 October 1803, AHN, Estado, leg. 5802.

47 Notice issued by the kingdom's Supreme Board of Health through the Admiral of the Coast of Granada. Baron Serrahi to Board of Health, 23 October 1799; Pedro Molet to Board of Health, 24 October 1799, IMHB, FS, Serie I, leg. 21, fols. 138, 140.

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Hamet Bohelen was asking permission to bring gold and silver into Cádiz to resolve his difficulties. His father Hasib Bohelen, who was in Tangier, would send him

> the sums of money he needs, which he has in his possession, so that the petitioner may satisfy his debts and continue his journey. He is prepared to pay both the royal duties and whatever may be incurred in the operation he is about to undertake. As a proper precaution, before the silver and gold is collected, he will infuse [his ship] with vinegar, aromatic spirits, fire, or whatever means found necessary to avoid contagion.

He was confident his appeal would be well received, especially "in the [present] critical situation in which cash is so scarce in this province and its commerce so decayed"; he would be able to send "the silver he needs for his payments from Tangier to Tarifa with the mail boat that arrives there from that port." In the end his request was granted.[48]

9.4.7 *Ataib* (*1799*)

This Moroccan captain often entered the port of Gibraltar, where in 1799, together with two other *arraeces* named Hamet Yngles Salazar and Alhach Malamud Almasaid, he acquired the polacre *Massuba*. Yngles Salazar eventually withdrew from the arrangement. The two-masted ship cost eight hundred pesos fuertes, plus an additional seven hundred to repair and restore it; of this

48 "[T]eniendo entabladas sus dobles negociaciones de este Pais para con el suyo en toda la extensión de sus Puertos y tierra firme ha venido á tener comprometidos de creditos activos y pasivos con varios Yndividuos como incidencia forsosa de todo trafico. Las remesas de su Pais a tiempo oportuno mientras estuvo corriente su comercio conservó aquel en su auge y exaltación hasta que la desgraciada peste que por algún tiempo ocupó a Tanger interrumpio el poder recibir del referido Pais cantidad alguna ni efectos, por la fundada prohibición legal que se puso sobre esto. En el dia ahunque continua esta interceptación es publico y notorio el beneficio que disfruta Tanger en la cesasion de los males que agobiaban a sus habitantes. Esta favorable incidencia en la situación del que expone de hallarse comprometido á satisfacción varios créditos de plazo cumplido sin tener efectivo con que hacerlo. … las sumas de dinero que necesite y existen en su poder para satisfacer el Suplicante los créditos qe contra si tiene y continuar su giro, estando pronto á satisfacer tanto los Reales Derechos como lo que se cause en la operación á que esta pronto a sujetarse de que por justa precaucion se coloque antes de darse curso á la plata y oro que venga en infusión de vinagre espiritus aromaticos fuego ú en otros términos que se juzguen precisos para evitar el contagio": Petition signed in Arabic in Cádiz, 22 October 1799. On the favorable decision: Count of Cumbre Hermosa to Mariano Luis de Urquijo, Secretary of State, Cádiz, 19 November 1799. Gregorio de la Cuesta to Mariano Luis de Urquijo, Madrid, 5 November 1799, AHN, Estado, legs. 5809-5810.

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Ataib paid one-third, or five hundred, and became its captain. In the polacre's second voyage, under Captain Abdasalam Buasa, it was seized, as we shall see below.[49]

9.4.8 *Alhach Malamud Almasaid* (*1799*)

We saw above how he became a co-owner of the polacre *Massuba*. After Yngles Salazar withdrew he assumed payment of one thousand pesos fuertes or two-thirds of the total price.[50]

9.4.9 *Hamet Yngles Salazar* (*1799-1800*)

After the events recounted in the previous two sections, Yngles Salazar (who may have been a renegade) gave testimony in Málaga that the purchase of the ship had taken place. Stating that he was fifty-four years old, he was described as "a man dressed in Moorish costume who said he was named *Arráez* Hamet Yngles Salazar, captain of his Moroccan tartane *Arbia* anchored in this port. [He is] a native of Salé in the states of the Emperor of Morocco, who gave [his oath] by Allah the Great and his Prophet Mohammed, marking with his index finger according to the law and promising to tell the truth."

Yngles Salazar had, in fact, ceded his share in the polacre to his two partners at the time. He had done it because a chance had arisen to buy another vessel on his own: "I transferred my interest in the abovementioned [ship] to the said Captain Ataib and his partner Almasaid, those two becoming the only owners of the polacre. And there is no one else who owns any large or small share in it."[51]

9.4.10 *Hach Ali Elfucay* (*1799-1800*)

Ali Elfucay of Tetouan,[52] captain of the tartane *Madruda*, shipped a cargo of cinnamon and dried beans to Málaga and sold it to several merchants including José Antonio del Soto, "with whom he dealt, assigning him freely a large amount of cinnamon and dried beans at a price of fifty-two and a half reales per pound; this on the express condition that Soto would pay the petitioner the

49 Statement by Ataib and Alhach Malamud Almasaid, Málaga, 26 April 1800, AHN, Estado, leg. 5802. Also called Aljach Malamedid Almasaid.

50 Statement by Ataib and Alhach Malamud Almasaid, Málaga, 26 April 1800, AHN, Estado, leg. 5802.

51 "In accordance with what he has declared, he has no doubt that there are no other owners of the polacre except the two named, who have assumed everything connected with its sailing": statement by Hamet Yngles Salazar, Málaga, 26 April 1800, AHN, Estado, leg. 5802.

52 He also appears as Hallach Ali Elfucai, Halhach Ali Elfucay, and Jach Aly el Fekei.

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full value of those goods in gold or silver coin, without any government bonds [*vales reales*]."

But "in spite of the [good] faith and legality" of the contract signed by both parties, and although other buyers had paid in cash, Soto tried to pay "with royal bonds the full price of the goods he had taken, which came to eighteen thousand seven hundred reales de vellón." Elfucay appealed to the governor of Málaga, who was the "Judge Protector" of the bonds (*Juez Protector de los Vales Reales*), explaining to him "the very grave disadvantage that he would certainly suffer with a payment in that form. Because in spite of your fairness and generosity, bonds in that city usually lose forty-five percent; and the contract with Soto had been for cash to the total exclusion of bonds." He argued further that the paper was valueless and useless in Tetouan. But the governor, applying strictly the royal decree about the matter, declared that Soto could legally pay in bonds, which Elfucay must accept "with a discount of six percent" (i.e., subtracting six percent of their face value). The Moroccan then appealed to "the great goodness" of the king, hoping he would understand that "the petitioner is not established in these kingdoms but only visits them, and comes to the port of Málaga to sell and dispatch the goods of his trade." If forced to accept bonds "the petitioner would be reduced to the utmost infelicity and poverty," for "he has no other means of subsistence than modest traffic and dealing in his merchandise" and the losses he suffered by using bonds were "constant." He was sure that the king did not intend foreigners to be recipients of such payments, and repeated that he was "a person in transit, now in debt to Your Majesty's goodness if he is to be ruined by the need to accept the bonds." He begged that Málaga's governor be ordered to make Soto pay "the full value of the goods sold in cash, in gold or silver coin and not in bonds, according to what is stipulated," and compensate him "for all the harm and damage done to him by [Soto's] slowness, delay, and resistance to adhering fully and truly to the contract." If that were not to be, he asked to have the goods that had been sold returned to him from their warehouse.[53]

Three days later Elfucay petitioned again with the same arguments but at greater length. He claimed that as he and Soto had negotiated for the sale of his goods, valued at eighteen thousand reales, the Spaniard had wanted to pay in bonds but he had refused them: "I know nothing of bonds and the deal had to be made in cash." Elfucay claimed that the governor, after hearing him, had told him that there was deception but that he could not satisfy him; Elfucay should have his goods stored and then appeal to a higher court. According to

53 Petition by Elfucay, Madrid, 24 December 1799. Signed in Arabic, AHN, Estado, 5809-5810.

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the governor, other merchants in Málaga were prepared to buy his goods at 104 reales the pound in bonds, but the Moroccan refused again: "I did not wish to sell, but only so as to receive cash I sold them for half the amount that those men were offering me, for I know nothing of bonds nor are they used in my country." He felt defrauded by Soto, and continued to press for either payment in cash or the return of his merchandise.[54]

Antonio González Salmón, Spain's vice consul in Tangier, was asked for his opinion, and thought "at first glance" that if Elfucay were made to accept bonds it would cause him "a notable loss" in his business dealings in Spain. He advised keeping this in mind so as "to avoid claims by the Moroccan government in matters of this kind, which would oblige His Majesty to decide that he must be paid in cash." But acceding to the Moroccan's petition would inspire other foreign merchants to demand the same treatment, "causing disputes over relief of damages such as the petitioner claims." The vice consul knew that paper money was "discredited … but every good vassal should try to support it." He therefore approved of returning the cinnamon and beans to Elfucay, since he was "willing to receive them," and annulling the contract of sale if it could not be made in cash. "This decision by the sovereign will allow a purchaser to keep the goods if he is willing to pay in silver or gold coin."[55] The Secretariat of State agreed, noting on the cover of the file: "If [Soto] does not wish to pay him in cash, let his cargo be returned."[56]

At this point the Judge Protector of the bonds, who was also the governor, affirmed that the contract in question did not exclude payment in that form, "for the Moors pay their customs duties in it, and foreigners who conduct business in this country are not exempt from the royal decree of 17 July 1799 that orders bonds to be accepted like money in cash, without any deduction, or if there should be any, of only six percent." That was why he had made Elfucay accept bonds reduced by six percent for his goods, and the Moroccan had not appealed the judgment in time or in the proper form. The governor was annoyed that Elfucay had gone "directly to you and obtained a royal decree favorable to

54 Petition of 27 December 1799, Madrid, also signed in Arabic. An accompanying note registers the petitioner's complaint that the governor of Málaga had not offered him justice: AHN, Estado, legs. 5809-5810.

55 A. González Salmón to Mariano Luis de Urquijo, Tarifa, 8 January 1800, AHN, Estado, legs. 5809-5810.

56 Málaga's governor told the Secretariat of State that he had received the royal order for "the Moor Halhach El Fucai to be paid in coin for the cinnamon and dried beans that he sold to J.A. de Soto; otherwise let the goods be returned to him": Pedro Truxillo to Mariano Luis de Urquijo, Málaga, 11 January 1800. The cover note is dated 16 January 1800, AHN, Estado, legs. 5809-5810.

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him, after the governor of Málaga had collected statements against Soto, putting him under embargo and threatening him with prison."[57]

Not surprisingly, J.A. Soto immediately appealed to the Judge Protector against the governor's decision "on the Moor Argas Aili [*sic*] regarding payment for a portion of cinnamon and beans." He argued, cleverly, that the action discredited the royal bonds and, in practice, violated the royal decree of the year before.[58]

A few days later, Soto submitted a petition in which he acknowledged having "bought from a Moroccan Moor named Argach a portion of cinnamon and beans without specifying if the payment was to be in bonds or in coin, only that the full sum was to be paid." He added that the seller had rejected his bonds. The result was a hearing in which the governor, in his capacity as Judge Protector of Bonds and supported by his accountant, decided that the Moor should accept "payment in bonds with a discount of six percent, in observance of your royal decree of last 17 July and later declarations, by which paper money has all the value of minted coin except for the six percent in certain designated cases."

The Moroccan did not appeal the sentence, and once the time allowed had run out it "became irrevocable and was executed as the laws of the kingdom establish." It is interesting to note that Soto then claimed that Elfucay had acted "clandestinely" by going through the Secretariat of State to the king, something that had negative consequences for himself:

> He obtained a royal order through the obvious vices of misrepresentation and surreptitiousness: Your Majesty ordered that, since the Moor's account was true, the governor should make me pay him in coin. This royal order was properly obeyed, and in order to do so this petitioner was given three days to establish if the Moor's story was true or not; but within this time, and without the petitioner being allowed to take statements and verify them, because the Moor had presented a document with witnesses who claimed that they had bought cinnamon from him in cash for the same price and if paid in bonds it would have cost much more, the governor ruled verbally and without hearing this petitioner that he [Soto] should pay the money immediately. And when he did not do so because

57 Report by the Judge Protector of Royal Coupons, Málaga, 14 January 1800, AHN, Estado, legs. 5809-5810.

58 J.A. de Soto to Juez Protector de los Vales Reales, Málaga, 15 January 1800, AHN, Estado, legs. 5809-5810. The bonds had initially been issued in 1780.

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> he had not received another [sum] owed to him from the beginning in bonds, his goods were embargoed. And the governor, not satisfied with this pressure, half an hour later through an assistant warned him to hand over the money, otherwise he would put him in jail.

Soto called these events "a series of violent acts contrary to the system that the sovereign authority of Your Majesty has established in the courts of justice." His appeals to the courts had not led to any "success in his legal claims, and he has reason to fear that after causing him all this considerable vexation [the courts] will harm his person, contrary to what Your Majesty has disposed: that one may not imprison for civil debt not only a distinguished man like the petitioner but even an artisan."

For all these reasons Soto was appealing to the monarch to denounce the dual strategy of Moroccans vis-à-vis the government bonds, which agreed with what the Judge Protector had decided: "These same Moors who now pretend to annul, for their purposes, the General Royal Decree of 17 July that Your Majesty recommends so strongly, are the same ones who take advantage of it to pay royal customs duties and any other payment that occurs to them."

Soto ended by begging the monarch to issue another decree, suspending everything decided in this case "subsequent to the sentence, and to return to the original reports." The king should resolve the case after having seen all its documentation. The consulate remained in possession of four government bonds of three hundred pesos, and "in view of the fact that the abovementioned goods were seized and the goods of J.A. Soto were embargoed, the consulate awaits further instructions in the matter." We do not know the final result of the case.[59]

59 "[Y] ganó una Real orden con los vicios visibles de obrrecion y subrrepcion, en que V. M. se dignó mandar que siendo cierto el relato del Moro hiciese dicho Gobernador que yo le pagase en dinero metalico, cuya Real orden se obedeció como es debido, y para cumplirla se dio traslado al exponente por tercero dia para venir en conocimiento de si el relato del moro era, ó no cierto; pero pendiente el traslado, y sin dejar al exponente qe tomase los autos para evaqüarlos, á motivo de haver presentado el Moro un escrito con unos testigos que dijeron haverle comprado canela por dinero metalico al mismo precio, y que a Vales había sido a mayor, mandó el Govor. Verbalmente y sin oir al que expone, que este pagase en dinero inmediatamente, y no habiéndolo ejecutado pr carecer de otro qe el que tenia consignado desde el principio en Vales se le embargaron sus bienes, y no contento el Govor con este apremio le intimó a la media hora por medio de un Ayundante que diese el dinero, y que de lo contrario lo pondría en la Carcel": Petition by José Antonio de Soto, Málaga, 18 January 1800, AHN, Estado, legs. 5809-5810.

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9.4.11 *Caddur Ben Gileli* (*1799-1804*)

One of the merchants most active in trade with Spain was Caddur Ben Gileli[60] of Tetouan, nicknamed "Patagorda." He owned the Moroccan mistico *Embarck*, which was seized in 1799 by the Spanish garrison at La Atunara near Gibraltar as it was heading for the English port with thirty-seven cows on board. Its captain, the twenty-four-year-old Jamet Megan, claimed that it was his first voyage in the mistico, the property "of a Moor named Patagorda from Tangier," and that he was to sell the cattle "wherever he could." The crew members were two Moroccans, two Portuguese, and five sailors from Gibraltar who had already been working the ship when the captain took it over; but its health certificate listed only six crewmen. Megan insisted that "the scribe must have been stupid" when he made out the patent, and that he knew nothing about it. The crew, on being questioned, claimed ignorance of the ship's destination and had only heard that the vessel and the cattle belonged to "a Moor they call Patagorda."

The commander of the forces that took the mistico insisted that the ship had infringed Article 33 of the corsair rules by trying to bring food into a blockaded port, a clear case of smuggling. The ship's papers at the moment of seizure were thrown into the sea, and the few that survived agreed neither on the name of the captain (a certain Mesod was mentioned) nor on the makeup of the crew. The officer accused Gileli beside of being "a straw man, because the true owner is Josef Aburbe, a resident of Gibraltar." The mistico was thus declared a legitimate prize.

The Spanish consul in Tangier was instructed to notify Gileli "Patagorda" to appear "in person or through a representative to demonstrate his rights within a period of fifty days." After ten additional days had passed, the status of the mistico as a prize was affirmed.[61]

It was later learned that Gileli had bought the vessel at public auction in Gibraltar. It had belonged to Alonso de Casas, a scribe from Estepona, and sailed with Moroccan papers so as to elude English corsairs and warships, but had been captured by the English in 1797 and taken as a prize to Gibraltar. On the Spanish side doubt arose as to whether, even though the capture obeyed corsair regulations, Gileli should be refunded the price he had paid at auction "as a gesture to his sovereign and his flag." But the Minister of the Navy thought that the ship might still belong to the English and be sailing with false papers: "just

60 He is also called Ben Chilelli, Ben Chileli and Ben Shilely.

61 Report bearing no names but undoubtedly addressed to the military governor of the Campo de San Roque, dated 24 March 1801. Aranjuez to the Ministry of War, 24 March 1801, AHN, Estado, leg. 5807.

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as before it concealed a Spanish [owner], now it may do the same for an English one in order to trade with impunity." He maintained, in any event, that under Article 19 of the Peace Treaty of 1799 regarding neutral nations, both the ship and its cargo constituted a legitimate prize.[62]

Gileli offered a fine example of persistence in petitioning the Spanish king and the Secretary of State: he sent them at least three petitions between July and December 1804, laying out his case and demanding to be heard.[63] In July he wrote that he had been conducting trade between Spain and Morocco "for the last thirty years … with all the coasts of Spain reached by his ships and merchandise." As a result he had earned a good reputation: "Through the legality and good faith of his dealings he has earned the [good] opinion and esteem not only of the important persons in the towns where he went with his goods but from their chiefs and commanders." His specific references, however, were all to 1797, in the midst of Spain's war with England. At that point Alfonso García, supply officer of the Campo de San Roque, arrived in Tangier intending "to purchase oxen for the sustenance of Your Majesty's troops that were then in that region." He carried a letter from his superior to the Spanish consul in Tangier, who asked Caddur Ben Gileli to deal with García "without any concern for collecting the purchase price of the cattle he sold." Armed with this guarantee, Caddur had "agreed with García to sell him 168 oxen at 27 and a half duros apiece, on the explicit condition that their shipment to Spain should be at the Moor's own risk; and as he sold them the money should be given to him, with the necessary permission to take it to his country."[64]

Caddur made four crossings to Spain as he kept his part of the bargain, but García paid him only in part: "He paid the ships' captains for the charters, and also another sum for the purchase with a letter of credit issued by Don Antonio Boolmo, to be paid by Don Manuel de Aragón, a resident of Ceuta." Caddur began to be suspicious of García: "Many months had passed and he did not

62 Juan Pérez Villaamil, Minister of the Navy, to Pedro Ceballos, Madrid, 21 March 1801. Throughout the year 1800 there was pressure "by interested persons" on the parties involved in the capture, claiming shares in the ship's auction price and its cargo. In the documents are José Joaquín Delgado, 2 October 1800; Antonio Cornell to Mariano Luis de Urquijo, 29 May, 16 October, and 3 December 1800; Count de la Haye-St. Hilaire to Antonio Cornell, 17 November 1800; José Antonio Caballero to Pedro Ceballos, 12 March 1801, AHN, Estado, leg. 5807.

63 We know of the August petition, the first, only through references to it in the one sent in November.

64 Petition dated in San Lorenzo del Escorial on 29 July 1804. A note at the end specified that it had been presented with a power of attorney signed by Antonio Lozano y Anaya, AHN, Estado, leg. 5804.

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produce the rest of what he owed, claiming that he had not received permission from Madrid to take the money [out of the country]." Caddur complained to the consul, who appealed to the military governor of the Campo de San Roque, and that official put García in jail:

> García was arrested, an accusation was drawn up against him, and they confiscated some money he had in Seville that came from the sale of those same oxen. [But Caddur] was not able to recover the entire debt because the unfortunate, unhappy supplier died right there in the Campo de San Roque in poverty, leaving no property whatsoever. Nor was [Caddur] able to persuade the leadership of San Roque to investigate whose straw man, or mere instrument, García had been; he asked, and asked again, in many petitions sent through the consul general. Therefore the Moor Caddur, aside from the serious damages and costs he has incurred, must now satisfy the contract for forty reales de vellón.[65]

Caddur also recalled the assistance he had given during the epidemics of yellow fever on the Andalusian coast, especially in Cádiz and Málaga, in the early years of the century. He claimed to have sailed to Tarifa more than eighty times:

> While the epidemic was being endured in Andalusia no boats could be found to carry correspondence from one nation to the other. And the Moor Caddur, at only the slightlest suggestion by the consul general, offered the best and fastest sailing ship he had and loaned it with the greatest pleasure, so that it could perform a service so interesting to His Majesty.

And not only that: thirteen deserters from Ceuta had stolen his ship, which he recovered only a year and a half later in Marbella:

65 "[S]e puso preso al García, se le formó causa, se le embargó una partida de dinero existente en Sevilla procedente de la venta de los mismos Bueyes, [pero Caddur] no pudo cobrar el todo de la deuda, pues el vivandero murió en el mismo Campo de San roque desdichado miserable é infeliz, sin dejar bienes algunos, y no pudo tampoco lograr que con la Comandancia General de San Roque se procediese á la averiguación de los sujetos de quienes parecia haver sido Garcia un testaferro, ó un mero instrumento lo qual, pidió, encargó y reencargó por repetidos oficios que pasó a ella el citado Consul general, de manera que el Moro Caddor, además de los graves perjuicios y costos que ha sufrido, se le ha quedado en deber de aquella contrata la cantidad de 40 rs. vn.": Petition dated in San Lorenzo de El Escorial on 29 July 1804, AHN, Estado, leg. 5804.

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> And after having made more than eighty trips carrying correspondence from Tarifa to Tangier, in the latter port one night when he had scarcely arrived [his ship] was stolen by thirteen Spaniards who came from the fortress of Ceuta. Your consul general therefore sent inquiries along the entire coast of Spain and after sixteen months it was found in the port of Marbella wholly destroyed; in order to make it seaworthy the petitioner was forced to spend more than ten [thousand] reales and suffer the harm of having no use of the ship for a period of time. For after the robbery it was found to be damaged and useless for most voyages.

He had suffered other serious losses in the preceding years through "the lack of good faith in the way several Spaniards have managed their contracts, failing utterly to fulfill them, so that he has been unable to collect anything from them."[66]

Finally, he admitted to having smuggled goods in the port of Gibraltar, although, he claimed, before the imposition of the blockade. He therefore demanded the return of a ship of his that had been seized on its way there with a cargo of oxen, "about which there is a current lawsuit in your Council of War."[67] He had lost ninety thousand reales de vellón and fallen into financial ruin:

> All these losses and setbacks, Sir, have reduced the Moor Caddur to a deplorable situation, after he had served Your Majesty and the king of Morocco for thirty years with honor, impartiality, and zeal. So it can truly be said that his house has been ruined, when it was once one of the richest in the kingdom. These facts are known not only to your consul general

66 "[E]n el tiempo que se padecía la epidemia en Andalucia, no se encontraron Barcos que llevasen la correspondencia de una á otra potencia y el Moro Caddor con solo una lebe insinuación del Consul general aprontó el mejor y mas velero que tenia y lo cedió gustosísimo, para que hiciese un servicio tan interesante a S. M. … [Y] después de haver hecho mas de ochenta viajes llebando la correspondencia desde Tarifa á Tanger, en este Puerto una noche en que apenas acababa de llegar lo rovaron trece personas Españolas, que se pasaron desde el presidio de Ceuta, con cuyo motivo vuestro Consul general libró requisitoria á toda la costa de España, y después de 16 meses se encontró en el Puerto de Marvella todo destrozado y en termino que para ponerlo en disposición de navegar, tubo el exponente que gastar pasados 10 [mil] reales y sufrir el perjuicio de carecer algún tiempo del uso de este este buque, que siendo al tiempo del rovo, se halló después remendado e inútil para hacer muchos viajes": Petition dated in San Lorenzo de El Escorial on 29 July 1804, AHN, Estado, leg. 5804.

67 In 1797 launches from Algeciras had captured the felucca *El Sid* or *Sahin* under Captain Haslem el Rubio as it was leaving Gibraltar: this is undoubtedly the ship owned by Gileli to which he refers. See above section 9.4.2.

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> in Morocco but are public and notorious. Therefore, making a reasonable calculation of the losses experienced by the Moor Caddur in recent times, they come without doubt to the sum of ninety [thousand] reales de vellón.

To recover financially and continue "in the service of Your Majesty and the king of Morocco,"[68] he requested permission to bring into Spain six hundred quintales of wax, free of customs duties: "In this way he will not only achieve his purpose but also save his family, which has been reduced to an unhappy state by so many misfortunes."[69]

In September 1804 Antonio González Salmón, Spain's consul in Tangier, wrote to the Secretary of State asserting the truth of Gileli's claim, except that Alonso García had appeared in Tangier not with a recommendation from the military governor of the Campo de San Roque but with "a passport that authorized and approved the object of his journey here to buy oxen." That passport was invalid because at the time the exclusive privilege of importing cattle belonged to the Five Guilds of Madrid. The consul, however, "wishing that region [Campo de San Roque] to be supplied without violating the said privilege, suggested that the Moor sell the cattle on board in the bay of Algeciras itself, and he did so." Alonso García, he explained, "was a mere straw man." When the ships from San Roque had seized Gileli's vessel, the sultan had not yet been informed that the port was under blockade by Spanish troops, and in this the Moroccan was in the right. He also confirmed that deserters from Ceuta had stolen Gileli's ship in their escape from Tangier and had damaged it.[70]

The Minister of the Treasury acknowledged that Gileli "had been employed for many years in commerce among various ports of our Peninsula, supplying their inhabitants with meat and legumes"; also that he had arranged a

68 Also, "so that his business may prosper in some manner and he may again be useful to the State": petition by Caddur, Madrid, 15 November 1804, AHN, Estado, leg. 5804.

69 "Todas estas pérdidas y quebrantos señor han reducido al Moro Caddor á una situación deplorable después de haver servido treinta años a V.M. y al Rey de Marruecos, con honor, desinteres y zelo, de forma que se puede decir, en verdad que ha quedado casi arruinada su casa siendo antes de las mas opulentas de su Reyno; cuyos estremos no solo constan por menos a vuestro Consul General de Marruecos, sino que son públicos y notorios: de manera que formando un calculo prudente de las perdidas que ha experimentado el Moro Caddor en estos últimos tiempos ascienden sin duda á la cantidad de 90 [mil] rs. de vn. … [D]e este modo conseguirá no solo el fin que lleba propuesto, sino el de conservar su familia que se be reducida con tantos quebrantos á un estado infeliz": petition by Caddur, Madrid, 15 November 1804, AHN, Estado, leg. 5804.

70 Antonio González Salmón to Pedro Ceballos, Tangier, 10 September 1804, AHN, Estado, leg. 5804.

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purchase of oxen with Alonso García in 1797 and had fulfilled the terms of the contract while García had failed to pay him, "for which reason he was arrested and sentenced to fulfill what he had promised. But since he died in that period and left no funds, the Moor was left much harmed in his interests after he had pledged to supply the Campo de San Roque." Gileli had placed his ships at the disposal of the Spanish consul "as long as he employed them for his ordinary and extraordinary journeys." The minister knew that several Spaniards with whom the Moroccan had dealt had failed "in what is required of good faith by a contract, so that he has had very large losses and is now reduced to penury." He was aware of the theft and near-spoiling of one of Gileli's ships. Therefore he asked that the Moroccan be compensated "in some measure" by a permission to import the abovementioned large quantity of wax, free of customs duties. Once his prosperity returned he could once again supply Spanish ports in time of need, as he had done in the past. The minister wished the king to be informed of the case because the petitioner's claims appeared confirmed by the consul in Tangier, who "believes him deserving of some compensation."[71]

In a subsequent report, however, the minister retracted what he had argued before, alluding to a royal decree of 24 June 1804 that forbade the importation "in the future of any goods brought by the Moroccan Moor Caddor Ben Gileli." The king, after reviewing Gileli's arguments, had decided not to admit his petitions: "If this Moor performed some service he must have been paid, or have gone to someone who gave him a loan for his satisfaction and payment. He and other foreigners and Spaniards should not believe that they can solicit such permissions that are damaging to commerce."[72]

Caddur persisted, with a new petition in mid-November "that spoke at greater extent of the affair and other matters." He repeated that he had signed the contract with Alonso García "urged and encouraged by your consul general in Morocco," and "authorized by a letter from the military governor of the Campo [de San Roque]." The Secretary of State passed the petition on to the Minister of the Treasury, who declined to act and returned it: the king had suspended "all favors for imports free of duties in his kingdom, so [Caddur] should approach the [Secretary of] State, who should pay him, assuming that he had approved his venture."

71 Note from Miguel Cayetano Soler to the Secretary of State, San Lorenzo de El Escorial, 27 October 1804, AHN, Estado, leg. 5804.

72 Miguel Cayetano Soler to Pedro Ceballos, San Lorenzo de El Escorial, 8 November 1804, AHN, Estado, leg. 5804.

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Caddur insisted that

> He asks for no favor, considered as a favor, but that the amount left owing to him from that contract be restored in some way: it is forty [thousand] reales de vellón together with other losses caused him by the Spanish, as he has explained in his statement, and it all comes to ninety [thousand] reales.

He repeated his request to import the six hundred quintales of wax free of customs duties. He also complained of "the increased sums demanded of him for his petition to recover his patrimony in the space of six months," and asked to be "granted some permission that will let him be paid what he is owed."[73] A few days later he penned a new appeal, this time from San Lorenzo de El Escorial. Once again he lamented that Alonso García had not paid him in full, and demanded some solution that would help him, "since he is required to return to his country, and has no means of verification because of his increased expenses during the six months he has spent away from home." He begged for attention to his cause so that he could begin his journey and "recover, by this means, the harms and damages to him," especially after royal favor had been denied (he did now accept that it would have been a special favor). The Secretariat of State once again responded that he was owed nothing, and a note on his petition instructed: "Let him be told that the king bears no responsibility at all for restoring the damages he claims, on the basis of the reasons and arguments that the petitioner presents."[74] Gileli received only a single concession, much smaller than what he was requesting. It was noted on his petition: "Out of consideration he was granted one thousand five hundred pesos fuertes for him to return to his country, by verbal order of His Excellency regarding expenses of the Secretariat."[75]

9.4.12 *Mohamet Valenciano* (*1800*)

Captain Mohamet Valenciano was one of many frequenters of Spanish ports. He was therefore subject to the sultan's order of late 1799 for Moroccan-flagged ships to leave Europe and return with empty holds to their country, where they

73 "[N]o pide gracia alguna, considerada como gracia, sino que se le resarza de algún modo, la cantidad que se le quedó a deber de aquella contrata que es 40 [mil] reales de vellón y además otras perdidas, que le han causado los españoles, como expone en la dicha representación, y que todo ello asciende a 90 [mil] reales." A marginal note reads, "Nothing is owed to him": petition by Ben Gileli, Madrid, 15 November 1804, AHN, Estado, leg. 5804.

74 Petition by Ben Gileli, San Lorenzo de El Escorial, 15 November 1804, AHN, Estado, leg. 5804.

75 File of Ben Gileli, AHN, Estado, leg. 5804.

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would be limited to coastal trade; the ruler had also asked European countries not to allow his ships to load and unload in their ports. Valenciano, then in Málaga, complained to the king of Spain "in his own name and that of others whose ships were detained in Málaga, that Spanish port authorities were forbidding him and other Moroccan captains to load and unload in the ports where they found themselves." He argued that they had "brought authorized goods from Faro, with their papers in order." While not intending to violate the sultan's order, they hoped to take advantage of the six-month grace period; but that had already elapsed, and examination of the ships' papers provoked serious doubts about their legality and that of their cargoes. The king of Spain knew that he had to accept the sultan's decision and that the grace period was over, but hoped to avoid "the harm to be incurred by these individuals if they cannot sell their products in Spain," again invoking "the good harmony that reigns between this Court and that of Morocco." He therefore decided that all ships currently in that situation in Spain

> may have permission to unload and sell their goods, and then at once be obliged to leave for their country with only ballast, if their ships are truly Moroccan. And if they are not, let their papers be collected and their crews required to return to their countries aboard other ships, which are to be left at the disposal of their true owners so long as they are not enemies of His Majesty. If they are they will be confiscated, for all this agrees with the spirit of Muley Soliman's decree, which all his subjects must obey.[76]

9.4.13 *Haljach Abdalá* (*1800*)

This captain gave testimony in Málaga in the case of the polacre *Massuba*, sold to the Moroccans Ataib and Alhach Malamud Almasaid in Gibraltar in 1799, as we saw above. He was described as "a man dressed in Moorish garb, who … said he was called *Arráez* Aljach Abdalá, captain of the Moroccan goulette *Maimuna* now anchored in this port; a native of Salé in the states of the Emperor of Morocco, who [swore] by Allah the Great and his Prophet Mohammed,

76 "…descarguen y vendan sus efectos siendo permitidos, y seguidamente se les obligue á salir en lastre directamente para su país, siendo sus buques realmente Marroquíes; y no lo siendo se le recojan los papeles y se obligue à las tripulaciones à bolver a sus país[es] à bordo de otros buques, quedando estos a disposición de sus verdaderos propietarios, como no sean enemigos de S.M., en cuyo caso quedarán los cascos confiscados, pues todo esto es conforme al espíritu de la órden de Muley Soliman, que todos sus súbditos deben obedecer": *Semanario Económico,* 9 August 1800.

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indicating with his index finger as is proper and promising to tell the truth." Abdalá said that he was thirty-five years old and signed his statement in Arabic. He frequented the port of Málaga around 1800.[77]

9.4.14 *Haljach Candur* (*1800*)

He was another witness in the case heard in Málaga: "a man dressed in Moorish garb, who … said he was called *Arráez* Haljach Candur, captain of the Moroccan mistico *Larnib* anchored in this port, a native of Larache." He was twenty-four years old and also frequented the port of Málaga.[78]

9.4.15 *Algache Abdarrajaman Acatam* (*1800*)

This "Moorish Moroccan merchant" petitioned the Secretary of State in 1800 to be allowed to bring a cargo of cinnamon into Spain; it had been forbidden in November 1799. In a petition of May 1800 in which he mentioned an earlier one of 18 April, he explained:

> He is now in Spain in the port of Málaga, dealing and trading and contributing considerable duties to the Royal Treasury. And he asked Your Majesty to grant him the favor of allowing him free entry and the sale of eighteen sacks of cinnamon; for when Your Majesty's royal order forbidding the entry of cinnamon was issued the ship had already left the port of Faro in the Kingdom of Portugal, and Your Majesty's royal goodness should generously grant his request.

He added that he also wished "to sell six bundles of cinnamon that arrived after the [other] two ships"; these were stored in the customs house in Málaga. If he received permission it would be "sufficient satisfaction for the damages and expenses he has been caused."[79]

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77 He testified before the judge advocate of the tribunal in Málaga with other witnesses: AHN, Estado, leg. 5802.

78 He testified before the judge advocate of the tribunal in Málaga with other witnesses: AHN, Estado, leg. 5802.

79 "[S]e halla en España y Puerto de Malaga, traficando y comerciando contribuyendo al Real Erario, considerables derechos, y pidió a V. M. le concediese la gracia de permitirle la libre introducción y despacho de 18 churlas de Canela, respecto a que quando se expidió la Real Orden de V. M. proiviendo la entrada de Canela, ya había salido el Barco del Puerto de Faro reino de Portugal, y la Real bondad de V. M. ha tenido a bien concederle su solicitud": Petition dated May 1800 and signed in Arabic. It requested a report by Miguel Cayetano Soler, Minister of the Treasury: AHN, Estado, 5802.

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The Secretary of the Navy had to give his opinion, and decided that "If he ordered [the merchandise] before the issuance and publication of the royal decree of 23 November of last year, and has not had enough time to suspend his order, I believe he should be allowed to introduce it and sell it in the kingdom with the corresponding payment of royal duties." He noted that many other merchants from different countries found themselves in similar straits and should be allowed to do the same.[80]

9.4.16 *Hamet Bujalel* (*1800*)

We know little about him except that in 1800 he filed a complaint against Luis Quintana, a merchant from Cádiz who had failed to honor a contract signed by them both.[81]

9.4.17 *Abdasalem Buasa* (*1800*)

The Moroccan felucca *Masud* under Captain Abdasalem Buasa was captured off the beach of La Atunara in La Línea de la Concepción in August 1800. It had sailed from Almería for either Algeciras or Cádiz, as Buasa reported:

> In the port of Almería it loaded esparto grass, forty arrobas of tallow candles, twenty quintales of biscuit, ten quintales of flour for making couscous, and three hundred dozen eggs. It obtained in Almería the required passport for Algeciras, and if [the goods] could not be sold there, for the port of Cádiz to make the sale.

After a layover in Málaga it was pursued by three corsair feluccas under the military governor at San Roque, whom Buasa accused of having armed the ships privately. He never expected to have problems after loading in Almería and paying the necessary duties, and "in all modesty" thought it unjust that

> he be attacked in this way: they collected his passport from his Emperor and 262 duros he carried for his unavoidable expenses and made him a prisoner, not in some enemy territory but on the coast of Spain with his ship and all his cargo. They pointed pistols and swords at the breast of the petitioner and all his crew saying "Silence, dogs!" and other such ugly words. They spat on the Moroccan flag, contrary to the orders Your

80 M.C. Soler to M.L. de Urquijo, Aranjuez, 12 May 1800. Aranjuez to M.C. Soler, 17 May 1800. The king assented: AHN, Estado, leg. 5802.

81 Only the cover of the the empty file survives: AHN, Estado, legs. 5809-5810.

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> Majesty must have issued and that they should obey. Therefore irreparable harm has been and is still done to him.

He demanded the return of his ship and cargo, his passport from the sultan, and his 262 pesos, otherwise "he will be entirely ruined, for he is in the most pitiable situation with nothing to eat; therefore he begs for [the king's] protection."[82] The appeal led the Secretariat of State to request information from the military governor of the Campo de Gibraltar about Buasa, "his ship having been improperly seized on its way from Málaga to Algeciras,"[83] but the local military court ruled against the Moroccan and proceeded to distribute his goods among his capturers.[84] Buasa made new appeals in August and October 1800,[85] but was not able to reverse the earlier judgment: "This has already been denied by virtue of the report by the military governor of the Campo de San Roque dated 13 October 1800."[86]

Buasa made a fresh attempt in March 1801 with another petition that contained few new arguments. He noted that he had "a fair amount" of esparto grass and was authorized to sell it in Algeciras, but if he found no buyers there he could go on to Cádiz. He claimed that the three corsair vessels that had captured him "had violated the Peace Treaty of March 1799." The attackers had taken over the ship "seizing violently his passport from the Emperor and 262 duros he carried for his expenses, thrusting pistols and swords at his breast, shouting many insults, and making other supremely rude gestures that cannot

82 "[E]n el Puerto de Almeria cargó esparto, quarenta arrobas de Belas de sebo, veinte quintales de Biscochos, diez quintales de Arina para hacer alcuscus, y trescientas docenas de huevos, para cuyo transporte sacó de Almeria el correspondiente Pasaporte para Algeciras, y si en esta no tubiese despacho poder pasar al Puerto de Cadiz á hacer su benta. … que se le atropelle de esta forma, haviendole recogido el Pasaporte de su Emperador, doscientos sesenta y dos duros que tenia para sus indispensables gastos, traiendole apresado, no en parte sospechosa, sino en la costa de España, Barco y todo el cargamento poniéndole asi al que expone como a la Tripulacion, las Pistolas y Espadas a los Pechos espresando Callar Perros, y otras malsonantes. Escupiendo al Pavellon Marroqui, lo que es impropio á las ordenes que deven observar y V. M. tendrá expedidas por tanto y para precaver los irreparables perjuicios que se le an irrogado e irrogan": Petition by Abdasalem Buasa, 9 August 1800, in which he refers to a previous one of July of that year. There is also a petition written entirely in Arabic, AHN, Estado, leg. 5802.

83 San Ildefonso to the military governor of the Campo de Gibraltar, 14 August 1800, AHN, Estado, leg. 5802.

84 Adrián Jacome to Mariano Luis de Urquijo, Campo de Gibraltar, 25 August 1800. AHN, Estado, leg. 5802.

85 Petitions dated in San Ildefonso, 15 August 1800, and San Lorenzo de El Escorial, 13 October 1800, AHN, Estado, leg. 5802.

86 File on A. Buasa, AHN, Estado, leg. 5802.

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be named without disgust." He repeated his demand for the return of his ship, cargo, and money. He claimed that the king of Spain had accepted his appeal, though the royal command had not yet reached the tribunal at San Roque. And finally he lamented the nine months he had spent in detention.[87]

In a new petition in May 1801 the Moroccan related that he was living in the Posada de San Antonio, number 18. He had obtained "the health certificate from the consul in Almería," and the corsairs had captured him within sight of San Roque, robbing him of everything. Like many captains and merchants in similar circumstances he had decided to approach the court in Madrid for a solution to his problem, though he had been obliged to "sell his clothes in Málaga to be able to go to the royal court to explain to His Majesty his deplorable situation. In fact he sought the king many times in Madrid, in La Granja, and in El Escorial begging for consideration of his request, without failing to visit the Secretariat of State every day to learn of any favorable response to his queries." He insisted that according to an official at the Secretariat of State, the monarch "had granted what he wished, a piece of news that filled the petitioner with joy." He had therefore given "a power of attorney to a confidant of his in San Roque, who would go in his name to the military governor of that port and claim his confiscated goods, by virtue of the favor [the king] had granted." Contrary to his expectations, however, the official claimed to have received no such order. Buasa renewed his "humble requests" in hopes that the monarch "might deign to gaze on him with compassion, for God alone knows of his miserable state; he is so afflicted here that every day seems like a year." In the meantime he had contracted debts that made it impossible for him to travel to the summer palace at Aranjuez, and "as a foreigner he finds no one to aid him in his extreme poverty." Significantly, he now limited his appeal to "whatever alms you may wish to give him," which he hoped to receive "as a son of Adam." He closed by recalling that he had spent "eleven full months" in his suit, for his ship had been seized "before the feast of Saint John [24 June]" of 1800.[88]

9.4.18 *Hach Hamet Absalem* (*1800-1801*)

Hach Hamet Absalem,[89] captain of the fishing boat *Misiana* and "a subject of His Moroccan Majesty," was captured off Estepona after leaving Málaga. He was accused of being bound for Gibraltar, which was blockaded at the time.

87 Petition by Captain Abdesalam Buasa, Moroccan felucca *Masud*, Madrid, 22 March 1801. Signed in Arabic, AHN, Estado, leg. 5818.

88 Petition by Abdasalem Buasa, Madrid, 17 May 1801, AHN, Estado, leg. 5818.

89 He also appears as Jach Absalem, Jach R Het Absalem, Jet Absalem, and Jach Jet Salem.

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The judge advocate of the Campo de Gibraltar's military tribunal reported in February 1800 that the captain carried no papers to confirm the purchase of the boat; he had only certificates from the consuls of Spain, Portugal, and France dated in 1797, but he claimed that the boat had been bought in 1799. There was no proper accounting of the cargo, no required waybill, and no other document except for a certificate from the port of Tavira that did not accord with statements by the captured men. After hearing from the captain and his purser (whom he mistrusted), the judge concluded that "under cover of the Moorish flag even Spaniards trade with the enemy port." The boat and its cargo were therefore confiscated.[90] José Coronel, who commanded the corsair vessel that had detained it, believed its owners to be Spaniards who were using the Moroccan flag to smuggle food into Gibraltar. The number of Moroccan crewmen did not correspond to the list in the captain's papers:

> The detained vessel ought to be a legitimate prize because its captain did not present a deed of sale or genuine document to prove it belongs to the governor of Tangier, as the captain himself admits in his statement. The certificates from the three consuls of Spain, Portugal, and France are of no value for this purpose, because the number of Moors they mention has not been found on board. Nor are they sufficient in themselves to prove the ownership of a vessel whose type of construction, the timber of which it is built, and the marks on its hull from repairs and beaching clearly show it to be Spanish, of those built on the shores of Valencia. If it does belong to subjects of His Moroccan Majesty, why does he not show the bill of sale? No such document exists, and for this reason alone it should be a legitimate prize according to Article 31 of the rules of corsair warfare.

The mere fact that the number of Moroccans aboard did not match the muster roll of crewmen was enough to declare it a prize:

> It should also be so by the royal decree of 24 April 1797, through which His Majesty authorizes armers of corsairs to detain every suspicious vessel: if the crew does not correspond to what it should be, native to the country where it is registered, it is declared a prize in their favor. A single Moor is not the crew native to the country as expressed in this royal decree;

90 Report by Manuel Serrano y Cuevas to José Coronel, Algeciras, 16 February 1800, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

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> rather, to judge by most of the men found on board, the class and construction of the vessel, its cargo, and so on (as set forth in the report of the chief accountant for the Royal Marine Customs House of the City of Málaga), it is easy to see that it is a Spanish boat that is abusing the Moroccan flag to bring products of our kingdoms into the port of Gibraltar in a trade that is as illegal as it is forbidden.

Besides, even if it did have Moroccan owners ("which cannot be shown with genuine documents"), that would not explain the presence of weapons on board:

> To what end would it carry on board the sabres, bayonets, cannon, blunderbusses, firebombs, and other arms and gunpowder that were hidden, enough weapons for every member of the crew? If the captain bought them to arm his ship, where is the patent from his prince that allows it? And if they are a shipment or transport they are smuggled goods, and in either case His Majesty declares it a legitimate prize according to Articles 28 and 33 of the corsair regulations.

Other clues also pointed to smuggling into Gibraltar, including a document "in the pocket of a jacket that was found aboard with a pair of pantaloons and a pair of boots that had no owner, as well as kerchiefs and other bundles of smuggled cloth, which were deposited in the administration of San Roque." He recalled another recent case in which the same arguments had been used: "We have just confiscated and distributed a mistico flying the Moroccan flag, seized by Don Juan Barhen's corsairs, for the well-founded reasons expressed in the report; and without doubt they are less compelling than in the case of the fishing boat at issue here."[91]

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91 "El Casco de la referida embarcación detenida deve ser de buena presa, por no haver presentado su Arraez, escritura o documento legitimo que acredite ser propio del Governador de Tanger; como dice el mismo Arraez en su declaracion, no siendo de ninguna fuerza para esta justificación, las certificaciones de los tres Consules de España, Portugal y Francia, quando no se ha encontrado á bordo el numero de Moros que ellas expresan, y quando ellas solas no son suficientes para acreditar la propiedad natural de un Buque cuya clase de construcción, maderas de que se compone, las señales que conserva en sus fondos de haber tenido carenotes, y los dados para barar, clara y evidentemente manifiestan ser un Buque Español de los construidos en las Playas de Valencia; y por lo tanto si pertenece á Subditos de S. M. Marroqui; por que no presenta ó en donde para la escritura de compra. No existe semejante documento, y por sola esta falta deve ser de Buena presa con arreglo al articulo 31 de las ordenanzas de corso. … Debe igualmente serlo por la Real orden de 24 de abril de 1797 por la que encarga S. M. a los armadores de corsarios detengan a todo

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The military governor of the Campo de Gibraltar agreed with the reports by Manuel Serrano and José Coronel, as he informed the Secretary of State: it was a case of smuggling into Gibraltar and the supposed final destination was "a dodge for taking the other goods 'for Tavira' to cover for the trade conducted under this flag by Spaniards themselves and Englishmen, so as to provide that port continuously with food and all kinds of refreshments." He too thought the boat had been seized lawfully, "as has just happened with another ship taken by two Spanish corsairs as it left Gibraltar." He hoped that the monarch could judge the legality of the prize, as encouragement to Spanish corsairs and warships that were pursuing that traffic:

> Thus we would stimulate the capturers to increase their zeal, to avoid the constant introduction of foodstuffs into Gibraltar, with illegal goods exported in return, that so harms the Royal Treasury. They use their own subjects for this criminal commerce and put two or three rented Moors on board, buying the passports of others involved in the expanding commerce that takes place in Gibraltar, and they sell out the Moors and the English.[92]

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buque sospechoso, pues si la tripulación no correspondiese a la que debe llevar natural del Pais a que pertenesca su propiedad se declarará la presa á su favor. Un solo Moro no es la tripulación natural del Pais que expresa esta Real orden, antes bien si se juzga por el mayor numero de gente encontrada a bordo, por la clase y construcción de la embarcación, y por el Cargamento y demas que consta en el informe del contador principal de Rentas Generales de la Real Aduana de Mar de la Ciudad de Malaga fácilmente se inferirá que es una embarcación Española que abusando del Pabellon Marroqui se empleaba en conducir á la Plaza de Gibraltar las producciones de nuestros Reynos con un comercio tan ilícito como prohivido. … [P]ara que fin llevaba a bordo, los sables, bayonetas, pedrero, trabuco, frascos de fuego y demas municiones y polvora que se encontraron escondidos; armas suficientes para todos los individuos de su tripulación: Si el Arraez las compró para armar su Buque en donde esta la patente de su Principe que lo permita; y si de carga ó tansporte son efectos de contrabando, y en uno y otro caso la declara S. M. por de buena presa según los artículos 28 y 33 de la ordenanza de Corso." Coronel affirmed having made the same arguments in a report dated the previous 27 January: José Coronel to Count de la Haye-St. Hilaire, Algeciras, 20 February 1800, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

92 "…de cuyo modo se dá mucho estimulo a los Apresadores para que aumenten su vibo celo, en evitar la continua introducción de viberes que se haze en Gibraltar, exportando fraudes en retorno, que tanto perjudica al Real Erario, valiéndose sus propios vasallos para cometer tan criminal comercio, de poner alquilados a bordo dos, o tres moros, y comprar a otros algunos de los Pasaportes que traen, del crecido comercio que circula en Gibraltar, y venden los Moros e Yngleses": Count de la Haye-St. Hilaire to Mariano Luis de Urquijo, Campo de Gibraltar, 24 February 1800, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

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The Secretary of State agreed with the military governor that the boat was a legitimate prize, and urged him to publish the decision if he thought fit.[93]

In April of that year Hach Absalem appealed to the military governor of the Campo de Gibraltar. He complained that after he sailed from Málaga for the Portuguese city of Tavira his boat had been seized in Estepona, and he wished the matter to be officially recorded: "Having left Málaga loaded with bread, flour, wine, and vinegar, bound for Tavira in the king[dom] of Portugal, the boat was intercepted in Estepona and its cargo decommissioned. To this end he requests Your Excellency to provide the proper witness statement, for that is only just."[94] The military governor ordered the scribe of the military tribunal to issue the appropriate document.[95] It stated that Captain José Coronel, commander of the felucca fleet of Estepona, had seized the "Moroccan boat" for "having aboard a load of skins of red wine, sacks of flour, and other items without the necessary waybills." The hearings began on 23 January 1800 and concluded with a sentence handed down in San Roque on 12 February, which confirmed that part of what had been loaded in Málaga (bricks and turkeys) had been taken to Gibraltar, while other products did not have the required permits and had not paid duties:

> Because Captain Hach Jet Salem gives no justification nor satisfaction about the purpose and destination of the seven thousand bricks and twenty turkeys that, according to the certificate from the chief accountant of the tax office in Málaga, he loaded onto the boat under his command on 2 and 18 January last; it being assumed that he would have transported those goods to the port of Gibraltar, and did so without the corresponding waybills and payments of duties on the flour, chickens, biscuit, and lemons that make up his cargo: as Your Excellency has stated, according to the royal regulations [the cargo] should be declared confiscated *in toto*. The boat is set at liberty and the captain is warned to abstain from similar actions in the future, otherwise he will be dealt with severely.

To avoid spoilage of the seized items they were to be sold at public auction, with the profits set aside pending the king's decision. It was published on 13 March and communicated two days later to the capturer, José Coronel,

93 Mariano Luis de Urquijo to military governor of the Campo de Gibraltar, Aranjuez, 4 March 1800, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

94 File "Barca Bou, Misiana, recurso de su arráez marroquí Jach Absalen y del apoderado de este Santiago Escalar y Calzada, San Roque, 4-4-1800," AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

95 San Roque, 3 April 1800, Count de la Haye-St. Hilaire, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

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and after another week to Captain Absalem. In the presence of three witnesses Absalem was told that he could appeal the sentence within a certain time if he found it unjust; it would be considered final if not appealed by 1 April. At that point the value of the auctioned cargo was distributed and the boat, with its papers, weapons, and other effects, was returned to the captain. Antonio González Salmón, the new consul, informed the sultan of the events and the arrangements to have the captain sail the boat back to his country.[96]

Not satisfied with this finding, Captain Absalem sent a new petition – after the stipulated period had closed – that repeated all his earlier arguments and pleaded his condition as an outsider: "Because the petitioner is a foreigner he could not understand the reasons for his detention. And although he took many steps and made his requests to be freed of such obstruction he obtained nothing, because he did not know how to prepare his defense before the court, confident that the judge would allow him to pursue his voyage." "Stripped of his goods and ruined," he had tried to understand the events: "He asked for the testimony of that proceeding, the same one that humbly accompanies this statement and forms its basis. He declares that it was only through a defect in the waybills that he was decommissioned and lost his entire cargo." Once the sentence was published, "though he was allowed to appeal to the Council," he was

> incapable of seeking that remedy because he lacked all help and even what was needed for his sustenance and that of his crew. Afflicted with the misfortune of this circumstance he was forced to return to Málaga with his boat, to petition Your Excellency and explain to his wise counsel that in this case he has been accused of a crime that he did not commit.

96 "[Q]ue respecto á que el Arraez Hach Jet Salem, no dá razón, ni satisface al cargo que le resulta sobre el destino, y paradero de los siete millares de Ladrillos, y veinte Pabos, que según aparece de la certificación del Contador principal de Rentas Generales de Malaga embarcó en el Buque á su mando en dos y diez y ocho de Enero ultimo, siendo presumible, hubiese transboradado estos efectos para su Conduccion á la Plaza de Gibraltar, y que asimismo lo hizo sin las Correspondientes Guias, y pagos de derechos de la Harina, Gallinas Galletas, y Limones de que se compone su cargamento, devia declarar como declaraba S. E. por caydo en comiso este en todas sus partes, con aplicación según Reales Ynstrucciones, quedando en libertad el Buque, prevenido dicho Arraez que en lo Sucesibo se abstenga de dar lugar a iguales procedimientos, pues de lo contrario se le tratará con mayor demostración": "Certificación de Juan de Mena escribano del rey y numerario de la ciudad de Gibraltar y del Tribunal de Guerra de la Comandancia General y Ejercito del Campo de San Roque," 4 April 1800, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

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> And even if it were true he did not deserve the decommissioning and loss of his cargo, and that has been done in a manner that goes directly against the royal decrees.[97]

He argued that the missing waybills for the "small amounts" of flour, wine, and lemons were not the result of ill intent but of his ignorance of the "norms of this country": "On purchasing those items he had dealt with the sellers in charge of loading them for the agreed price, and they were responsible for obtaining the licenses, something a Moor cannot understand as one alien to every practice in this country. Therefore he received those items in good faith, believing them licit in every way."

Even if the petitioner should have obtained the necessary waybills, however, he recalled that in similar cases the problem had been solved by imposing double the usual customs duties, since there had been no "fraud involving items forbidden to be traded." Therefore he denounced "the unprecedent strictness used by the official from San Roque, without considering the circumstances and without due respect for the king's generous indulgence toward Moroccans in Spain." The sentence had ignored the good relations between Spain and Morocco and the terms of the Peace Treaty of 1799:

> That official ignored the provision of the treaty of peace between the two sovereigns of 1 March of last year. Article Six states that that even if the petitioner had committed a serious offense he could not be brought to court nor deprived of his goods. More specifically, Article 34 that deals with cases of fraud forbids the decommissioning and loss of captured goods, even if they are illicit. None of this has been observed in the present case, causing ruin and harm to the petitioner against the sovereign's desire and solemn agreement; and this in spite of the enlightened and admirable instruction given to that judge regarding the royal decree related to that witness statement, i.e., that the sentence should be made public if it conformed to the law.

97 "…incapaz de emprender este remedio, careciendo de todo auxilio, y aun de lo necesario á su sustento, y el de su Tripulacion: Aflijido con la desgracia de este accidente se vió obligado a regresar a Malaga, con su Barca para ocurrir a V. E. y representar á su sabia justificacion que en la referida causa se le ha figurado un Crimen, que no ha cometido; que aunque fuese cierto, no exigía el comiso, y perdida de su cargamento y que el haberlo practicado asi ha sido quebrantando directamente las Reales ordenes": Petition by Hach Absalem, Málaga, 10 June 1800, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

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His lack of the proper waybills should not have made him lose his cargo, nor was there a basis for confiscating it and taking him to court. He decried the "irregularity" of the proceedings in San Roque and demanded "a swift remedy for the ills and harms caused him … stripped of his goods and treated with indifference in a foreign land." He wanted the sentence reversed and his cargo, or its value, returned "with restitution for the damages and injuries he has suffered; being prepared to satisfy the duties resulting from defects in his waybills, though without acknowledging ill intent in loading [the goods], as he has explained."[98]

The military governor of El Campo de Gibraltar was forced to tell the Secretariat of State again that he defended José Coronel's capture of the boat and that the sentence had been fair – and had not been "appealed by the capturers nor by the Moor, even though [that right] had been explained to him in the clearest of terms." The captain's petition was therefore unfounded, although contrary to royal decrees ("which make no exceptions for Moroccans") his boat, considered a legitimate prize, had been returned and the crew maintained at the capturers' expense. The captain's accusations against the justice imparted in the local court were "as improper as they are false," so the Commandant hoped that his superior would "investigate and reprimand severely the person who has influenced [the captain], doubtless through some Spaniard who owns the boat and cargo and under the shelter of the Moroccan flag is supplying Gibraltar, committing serious frauds and other excesses that are very harmful to the service of the king and his royal income.[99]

In August 1801 Santiago Escalar y Calzada, representing Hach Hamet Absalem and in his name, after the king had refused to review the affair requested the relevant court documents and reports "to exercise his right to use them as he wishes." This petition was granted.[100]

98 "[D]esatendió dicho Subdelegado, á lo prevenido en el tratado de paz entre ambos soberanos, de primero de Marzo del año próximo pasado,pues según el Articulo sexto aun quando el exponente hubiera cometido un grave delito, no se podía practicar diligencia alguna judicial contra el, ni privarle de sus bienes; y con mas especificación se dispone con el Articulo 34 tratando de aprencion de fraudes, pues se prohíbe el Comiso, y perdida de los generos aprendidos, aun en el extremo de ser ilicitos. Nada de esto se ha observado en aquel procedimiento, Causando la ruina y agravio del exponente, contra la voluntad y solemne convenio del Soberano, a pesar de la luz y admirable advertencia que se hizo a aquel Juez por la condicion contenida en Real Orden de relaciona dicho testimonio, en los términos de que publicase su sentencia si la creyese arreglada a derecho": Petition by Hach Absalem, Málaga, 10 June 1800, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

99 Count de la Haye-St. Hilaire to Mariano Luis de Urquijo, Campo de Gibraltar, 3 July 1800, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

100 Santiago de Escalar's petition is dated in Madrid, 28 August 1801. On the surrender of the documents: "I received from Don Eusebio Bardaxi, official of the First Secretariat of State

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The last document we have related to Hach Hamet Absalem also comes from Santiago Escalar: a petition he presented in October 1801 in defense of his client. It acknowledged that the boat had left Málaga with a shipment for Tavira that had the proper documentation. It was seized in Estepona, where "a lawsuit was brought by the associate justice of El Campo de San Roque." The captain, accused of carrying part of his cargo without waybills, had his goods confiscated and sold, while the boat was returned to him. As a foreigner he did not understand the reason for his detention and could not mount an adequate defense:

> Not having understood, as a foreigner, the reasons for his detention, though he took many steps and voiced his requests that he be freed from this impediment, he achieved nothing, since he did not know how to prepare his defense in court, being sure that the judge would allow him to continue his journey. But after the captain was stripped of his property and ruined, he sought to learn the cause and circumstances of this event, for which he asked for a statement of the proceeding. It is the one that humbly accompanies and forms the basis for this appeal.

The captain continued to claim that royal decrees on the matter had been contravened, though without any detailed argument; he recalled that his sentence was made public "but could be appealed to the Council." If the king's decision to publicize the sentence had a basis in law, there was only one conclusion to be drawn: "Let him notice and reflect that the sentence does not fulfill these conditions in either substance or manner; for if the lack of waybills allowed the cargo to be seized, the decommissioning and the development of the suit had nothing to do with a fraud by the Moor." The Moroccan was in no position to understand the situation, and was " incapable of remedying it, since he lacks any help and even basic sustenance for himself and his crew, and is afflicted with this unfortunate circumstance." He could only return to Málaga and from there appeal the sentence "that has imagined him author of a crime he did not commit; and even if it were true it did not require the decommissioning and loss of his cargo." It was too great a punishment "for the mere lack of waybills for part of the cargo,"

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in charge of Moroccan affairs, the documents presented by Don Santiago de Escalar on a petition by Jach Abselem captain of the fishing boat, as the representative of that Moor. San Lorenzo, 7 November 1801". Signed by Santiago de Escalar and his brother José Luis de Escalar, AHN, Estado, leg. 1801.

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> that small amount of flour, some wine, and lemons; this was not the captain's fault, nor did he wish to deprive the king of duties on his shipment. Such small amounts should not be subject to detention and damages; he claims that when he bought those items he dealt with sellers who were to bring them aboard for contracted prices and manage the tasks of loading and obtaining licenses, something that a Moor alien to the practices of this country was ignorant of. Therefore he received that merchandise in good faith, believing it legal in every way.

He argued that in similar cases, if it was a first offense, it could be settled by paying double the normal duties, and that should have been done for him. The judge in San Roque, with his "extraordinary severity," had ignored

> how the king's generosity wishes that Moroccans be treated in Spain. And besides, the judge contravened and ignored stipulations of the Peace Treaty between the two sovereigns of 1 March last year: by Article 6, even if the Moor had committed a serious breach he could not be sued or deprived of his property. And more specifically Article 34, which deals with the detection of fraud, forbids the decommissioning and loss of seized goods, even if they are illegal.

None of that had been observed, "causing ruin and harm to the captain," and the court proceeding in San Roque had been irregular. "With reason the Moor begs for speedy relief from the assaults and evils caused to him: [he is] stripped of his goods and reduced to the greatest poverty." The captain's case should be heard again even if it was already considered closed, in view of

> his ignorance of the laws and regulations of these kingdoms. The result will show his ignorance and perhaps the collusion that occurred in loading this boat by a vassal of Your Majesty who should have proceeded with more good faith and understanding of the common and general rule that governs such dealings and shipments.[101]

101 "…sin haver comprendido como estrangero los motivos de su detención, aun que dio muchos pasos é interpuso sus ruegos, a fin de que se le librase de tal molestia, nada consiguió, por que no supo entablar su Defensa en Justicia, confiado en que aquel Juez le permitiría seguir su viaje; pero luego que se vio despojado de sus bienes, y perdido dicho Arraez, procuró saber la causa y circunstancias de tal suceso, y para ello pidió testimonio del referido procedimiento que es el mismo que humildemente acompaña, y sirve de fundamento a este recurso. … la corta porción de arina, algun bino y limón de su carga no fue por culpa del Arraez, ni por que con dolo quisiera pribar al Rey de los derechos. de su

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9.4.19 *Hach Mekki* (*1800-1801*)

In June 1800 corsairs from the Algeciras supply squadron seized two ships that had emerged from the blockaded port of Gibraltar; both were declared legitimate prizes. Chartered by the Bey of Mascara with the help of a Tunisian and two Moroccans, they had undoubtedly brought in wheat and barley. A search of one of them, *La Dama Veneta* under the imperial flag of Morocco, turned up ten thousand pesos fuertes.[102]

Amid a burgeoning correspondence among the interested parties a Moroccan merchant from Salé, Hach Mekki, arrived in San Roque in the Campo de Gibraltar.[103] In a petition dated 14 August he identified himself as the owner of the confiscated ten thousand pesos. He claimed authorization to trade under a neutral flag, though he mentioned in passing that he had not realized Gibraltar was blockaded. The ship's captain might have committed a crime, but that had nothing to do with him.[104] In a second petition, from San Ildefonso, he stressed that as a foreigner he sought the protection of the Secretary of State about a decision by the Prize Board of Algeciras, which affected " the sum of two hundred thousand reales de vellón that he claimed, which had been combined with

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embarque, pues siendo de corta entidad por ello no se havia de exponer a detenciones y perjuicios; únicamente fue dimanado de que al comprar dichos efectos, trató con los vendedores que se los havian de poner a bordo por el precio ajustado, quedando al cargo de aquellos las faenas de conducción y facilitación de licencias, como cosa qe no entendia un Moro ageno de toda noticia en la practica de este Pays: Asi recivió de buena fee dhos efectos creyéndolos habilitados en toda forma; . … a la indulgencia con que la piedad del Rey, quiere sean tratados los Marroquies en España: Pero además contravino, y desatendio dicho Subdelegado a lo prevenido en el tratado de Paz entre ambos soberanos de 1º de Marzo del año próximo pasado, ps. según el artº 6º aun quando el Moro hubiera cometido un grave delito, no se podía practicar diligencia alguna judicial contra el, ni privarle de sus bienes: Y con mas especificación se dispone en el artº 34 tratando de apreension de fraudes, pues se prohive el comiso y perdida de los generos apreendidos, aun en el extremo de ser ilícitos. … la ignorancia que en este concurre de las Leyes y disposiciones de estos Reynos, y a que por el resultado aparecerá su ignorancia y tal vez la colusión, que intervino en el cargo de esta embarcación, cometido al vasallo de V.M. que devio proceder con mas buena fee e inteligciª de la común y gral regla qe deve regir para semejantes negociaciones y trasportes": Madrid, 28 October 1800.

102 Duke of Frías to Mariano Luis de Urquijo, 7 and 16 October 1800. Italian translation of a letter from the Bey of Mascara to Mariano Luis de Urquijo, 22 October 1800, AHN, Estado, leg. 5806.

103 He also appears as Jach Mechi, Jach Mekki Haffe, Jach Michy Jafi, Miki el-Jafy, and Jach Mili El-Jafi.

104 A marginal note on the document reads: "Let him exercise his right according to the law" and "It has been told to him verbally." Petition by Jach Mechi, San Roque, 14 August 1800, AHN, Estado, leg. 5806.

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those involving the captain and the ship by the mere fact of having been on board, without considering arguments in favor of the petitioner's innocence."

Aside from the pesos fuertes at issue, Hach Mekki sought compensation for the damages he had suffered unjustly, so that he could continue to trade.[105] The Court asked for more information and the military governor of the Campo de Gibraltar reported to the Secretary of State that the two imperial ships *La Dama Veneta* and *El África* had been captured after a fight at sea. As for the Moroccan who claimed ownership of the ten thousand pesos fuertes,

> the Moorish merchant from Morocco in charge of the money and other items that the Bey claims came to see me asking them to be returned because they are at peace with Spain. And he did not and could not cause the captains of the frigate to enter into combat. And he, like all Moors, normally traveled carrying their money without any documentation, while seeking to protect it carefully to avoid its being taken.[106]

Almost a year later Mekki wrote again, claiming that he had chartered the frigate in question in Livorno with José Ballarino as its captain, intending to sail to a Moroccan port so long as there was no pestilence there; they had entered Gibraltar seeking information on that point and had been told that plague was still present. He had sold his cargo, which was wholly his own property, in that port and obtained ten thousand pesos fuertes. Since Morocco was closed to them he sought another destination and decided on Oran, having learned that the Bey of Mascara was chartering ships to load wheat there. Just out of Gibraltar they had been intercepted and fired on by an unflagged felucca that called for their surrender; they attempted a defense, but were within range of cannons from Algeciras. Mekki asked for the return of the full sum, because he had been a mere passenger under the captain and was a vassal of a nation friendly to Spain. Again he claimed ignorance of the Gibraltar blockade, since it had been proclaimed on 12 March, the day they had sailed from Livorno, and they had no way of knowing about it. He then insisted, however, that

105 On the margin is written: "He is denied, and rightly." Petition written in Arabic and dated in San Ildefonso, 12 September 1800, AHN, Estado, leg. 5806.

106 "[E]l Moro comerciante de Marruecos encargado del dinero y demás efectos que reclama el Bey, vino a berme solicitando su entrega fundando en que estando en Paz con España, que de ningún modo tubo parte, ni pudo tener en que los Capitanes de la Fragata sostubiesen el combate, y que el como todos los demás moros acostumbraban en su continuo giro a llebar el dinero sin documento alguno, procurando resguardarlo con el mayor cuidado, para evitar toda extracción": Count de la Haye-St. Hilaire to M.L. de Urquijo, Campo de Gibraltar, 24 November 1800, AHN, Estado, leg. 5806.

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neutral-flagged ships could enter that port to buy and sell freely. After the ships had been judged as prizes he had returned to Morocco, where a minister had written to the Secretary of State demanding justice.[107]

A few weeks later Hach Mekki appeared at the royal summer residence of San Ildefonso and presented another petition: he was charged by Osman, Bey of Mascara and Oran, with putting into the king's hands a letter in Arabic, which he had brought together with its Italian translation.[108] The letter was signed by the Moroccan minister Sid Mohamet El-Salahui and addressed to Vice Consul Antonio González Salmón; it asked for justice in the case and stated that the emperor had written to the vice consul's brother, J.M. González Salmón, about the affair. He therefore hoped that "you will not allow [Mekki] to return to the noble presence of our master (exalted by God) without a satisfactory conclusion to the business that has taken him to your country."[109]

We see how the Moroccans combined claims of ignorance about the Gibraltar blockade – which could have been genuine – with their right to sail under a neutral flag, which in fact did not apply to a blockaded port. The letters from Bey Osman of Mascara and the Moroccan sultan's minister made the same point. But Mekki could not present any proof that the money was actually his. Both he and the frigate's captain appeared in person before the Supreme Council of War before it made its decision.[110]

Mekki drew on all the influence he had in Morocco. The vice consul in Tangier, Antonio González Salmón, conveyed his demand for the return of the money and other items to the Secretary of State in September 1801: "I have just received a recommendation in the Moor's favor from Prince Muley Abselem, who takes an interest in the swift return of the property of a subject of the king his brother." It happened that Mekki's brother was the governor of Salé and an influential figure at Muley Sliman's court, and "if we do not attend to him we will incline that magnate against us, even if we argue that it is our right while we have Gibraltar under blockade." In the vice consul's opinion the Moroccan captain was at least partially correct, and it was best to place the nation's general interest above that of private armers of corsairs, and to be flexible in the present case, otherwise

107 Petition of 20 August 1801, signed in Arabic, AHN, Estado, leg. 5806.

108 Petition of mid-September 1801, AHN, Estado, leg. 5806.

109 Cádiz, 10 August 1801, AHN, Estado, leg. 5806.

110 The Council declared both Captain Ballarino's frigate and the money it carried a legitimate prize. It assumed that the Moroccan's account was false and that he was concealing the true ownership of the pesos fuertes: Manuel Serrano y Cuevas to Count de la Haye-St. Hilaire, 25 November 1800, AHN, Estado, leg. 5806.

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> the government of Morocco will never be satisfied; it is very true that the Moor, when he entered Gibraltar coming from Italy, did not know that we had that enemy port under blockade. Finally, excellent Sir, your keen political sense will realize that there are times when it is best to place the good of the State and the general interest of the Nation above the private interest of some armers of ships, or of the capturers of neutral vessels.[111]

In a later communication the vice consul requested documentation that the pesos fuertes did not belong to Hach Mekki; that would reassure Muley Sliman and also "quiet the demands of Jafi, who continues his appeal with the greatest vigor at the court of Muley Soliman."[112]

9.4.20 *Achijamet and Jamet (1800-1801)*

These two Moroccans[113] were robbed in Cartagena on 7 November 1801: "eleven thousand reales de vellón and all their clothing, valued at 250 pesos," were taken from their room. As a result, they claimed to be "in utmost penury" and suffering "great hunger, so much so that they have been helped by persons moved by charity who have offered them partial relief"; they hoped the monarch would assist them. A search for the stolen funds had located "three men held in the royal prisons who were found that night in possession of 231 duros (now held in deposit) in equal shares. As reported in court papers, they confessed that they committed the robbery with another two men who have not appeared, but they do not want to confess where they hid the clothing and the rest of the money."

The Moroccans asked that the men feel the full force of the law, be made to declare where they were keeping the money and clothes, and receive the appropriate punishment. They pleaded their foreign status as "these unhappy men who are in a foreign kingdom without any consul or ambassador to ensure justice, which we hope to receive from His Majesty's generous charity."[114]

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111 "[J]amás se dará por satisfecho el Gobierno Marroquí por quanto es muy cierto que el Moro, á su entrada en Gibraltar procedente de Ytália, ignoraba estubiese bloqueada por Nosotros aquella Plaza Enemiga, y por ultimo, Señor Excmo. la acendrada política de V. E. reconocerá que hay lanzes en que conviene anteponer el bien del Estado é interés general de la Nacion, al interés particular de algunos Armadores, ó Captores en la interceptación de los Neutrales": Antonio González Salmón to Pedro Ceballos, Cádiz, 11 September 1801, AHN, Estado, leg. 5806.

112 A. González Salmón to Pedro Ceballos, Tangier, 2 April 1802, AHN, Estado, leg. 5806.

113 Who also appear as Gatleche Majamet and Majamet, respectively.

114 Petition by Achijamet and Jamet, who sign in Spanish: Cartagena, 20 December 1800. A marginal note reads: "Attended to on 4 January 1801," AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

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An unsigned note from Madrid dated 4 January 1801 informed the governor of Cartagena that the king felt pity for the Moroccans who had been "robbed in their house and have lost their money and their clothes." He was urged to be diligent "in discovering the location of their goods and concluding the current case" so that "these Moroccans may recover their lost possessions."[115]

The governor returned a report on the events. After an investigation the full sum of money had been recovered, but not all the clothing: "all they had been robbed of was found, except for a few articles that may be of little value; still, I will employ every possible means to recover them and conclude the case quickly." The public scribe of the tribunal and town hall wrote a full report of what had happened: "Some Moors and a Hebrew" (i.e., the two Moroccans and a Jew named León Serfaty) "live in a downstairs room in one of the houses attached to the city wall." The first two had been absent and the third upstairs with their neighbors, and on their return they found five hundred silver duros and fourteen gold duros missing: "The said Moors had [them] in a bag of bladder skin tied with a leather cord and placed in a chest, and the Hebrew's clothing was in another chest. They found the entry door to the room open." The scribe began an investigation with the help of local sheriffs and a contingent of the provincial militia; they were accompanied by one of the Moors and the Jew, "who speak and understand our language." They found the chest that had contained the coins with its lock broken and nothing but a pair of slippers inside; the other, where the Jew had stored his clothes, also had a broken lock and was empty but for "a few red pipe stems and other small items which, being irrelevant to the case, were not listed." Some neighbor women, on being asked "if that evening or earlier they had seen any suspicious persons," recalled that three or four days before three men "who looked like sweepers from the Royal Naval Hospital" had gone by, one of them carrying a staff, and had aroused their suspicions by gazing at the Moors' house. They also remembered

> a very small man with a round pockmarked face and long sideburns, wearing a blackish cape with green linings and a *montera* hat. They had seen him speaking sometimes with the Moor who is present. And he [the Moor] replied that it was true: a man like the one the women described had approached him several times for conversation, but he had told him they had nothing to talk about.[116]

115 Unsigned draft note "To the governor of Cartagena," Madrid, 4 January 1801.

116 "[U]n hombre pequeñito, redondo de cara, picado de viruelas, patilla larga, que lleva un capote que tira a negro, con vueltas verdes y montera, lo han visto hablar algunas veces con el Moro que se halla presente, quien contexto ser verdad, que uno de las señas que

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The searchers then moved to the naval hospital, where in the sweepers' bedroom they found a staff belonging to the overseer Francisco Reyes, whom the women recognized. Under interrogation he admitted that he had walked by the city wall with Juan Lillo and Ramón García, a former prisoner. In Lillo's house, under his bed, the authorities found a chest with a bag inside that contained part of the stolen money: two packets that each contained fifty pesos fuertes or duros, and two kerchiefs in which were tied forty-one and four duros, respectively. Those 145 duros equalled 3,620 reales, which were confiscated. Lillo protested that the chest was not his and he did not know where it came from, though he eventually confessed that it belonged to Ginés Fernández, an overseer of the prison at the Arsenal. All the men were arrested and kept in separate cells. García, who was not detained until 8 November,[117] declared that he had been walking by the city wall one afternoon with Lillo and Reyes when "they saw two Moors come out of a house that is opposite the guard corps. They decided to enter, assuming [those men] had money, and found it was so; while Reyes stayed at the street door the witness shoved the inner downstairs door with his back and with a little effort it opened." Once inside they broke the locks on two chests, removing white and colored clothing and a sack of coins. In their haste Lillo dropped two packets of duros, which García picked up. When two women approached, Reyes disappeared and they could not divide up the money then and there, so they left the clothing behind except for two old shirts that García took, with the pesos Lillo had dropped. (The authorities combed the area near the wall where the clothes and pesos had fallen and found nothing.) García buried his pesos duros next to the first mill on the road out of the city through the Madrid gate, and when he led the officers there they found fifty pesos duros and two old shirts. Altogether 4,620 reales were recovered and returned to the Moroccans on 11 November, by order of the admiral of Cartagena and in the presence of León Serfaty. Efforts to find the remaining money and clothing continued, leading to the arrest of one Fernando García for vagrancy: he testified that on the evening of the robbery he had spoken with a certain Roque who had received the stolen clothes and then left the city.[118]

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dicen las indicadas muxeres, se ha acercado a el en varias ocasiones queriendo combersacion, y le contextaba no tenia que hablar con el."

117 At that point he had been free for two months after eight years imprisoned in the Arsenal for having committed a robbery in Lorca. Not finding work in that city he had moved to Cartagena even though former prisoners were not allowed to live there: AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

118 Marquis de la Cañada Ibáñez to Pedro Ceballos, 17 January 1801, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

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9.4.21 *Ibrahim Lubaris* (*1801*)

Captain Brahim Lubaris arrived in Barcelona in September 1801 from Salé, in a schooner loaded with hides, wax, and gum. His case, like many others, shows us that captains (*arraeces*) of the sultan's warships were willing to engage in commerce as well. Lubaris had served the quarantine during a layover in Alicante, but in Barcelona the Board of Health imposed another strict one because he had not unloaded his goods at the earlier port. The board was obeying royal decrees of 28 October and 5 November 1800 and 14 January 1801, and noted the different health standards imposed in the two cities, "realizing the dissonance it must cause the Moroccan captain, since he was given assurances in Alicante; and how important this is at times to North Africans, causing unjustified resentments and easily resulting in claims by them."[119]

9.4.22 *Mahomed Ben El Fach Ahmed Mogtal El Tarbelsi* (*1801*)

After the death of Sidi el Hach Mahomed Ben El Fach, a native of Tetouan, his interests were defended by Sidi Ali Ben El Abar Sid el Hach Yeguia el Mesfigui, also from Tetouan and then residing in Cádiz. He appeared with an interpreter, Hamet Almanzor, "who possesses sufficient knowledge of our Castilian tongue," and with an executor, Sidi Mahomed Ben El Abar Sid el Hach Humida el Amuri. El Amuri brought El Tarbelsi's will, "written in Arabic and properly translated into Spanish" by Spain's vice consul in Morocco, Juan de Campuzano; he came to collect sums owed the deceased man by Benito Picardo, a principal importer of Moroccan wheat. The total amount was slightly over 30,031 silver reales, which he received "in cash in silver coin and not in royal bonds."[120] It is noteworthy that the Moroccans used a notary's services and had close relationships with one of the most important merchants in Cádiz at the time.

9.4.23 *Taibe Menaiza and Meliro Açabel* (*1801*)

In 1801 five Moroccans appeared before a notary in Cádiz, where they then resided: Taibe Menaiza and Meliro Açabel from Tangier, Jamete Melfa and Jamete Zen Zen from Tetouan, and the interpreter Jamete Almanzor. They declared that they owed 220 pesos fuertes in silver to Benito Picardo. Menaiza was captain and owner of the boat *Mesauda* of five hundred quintales, "now anchored in this bay."[121] It is a second instance of Moroccans using a notary, and we see the names of the interpreter and Picardo once again.

119 Report to Miguel de Prats, 29 August 1801, IMHB, FS, Serie V, leg. 13, fols. 94-96.
120 Notary José Gómez Torices, 1801. Caja 1891, fols. 479-85, AHPC.
121 Notary José Gómez Torices, 1801. Caja 1891, fol. 231, AHPC.

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9.4.24 *Ali Turqui* (*1801-1803*)

On 29 May 1800 Captain Ali Turqui,[122] owner of the polacre *Bermeja* or *Merboja* of two thousand quintales, signed a charter contract with two merchants from Cádiz, Cristóbal Quintana and Marcos Herreros. He agreed to make a round trip from that port city to Santa Cruz de Tenerife, but he never did so because while the ship was being loaded, a royal decree reached Cádiz ordering Moroccan ships in Spanish ports to return home carrying nothing but ballast; it was a repetition of an earlier decree. Turqui appealed to the consular tribunal in Cádiz demanding payment from Quintana and Herreros of "half the charter fee and the delays, damages, and harm caused him by their non-fulfilment" of the contract; he calculated that if the charterers had finished loading the ship in the time agreed upon, he could have sailed for Tenerife before the royal decree arrived; therefore they bore responsibility for the failed voyage. In August 1801 the consul decided that Ali Turqui should be paid "half the charter fee agreed to in the contract; days of delay, from 16 June 1800 to 12 February 1801, at three hundred reales de vellón per day in accordance with the agreement; and also 11,907 silver reales and twelve and a half *cuartos* for the damages the polacre suffered from the delay."[123]

Quintana appealed to a higher court (*Juzgado de Alzadas*), which after reviewing the sentence between 7 January and 13 November 1802 reversed it and ruled that Quintana owed only ten days' worth of delays at three hundred reales per day. Quintana and Herreros were also demanding that the captain return the portion of their cargo that was still aboard the polacre. Turqui argued in his petition to the king that the voyage had been canceled through the two merchants' inaction in not having the ship loaded on time; while he was waiting to sail the royal decree had arrived, "ordering the Cádiz authorities to issue no papers to any Moroccan ship except for its return to Morocco." He wanted the decision of the consular court in Cádiz, which had found in his favor, to prevail; that of the Alzadas tribunal had placed him in "an unhappy state." He reminded the king of "the favor that he has been pleased to extend to vassals of His Moroccan Majesty, whom he has seen fit to protect by virtue of the treaties, to the benefit of both nations. He hopes that by trade and commerce each will be useful to the other, legally and in good faith and without both [sets of] subjects having to bring bothersome lawsuits." He requested help in his financial straits, and could not help recalling "in obedience to the truth that during the war with the English, when Spain's fortified ports [in

122 In Chapter 7 we met him as a corsair captain.

123 Petition by Ali Turqui dated 25 April 1803, AHN, Estado, leg. 5802.

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North Africa] and that of Ceuta were in difficulties through the blockade of Cádiz and interception of trade there, he had devoted zeal and effort to conveying to that port in Africa a variety of goods, facing dangers and and the possibility of losing everything."[124] Ali presented another petition, reiterating the same terms, on 13 May.[125]

On 6 May 1803 the Secretariat of State asked the consulate in Cádiz to investigate and give its opinion.[126] One of its employees also reviewed the case, and though he blamed the charterers for not having loaded the polacre on time, he agreed with the sentence of the Juzgado de Alzadas because the royal decree had reached the city while the loading period had not yet expired.[127] As a result, a royal decree of 11 August 1803 stated that the king, "desirous of offering the Emperor of Morocco fresh proof of his special consideration for his subjects," would name an *ad-hoc* "Junta of the Ministers of his Council" of the Treasury. It would finally, "with no more hearings or allegations from the two sides, examine the documents that exist, pronounce a fair sentence, and announce it to you."[128] That body met and, after reviewing the briefs, decided that the decisions of the Juzgado de Alzadas on 7 January and 13 November 1802 had been "fair and conformed to the Orders of the Consulate of Bilbao

124 The chartering merchants were supposed to pay the captain 50,000 reales in cash – never in royal bonds – on his return to Cádiz. The cargo was to be approved in the space of fifteen working days, with an allowance of ten additional days charged at 300 reales de vellón per day. There was a surcharge of 4,000 reales for excess cargo. The captain was to deposit 1,000 pesos fuertes with Antonio Salmón, Spain's consul general in Morocco, in case the polacre should be intercepted at sea and taken to any port other than its destination; and if the captain did not defend properly the charterers' right to the cargo, he would lose those 1,000 pesos to them. Petition by Ali Turqui dated 25 April 1802; copy of his appeal to the Royal Consulate in Cádiz, but dated in Aranjuez, 6 May 1803. Copy of the contract. He insisted on the "solicitude" of the Spanish monarch toward Moroccan subjects: AHN, Estado, leg. 5802.

125 Petition by Ali Turqui, 13 May 1803, AHN, Estado, leg. 5802.

126 Calixto Sanz, scribe of the Juzgados de Alzadas, reported that when the royal decree had reached Cádiz the polacre was partially loaded: Cádiz, 27 July 1803. Felipe Román claimed that the Alzadas tribunal had studied the case thoroughly, "sparing no effort to determine the truth. And I believe that having heard the litigants irrespective of their nation or religion, subject to the law by which it must judge, it alone must decide and its decision, whether favorable or not, must resolve their differences, for they subjected themselves to its authority": AHN, Estado, leg. 5802.

127 Antonio Ranz Romanillos, jurist and official of the Secretariat of State, to Pedro Ceballos, Madrid, 5 August 1803, AHN, Estado, leg. 5802.

128 Letter from the Governor of the Council of the Treasury, 11 August 1803, AHN, Estado, leg. 5802.

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and rules of commerce obtaining between civilized nations." Still, it left the final decision in the king's hands.[129]

Ali Turqui petitioned once again with the same arguments on 12 October 1803, but added that in the earlier version "the attorney who composed it [was] poorly informed by the petitioner because he expresses himself in Spanish with difficulty, knowing almost nothing of that language." He was approaching the king again because "truth and justice do not not lapse with time." He accused Quintana of having bribed witnesses before the Juzgado de Alzadas: "he presented in his support only witnesses whom he had sought out and deliberately bribed; the scribe did not know them, nor does anyone know who they were or from where – a clear proof of the false and untrustworthy nature of everything they swore to in support of Quintana." Besides, Quintana was aware "of the petitioner's lack of resources for continuing the litigation, and inability to find advocates in a foreign country, which would force him to abandon the defense of his rights." We note how the captain placed his faith in Spanish justice: it had been "such an expensive case, which has exhausted all the petitioner's funds and reduced him to the greatest poverty, in a foreign land and far from his unprotected family; but on which the petitioner embarked filled with [the idea of] justice after having taken every friendly and extrajudicial step."

A marginal note on the petition reads: "This petition arrived after the Junta of Ministers appointed to investigate the case had already conveyed its decision to the king." We can assume that the captain was unsuccessful in having that finding reversed in his favor.[130]

9.4.25 *Sidi Abdala Carcet (1801-1807)*

In February 1807 Sidi Abdala Carcet[131] "of the Moroccan nation" sent a petition regarding an incident with a cargo of 2,817 fanegas of wheat and a load of barley from Arzew. He had been waiting for "four years and some months" for a definitive decision, which he believed was being delayed on purpose by the Admiral of Valencia, the ultimate authority as head of the appeals court

129 The Junta's members were José Pérez Caballero, Bernardo Febrer, Tomás Pérez de Parayuelos, Pedro Nicolás del Valle, and Antonio Ranz Romanillos; it announced its finding in Madrid on 8 October 1803. José de Godoy informed Pedro Ceballos of the decision: Madrid, 10 October 1803, AHN, Estado, leg. 5802.

130 Petition by Ali Turqui, dated in Madrid 12 October 1803. Signed in Arabic, AHN, Estado, leg. 5802.

131 He is also called Abdala Tersi.

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(*Audiencia*) in that city.[132] Carcet claimed to have imported the grain from Oran to Alicante in May 1801 in the Ragusan polacre *Inmaculada Concepción* under Captain Glavich. Two local merchants, Esteban Die and Ignacio Casson, had signed a contract with the captain in the name of the municipal government of Alicante: they would buy 2,800 fanegas of wheat at eighty-eight reales apiece, the captain would paying the cost of unloading, and the buyers would assume any other costs. But while the wheat was still being unloaded, several bakers complained of its poor quality. The local magistrate ordered it to be ground, baked, and sampled, after which both doctors and bakers proclaimed that it tasted and smelled bitter; Alicante's Board of Health ordered all the wheat returned to the ship. At that point Ragusa's consul, who had mediated in the sale, claimed that the buyers should pay for the reloading, while the buyers objected that since the Board of Health had disallowed the sale they had not actually bought anything. After the consul appealed, the grain was unloaded once more and stored in a warehouse; but local officials insisted it should be reloaded a second time and that the polacre should leave Spanish waters. The ship's captain named as his representative Abdala Carcef, a commissioner of the Bey's and the overseer of the port of Arzew, and Carcef asked the king for repayment of the grain and its associated costs.

Four months later "the Moor Caddur Massus, representing the Bey's son Siddi Jaqui Mahamet," appeared before the magistrate in Alicante and "present[ed] various documents showing that the grain that Captain Glavich had taken out of Alicante had been bought by the commissioner for wheat in Lisbon." Since the wheat had been of good quality, he was suing Casson and Die for 185,629 reales for damages and costs.[133]

This petition forced the Admiral of Valencia to resolve a matter that should have been settled long before:[134] the appeals court in that city ruled immediately that its counterpart in Alicante and the Board of Health there had both acted incorrectly. The officials still insisted that the case had been handled as soon as possible, and criticized what they saw as the Moroccan's presumption: "I am amazed at the boldness with which the Moor Siddi Abadala Carcef has disturbed the king and Your Excellency in this matter, resulting in the sovereign's decision of the 7th of this month."[135]

132 There is a discrepancy between his date of arrival, 1801, and the four-plus years he claimed in 1807: petition by Sidi Abdala Carcet, Alicante, 24 February 1807, AHN, Estado, leg. 5818 (the document is a draft).

133 Petition from Sidi Abdala Carcet, Alicante, 24 February 1807, AHN, Estado, leg. 5818.

134 Aranjuez to Capitán General de Valencia, 9 April 1807, AHN, Estado, leg. 5818.

135 Domingo Izquierdo to Pedro Ceballos, Valencia, 4 October 1807, AHN, Estado, leg. 5818.

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9.4.26 *Staibesel (1802)*

In 1802 Staibesel,[136] "a Moroccan Moor and relative of the king of Morocco, officer of a frigate, a native of Salé," was combining naval service to the sultan with commercial activities:

> For purposes of his business he arrived in Barcelona on a royal schooner, and proceeded from there to Mahón where he bought a ship and chartered it with a load of Brazilian tobacco for Majorca. Unable to sell it there he set out for the port of Gibraltar, first obtaining the waybill and a passport from the port's administrator, signed by the scribes, as well as the deposit required in Gibraltar.

On leaving Majorca, however,

> bad weather forced him into Tarragona, from which they let him depart on seeing his waybill. But as the bad weather continued he put into El Fangar, remaining for eight days. He presented the same documents to a xebec of the coast guard of Barcelona, stopping also at Los Alfaques.

But he continued to have trouble with his ship:

> Having no cables or iron to anchor with he put into La Rápita for supplies, and there he was seized by the rent collector of Vinaroz, Don Josef Bernal, with his vessel. And though he showed him the legal assurances for his voyage and his legitimate papers [Bernal] took him to Vinaroz, where he stripped him of an arquebus, a long gun, a sabre, and two Moorish knives. He opened his chest and removed two hundred duros, two repeating watches, two exquisitely worked pairs of silver buckles, and four large kerchiefs, assuming it all to be contraband. He took him to Valencia, mistreating him in word and deed: he spat on his flag and his turban, put him in manacles, and ordered him served a tot of liquor to intoxicate him.

Forced to serve a quarantine in the port of Valencia, Staibesel was robbed on his last night of some of his tobacco:

> The head administrator opened his pouch and took out a large amount of tobacco, allowing the sailors there to do the same and carry off as

136 Also called Estabesel.

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> much as they wished, and they complied at once. Then he placed the petitioner in the San Narsi prison, leaving him without any means of communication, food, or money, with no more help than the four daily *cuartos* that are allowed to smugglers. And now briefs are being drawn up against him with no motive but the bad faith of the man who seized him, as is proved by his theft of tobacco before the brief, so as to claim that the petitioner sold the amount that will be missing from what is documented.

Staibesel claimed to be writing "from a sad and lamentable situation, disconsolate and almost dead from hunger"; he was forced by the "violence, malice, and ill treatment of the said officer to send this respectful appeal up to the feet of the Spanish monarch." He asked "for release from prison and the return of his ship, tobacco, money, and other effects unjustly seized by Don Josef Bernal, officer of the coast guard of Vinaroz, with restitution for all the damages he has caused him."[137]

137 "[C]on motivo de su comercio, llegó a Barcelona con una Escuna de su Rey y de allí paso a Mahon donde compró un Barco, que fleto con cargo de Tabaco de Brasil para Mallorca, y no pudiéndolo vender lo dirigió a la plaza de Jibraltar, sacando antes la guía, y el pasaporte del General y Capitan del Puerto, con las firmas de los Escribanos, para segurar su viaje, dando asimismo la fianza responsiva de Jibraltar. … [P]or mal tiempo se vio presisado arrimarse a Tarragona, y presentando su guia le dejaron ir; pero continuando el mal tiempo envistió en el Fangar; se detuvo ocho días, hizo la misma deligencia con el Javeque del Resguardo de Barcelona. Detuvose también en los Alfaques. … [P]or no tener cables, ni Yerro para dar fondo, paso á la Rapita a proveerse, y le asaltó el Cabo de rentas de Vinaroz Dn. Josef Bernal con su falucon, y sin embargo que le hizo presente la seguridad de su viaje, y legitimidad de sus Papeles, se lo llevo a Vinaroz, y despojándolo de un Trabuco, un fuzil, un sable, y dos cuchillos morunos, le habrio el cofre y que quito Ducientos duros, dos reloxes de repiticion dos pares de hebillas de plata hechura exquisita, y Quatro pañuelos grandes, y suponiendo que era contrabando, lo condujo a Valencia maltratándole de palabra, y obra; pues le escupió la Bandera y Turbante, le puso grillos y mando una porción de aguardiente para en borracharle. … [E]l Administrador General le habría una coracha y le quito una grande porsion de Tabaco, dando lugar a que los marineros que se hallavan presentes, hiziesen lo mismo y se llevasen quanto quisiesen, como efectivamente asi lo hegecutaron. Despues metió al Exponente en un calabozo de Sn. Narsy, dejandolle sin comunicación, sin comida, sin dinero, y sin mas socorro que los doze quartos diarios que se suministran a los contrabandistas: y en el dia se le forman autos de oficio, sin otra prueba que la mala fee del que le prendió, puesta lo acredita la extracción del Tabaco que ha echo antes del manifiesto para atribuirle al Supte la venta del que falta a la cantidad que expresa la guía": Undated petition signed in Arabic, 1802, AHN, Estado, leg. 5807, Exp. 5.

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9.4.27 *Mahomet Bencherif* (*1807*)

The Moroccan brigantine *Dib* was seized off La Higuerita (now Isla Cristina) in March 1807 on the assumption that it (and its cargo) belonged to an enemy nation:

> Having examined its documents closely I find that they offer sufficient reason for this suspicion. They should have been renewed during the period named in the royal decree (issued by the Minister of State on 18 July 1801, and communicated privately to this Admiralty on the 22nd following) concerning the manner in which Moroccans should travel. I observe that all [the documents] are earlier than that and therefore useless and incapable of legalizing his flag.

Besides, the report continued, only the captain was a Moroccan; the other crew members were four from the Austrian Empire (the first mate and three sailors), four Ragusans, and a Portuguese. Those did not agree with the passport from the Spanish consul in Tangier, which listed the crew as "*four Moors including the captain and three Christians, among them a pilot, seven persons in all*." In any case, both combinations contravened Article 2 of a decree from the Moroccan sultan that stipulated the muster of a Moroccan vessel: "*the crew ought to consist entirely of Moors, without a single Christian*." If all this were not enough to "prove the irregularity and fraud of this ship's journey," the Spanish consul's passport was dated 19 November 1787, whereas the abovementioned royal decree invalidated all passports dated prior to 12 June 1801.[138]

Spain's consul in Tangier told the Secretary of State that he knew of the brigantine's detention, and had advised his vice consul at once "in case that government [of Morocco] should make any claims; though I think it will not do so for the present, because our procedures agree with their orders." It was

138 "Habiendo examinado atentamente los referidos documentos, encuentro que ellos dan motivo mui suficiente para esta sospecha, por que debiéndose haber renobado en la época que señala la real orden expedida por el Señor ministro de Estado en 18 de Julio de 1801 y comunicada a esta Capitania General por esa via Reservada en 22 sucesivo, relativa al modo en que los Marroquies deben hacer sus navegaciones, observo que todas son anteriores a ella, y por consiguiente inútiles é incapaces para lixitimar su bandera. … *quatro Moros comprehendidos el Arraez, y de tres Christianos entre estos un Piloto, en todo siete personas*. … la *Tripulacion debe componerse toda de Moros sin ningún Christiano.*" Underlining in the original. The report was based on two statements by the military adjutant of La Higuerita district: Juan Joaquín Moreno, Vice-Admiral of the Fleet and military governor of the Cádiz district, to Francisco Gil y Lemus, Isla de León, 2 March 1807. Nine days later Gil y Lemus informed Pedro Ceballos of the affair, AHN, Estado, leg. 5806.

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important, he said, to prevent Muley Sliman from intervening in such cases in the future, "since the captain alleges ignorance of the law, having been absent from his country since before it was issued"; that would be "very plausible and likely, in view of the informality and lack of consequence of that government." He proposed that, if it could not be proved beyond a doubt that the brigantine was "of enemy ownership," the captain be allowed to sell it in his place of detention. That would achieve two aims: to stop such ships from sailing illegally, and to prove once more to the Moroccans "His Majesty's sovereign generosity," for although the sultan had declared lawful the seizure and confiscation of those vessels, the king of Spain renounced that right to avoid the financial ruin of Moroccan subjects.[139]

The case of the brigantine was brought up for examination in August. In the presence of Ahaja Benifrien, "legal representative of Captain Mahomet Bencherif," all the documents and actions taken were reviewed and the ship was declared a legitimate prize. Bencherif was also ordered to pay damages for not having kept his documents complete and up to date: he was unable to present "the document that proves the ownership or purchase of thirty lead bars, the cargo certificate, the patent of navigation, or the list of crewmen." His passport from 1787 was no longer in force: "He cannot sail freely and openly without being exposed to the loss of the vessel and cargo and the penalties established by royal decrees, in accordance with rules established by the government of Morocco."

Still, things did not go badly for the captain and he was treated with some indulgence, which the court hoped would not set an example for other lawbreakers. Perhaps they could save him from even greater losses in the future, "so that he will not experience greater harm in his detention; and the Moroccan consul in Cádiz or any other respected person should be his guarantor."

In an interesting detail, the decision was announced to the captain's representative in the presence of "an agent of his nation in Cádiz, Jamet Almansor" – the translator whom we met above.[140]

But in October of that year an official at La Isla de León informed the Secretary of State that Captain Mahomet Bencherif was "sailing against all the established regulations, without documents that justify his ownership nor others

139 The consul was basing his arguments on a letter he had received the previous 24 March, though its sender and recipient were unknown. Antonio González Salmón to Secretary of State Pedro Ceballos, Tarifa, 7 April 1807, AHN, Estado, leg. 5806.

140 Summary made by Cristóbal González Téllez, military and naval scribe of Cádiz, based on a report dated 22 August 1807 by the naval adjutant and governor of La Higuerita. Dated in Isla del León, 25 September 1807, AHN, Estado, leg. 5806.

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that are absolutely necessary, and therefore under strong suspicion that his cargo and vessel are of enemy ownership."[141]

9.4.28 *Tajar Ben Majamet* (*1808*)

Captain Tajar Ben Majamet, the Moroccan captain of the xebec *Embarc*, sued the French corsair *La Cigogne* under Captain Joseph Balvastre for the return of a load of wine he had been shipping from Tarragona to Cartagena.[142] The French ship had captured the xebec off the Cabo de Palos and had taken it first into an anchorage called Genovés and then to the port of Alicante. The captain claimed that his wine was paid for by the Royal Treasury and intended to supply the royal fleet and its provisioners. His documents were false only because he feared being searched by English men-of-war.[143]

9.4.29 *Achay Candor Abbo* (*1810*)

This "Moroccan Moor," who lived in Ceuta with his wife and family, obtained a passport from the governor of that port for his business travels: "For several years he has been established in this port, leaving it for his trade in other commercial ports of the continent [of Europe] and the Kingdom of Portugal, always displaying the best conduct." He must have encountered occasional problems, for example in Cádiz in 1810, "with the object of reestablishing himself in the place of residence of his wife and her family, as is well known. And if necessary he will declare it fully and definitively, and that his absences are only temporary and related to business, while he always maintains that domicile."

He feared that his ability to travel for business would be curtailed: "Perhaps some barrier will be placed against his free and open comings and goings, with limits on the times for his trading expeditions; [so he does this] to avoid any impediment and in search of shelter and protection." He therefore asked the governor of Cádiz to return to him the passport he had to show on entering the port: "That he may consider expedited the passport that Your Majesty's governor gave him in the port of Ceuta, and issue the corresponding royal decree, so that he can leave and enter the port of Ceuta, where his wife and family live, by returning said passport to him."[144]

141 Francisco Gil y Lemus to Pedro Ceballos, San Lorenzo, 7 October 1807, AHN, Estado, leg. 5806.

142 Joseph Betego to Pedro Ceballos, Alicante, 5 April 1808, AHN, Estado, leg. 5807.

143 Undated and unsigned report, probably destined for the governor of Alicante, 7 June 1808. A marginal note says it should be forwarded to the Ministry of the Navy: AHN, Estado, leg. 5807. See Guillén, *Índice de los papeles*, 129.

144 Signed in Arabic in Cádiz, 21 September 1810, AHN, Estado, leg. 5902.

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9.4.30 *Majamet Boali (1814-1815)*

In December 1814 Elja Selit Boali, "a Moroccan Moor," sent a petition to the Spanish monarch. His brother, who had lived for twelve years in Málaga and Cádiz, had met a violent death in the latter city:

> His brother Majamet Voali was a trader in Spain for the last twelve years, having resided for a long time in Málaga where he was universally beloved for his good conduct. During the outbreak of plague in Cádiz, when he was at the height of his strength although sixty to seventy persons a day were dying, Majamet caught the infection and as a result his mind was affected: he came to believe that someone would kill him, and once or twice he fired a pistol from his window without hurting anyone. This would not have happened if the owner of the house had warned the Moors about his illness, for they were unaware of it.[145]

He went on to describe the "horrendous event that occurred to [his] unfortunate brother," with the involvement of a patrol of Cádiz Volunteers:

> Seven or eight young men, armed volunteers of Cádiz, came to the door of the house where Majamet Voali lived. They knocked, and when he did not open they said they would break down the door; then he did open it and they murdered him, stabbing him treacherously in the back, then ransacked the house and stole all the money and valuables it contained.

When the news became known, local Moroccans – proving that there was a colony of North Africans in Cádiz – went to find his body:

> The Moors learned of this incident and went immediately to recover his body, but their pleas were in vain, for Valdés told them that he would not

145 "[S]u hermano Majamet Voali, estaba comerciando en España de doce años a esta parte habiendo residido en Malaga largo tiempo querido de todos por su buen proceder: En tiempo de la Epidemia de Cadiz, y quando estaba en su mayor fuerza, falleciendo diariamente de 60 a 70 personas fue Majamet tocado del contagio y de resultas quedo su cabeza trastornada, dando en la locura de que le iban a matar, y una ó dos veces desde su ventana disparó una Pistola al ayre, sin hacer daño a nadie, lo que no hubiera ejecutado, si el dueño de la casa hubiere avisado á los Moros su enfermedad, que la ignoraban": "Reclamacion del moro Marroqui Elja Selit Boali sobre la muerte y despojo de un hermano suyo vuelto loco en Cadiz de resultas de la epidemia," signed in Arabic, Madrid, 2 December 1814, AHN, Estado, leg. 5807.

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> help them and they must leave. The atrocity did not end here (and the government tolerated it): they dragged his body out, spitting and urinating on it, then took it to the door of the jail where they committed the worst and most disgusting outrages upon it, unworthy of such a nation and of civilized people. And on whom did they inflict these atrocities? On a poor, insane Moor, when they would not do it to one of their citizens, and all out of their greed to rob him. Sir, to murder a mad person is the greatest act of barbarity and injustice.

Therefore the brother was appealing to King Ferdinand VII, calling him "the protector of the unfortunate" and arguing that "a Moor does not know the laws that are observed here":

> In your government there are very strict laws against offending in word or deed any foreigner legally admitted by the government; and if these are broken the Emperor imposes a severe punishment depending on the gravity of the offense. And certainly a murder and robbery as scandalous as this one should receive the ultimate sentence, but here there has been no reproach of the guilty parties and the murderer is strolling through the streets of Cádiz with the utmost contempt for the law.[146]

Boali's "unfortunate family" had suffered "incalculable harm": "His eighty-six-year-old mother, with six children, and another widowed sister with two, are

146 "Se presentaron á las Puertas de la Casa donde vivía Majamet Voali, de mano armada, siete ú ocho mozos voluntarios de Cadiz llamando, y no queriendo abrir dijeron romperían la Puerta, á esta resolución abrió, e inmediatamente lo asesinaron por detrás traidoramente, saquearon la casa robando el dinero y quanto precioso tenia. … Este acontecimiento fue savido de los Moros, e inmediatamente se presentaron para recoger el cadáber, y sus suplicas fueron inútiles, pues les respondió Valdés, que se fuesen si no les acomodava de aquel modo; no paró aquí la atrocidad, tolerada por el Gobierno: sacaron el cuerpo arrastrando escupiéndole, y orinándose en él, lo llevaron a la Puerta de la Carcel donde hicieron las mayores ignominias y asquerosidades impropias de tal Pueblo, y de gentes cultas ¿y con quien hicieron estas atrocidades? Con un pobre Moro, loco, que no lo harian con los Nacionales, y todo por la codicia de robarle: Sor asesinar a los Locos és la maor barbarie, é injusticia … [E]n su Gobierno hay ordenes muy rigorosas para no ofender a ningún estrangero, qe tolera el Gobierno, de palabra, ni obra, si se quebrantan, castiga el Emperador con mucho rigor según la gravedad del exceso, y seguramente un asesinato y robo tan escandaloso como este seria escarmentado con el ultimo suplicio; y aquí ni una reprehensión se ha dado á los culpados pues el asesino se esta paseando por las calles de Cadiz con el mayor desprecio de la buena Justicia": Petition by Elja Selit Boali, 2 December 1814.

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victims of misfortune: because the deceased handled all his family's affairs and was the support of them all, and they are now reduced to abject poverty."

The judge in charge of the case, Santacruz, on orders of Governor Valdés[147] had arranged to sell "the household goods and furniture that had not been stolen for 440 duros, of which they kept half and gave the other half to his mother. But it is well known that in clothes and jewelry alone what she wore was worth more than two thousand duros, and this luxury indicates the wealth of the deceased Majamet, which has been entirely concealed."

The petitioner "speaks the truth and trusts in the rectitude of Your Majesty." Significantly, he had first intended to appeal to Napoleon himself: "Although he was determined to present his complaint to his Emperor, after learning that Your Majesty was restored to the throne of his forebears he comes to the foot of your throne and implores your justice." Numerous Spaniards had found refuge in Morocco during the recent Napoleonic wars: "Since many Spaniards have been exiled in Barbary during this war, and some live free of oppression or ill treatment while enjoying the greatest hospitality, it would be a scandal in those realms, and of great moment, if this atrocity were not punished."

He therefore begged for a review of the case and a fairer sentence:

> Let everything done in Judge Santacruz's court in Cádiz be collected in its original form and sent to Madrid so that, once it is read and absorbed by whomever Your Majesty wishes to designate, a more useful and opportune decision be emitted, for the punishment of the guilty and satisfaction of the Moors who have acted, as is well known, with firm adherence to Your Majesty and your just cause, favoring this disconsolate family with whatever recompense Your Majesty sees fit.[148]

The Secretariat of State sought information from the governor of Cádiz, who replied that "in the actions he saw there had been no sign of theft of the deceased Moor's goods or of the insults made to his corpse, which his brother the

147 The governor at the time, Cayetano Valdés, and Judge Santacruz were of liberal ideas and had suffered reprisals from Ferdinand VII. The petition's author was trying to gain the sympathy of the absolutist monarch.

148 "…mandar recoger y remitir a esta Corte, integro y original todo lo actuado en el Juzgado del Juez Santa Cruz en Cadiz, para que visto y reconocido por personas que V. M. tenga a bien comisionar se dicte la resolución mas útil y oportuna, para escarmiento de los culpados y sastisfaccion de los Moros que se han portado, como es notorio, con la decidida adhesión a V. M. y su justa causa; agraciando a esta desconsolada familia con la recompensa que sea del agrado de V. M.": Petition by Elja Selit Boali, 2 December 1814, AHN, Estado, leg. 5807.

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petitioner has assumed."[149] But the matter was not entirely settled, since the governor had to intervene again a year later, in a meeting with the local military judge advocate, regarding the affair of "the Moors Elja Selit Boali and Brahim." After reviewing the briefs in the case of the Moroccan's death he found nothing irregular: "Having looked over the first document I saw that it was merely the inventory of Majamet Voali's goods, and that [his brother's] complaint extended also to those who caused his death, about whom there was a military report because they belonged to the urban militia." He had also consulted the Sergeant Major of the Cádiz Volunteers, though he was not able to examine the case of the "Moor Brahim," so we do not know what weight it might have been given. On the previous day the military scribe had shown him two dispatches from the Supreme Council of War that requested "resubmission of the original briefs because of a new complaint by the Moors to His Majesty," and he had complied at once. He also sent the Secretary of State two statements by Boali and Brahim. In spite of his inability to examine all the evidence, however, he maintained his firm conviction that nothing in the confirmation of the case had fallen outside the norm:

> With respect to the inventory of the Moor Boali, there is no defect in its confirmation. The procedures were unusually long and costly because they investigated whether the deceased had deposited monies with a man from Santander who lived next to the Café del Correo, since that was mentioned in a statement from the consul in Tangier. There is no indication in the evidence of the military tribunal, nor of the mayor Don Joaquín de Villanueva (who was the first to oversee the retrieval of the Moor's body and securing of his goods), of that appropriation or theft of his goods nor the supposed insults to his corpse; only that it was taken to the door of the jail.[150]

149 Note from the Palace, 12 December 1814, with a summary of Boali's petition attached. Another similar report of 8 March 1815, AHN, Estado, leg. 5807.

150 "[P]or lo respectivo al inventario del Moro Boali que no se nota defecto en la sustanciación, y que las actuaciones fueron mas largas y costosas por haber apurado la especie de si el difunto tenia dineros depositados en un Montañez inmediato al Café del Correo por haberlo indicado asi en un oficio el Consul de Tanger, no resultando de las actuaciones del juzgado de guerra, ni en las del Alcalde Constitucional Don Joaquin de Villanueba que fue quien practico las primeras diligencias de recoger y reconocer el cadáver del Moro, y asegurar sus bienes, ni la extracción ó saqueo de estos ni el ludibrio que se supone haber hecho del cadáver del Moro, sino solo que se llevó a la Puerta de la cárcel": Count de la Bisbal to Secretary of State, Cádiz, 12 February 1815, AHN, Estado, leg. 5807.

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9.5 Algerian, Tunisian, and Tripolitan Captains, Pursers, and Merchants

We have mentioned several times that in the years between 1782 and 1791 Spain established permanent peaceful relations with the Ottoman Empire and the North African regencies.[151] These agreements – essentially the same as the ones with Morocco – allowed ships and merchants of those countries to enter Spanish ports. Just as in the Moroccan case, however, their presence was scarce in the early years, as we saw in Table 6. Good-faith efforts were made to foment direct trade between both sides, resulting in ever-increasing imports of Maghrebi cereals into Spain; these were paid for in silver coin, as we showed in Chapter 5, Section 5.3.

The little information we have about other North African merchants confirms that they appeared in Spain later than the Moroccans did. In 1791 in Barcelona, a Tunisian purser arrived to oversee a cargo of wheat that had been loaded in Susa onto a Ragusan ship.[152] In 1792 the governor of Málaga, wishing to learn how best to connect his port to Tunis, was able to consult two traders, one from Tunis and one from Algiers, who informed him that communication with Alicante was much easier.[153] Contacts had increased by the early nineteenth century, and as with the Moroccans, very few of the men involved caused any problems.

The prime mover of North African traders' presence and activity in Spanish ports proved to be Spain's wars with France and England. Especially after 1797, Algerian and Tunisian ships and pursers took an active part in shipping products between Spain and North Africa and in coastal trade in Spain itself. Many of these voyages were short and some involved only brief layovers for repairs. It is sometimes difficult to distinguish between corsairs and traders, since the former also engaged in commerce. We will speak here of only a very small portion of all the merchants from the Central and Eastern Maghreb who visited Spanish soil.

151 The treaties with the Bey of Tripoli, the Dey of Algiers, and the Bey of Tunis were all very similar. See their complete texts in Cantillo, *Tratados, convenios*. Also Conrotte, *España y los países musulmanes*.

152 In a ship captained by Pedro Genbich: IMHB, FS, Serie X, caja 12, with a patent dated 3 October 1791. Dozens of North African pursers have been identified and documented in different Spanish ports.

153 Arribas Palau, "Nuevos datos sobre moros en la Alhambra."

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9.5.1 *Ben Talb* (*1786*)

Ben Talb, an Algerian, arrived in Cádiz from Algiers in an English brigantine loaded with cotton and silk cloth originally from Smyrna. Since he had not served any quarantine he was not allowed into port, so he chartered a small boat in Valencia and took his goods to Tangier.[154] The European consuls there, who were empowered to review the health documents of ships that entered the port, advised the Algerian to proceed to the lazzaretto in Marseille and serve his quarantine there. But Ben Talb, "with excessive pride" by the Spanish consul's account, appealed to the sultan, who authorized him to unload the cargo in Tetouan. Later, however, after the sultan received reports from the consuls and the governor of Tangier, he revoked that permission and ordered the ship to Marseille. In the Spanish consul's opinion, "the Moor Ben Talb is not very truthful; I know that he blamed the Spanish consul when his goods were not admitted into Tetouan, while in fact mine was only one vote among all those who wished to deny him entry." He added, "I have no doubt that when this Moor returns to Algiers he will complain about us to the Dey, if he has not already done so in writing."[155]

9.5.2 *Youssef el Tripolino* (*1786*)

Our first notice of this captain comes in March 1786, when the sultan of Morocco announced that he was in Cádiz to charter an English vessel; he would load it with Moroccan wheat bound for Tripoli.[156] Shortly afterward Spain's consul in Tangier reported having received a letter from Robert White Fleming, who was settled in Cádiz, with news of Youssef's death:

> He tells me of having sent, in a Spanish brigantine to the port of Mogador around August last, six thousand pesos fuertes in cash and nine hundred ninety-eight hides from Buenos Aires, entrusted to a Tripolitan Moor resident in Mogador by another Moroccan who is in Cádiz. And by chance, as the brigantine arrived the Moor from Tripoli died.

The sultan ordered the Tripolitan's goods to be confiscated, including the six thousand pesos and the 998 hides. Robert Fleming's attempts to recover them

154 Note added to a letter, J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Darbeyda, 3 January 1786, AHN, Estado, leg. 4319.

155 J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Darbeyda, 3 January 1786, AHN, Estado, leg. 4319.

156 Copy of letter from His Moroccan Majesty to J.M. González Salmón, 1 March 1786, AHN, Estado, leg. 4319.

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failed, though he worked through several merchants in Mogador after learning that by the sultan's order the money and hides had been sent to Tripoli and given to Youssef's family. At Fleming's urging, the Spanish consul asked the sultan to return the merchandise, and the sultan agreed even though

> he does not want Spanish merchants to hand over their funds to unknown persons and outsiders, but to those with a claim on them who are his vassals; in this case His Majesty trusts them, and our people will run no risk. Therefore I have sent notice of this favor to trusted men in the ports of Mogador, Larache, Tangier, and Tetouan so that they may announce it to all Spaniards who arrive there, and in this case I will also inform the governor of Cádiz so that he can tell the merchant colony there.[157]

The sultan had also decided to make the consul the receiver of "what the Tripolitan left, down to the last cent," in accordance with the Spanish-Moroccan Treaty of Peace; "and though persons from other Christian nations may make some claim to those goods, pay them no heed and surrender everything to the Spanish Consul."[158]

In yet another letter the sultan insisted again that if creditors "of other nations" appeared they must wait for Spaniards to collect their debts first. He scolded the consul for not having abided by the appropriate article of the Treaty of 1767, on the disposition of the property of Moroccans who died in Spain:

> Spanish merchants have been entrusting their estates to a foreigner or outsider. Many times we have warned against doing this, and have written that estates must be given only to persons who are known and are our vassals. Because if they come from our domains and you give them estates

157 "[M]e refiere haver enviado en un Bergantin Español al Puerto de Mogador por agosto pasado Seis mil Pesos Fuertes efectivos y Nuevecientos noventa y ocho cueros de Buenos Aires consignados a un Moro Tripolino residente en Mogador por otro Marroqui que se halla en Cadiz, y que dando la casualidad que á la llegada del Bergantin falleció el Moro tripolino. … [N]o quiere que los Comerciantes Españoles entreguen sus Caudales a sujetos desconocidos, y forasteros, si no a los abonados y que sean sus Vasallos pues en este caso S.M. los fia, y no correrán riesgo los Nuestros; por lo que me ha parecido conveniente pasar aviso de esta providencia à los Confidentes en los Puertos de Mogador, Larache, Tanger y Tetuan para que la hagan saver à todos los Españoles que concurren en cada uno, y también lo avisaré en esta ocasion al Governador de Cadiz para que lo notifique a aquel Comercio": J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Darbeyda, 5 June 1786, AHN, Estado, leg. 4319.

158 Translated letter from His Moroccan Majesty ("by the King's hand"), AHN, Estado, leg. 4319.

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> we guarantee them; but with one like this outsider and unknown figure in our domains, what would you have done if his property had been lost or wasted? Spanish merchants will lose it. And we now instruct you to write to Cádiz and elsewhere so that no other such thing will happen.[159]

The governor of Mogador and Tahir Fannis handed the Tripolitan's goods over to the consul, but "since it is much more than what belongs to Don Roberto White Fleming of the merchant colony of Cádiz, I must request His Majesty to tell me to whom the excess should be given, so as to be done with this affair."[160]

9.5.3 *Mahamet Ben Seitun* (*1790*)

In June 1790 Spain's consul in Morocco reported from Cádiz that a "Moor from Tripoli" had come before him:

> Mahamet Ben Seitun … comes from Tangier with a letter from my brother the vice consul. His Moroccan Majesty recommends him so that the king our master will intervene with his august brother the king of Naples, and help the Moor in a case he has in that court. He seeks the value of a shipment of timber that was confiscated in Sicily by the consul of His Sicilian Majesty.

The consul tried to do his best for him:

> I offered him a letter for our minister in Naples and help in reaching that court by paying his passage as far as Genoa. And though at first he agreed and was satisfied, he later changed his mind and wants to go to [Madrid] to tell Your Excellency in person of his hopes, and to collect a recommendation for the court in Naples.

159 "[E]sta cosa que han hecho los Comerciantes Españoles de entregar sus caudales a un desconocido, y forastero, quantas vezes hemos prevenido que no se haga, y hemos escrito que no se entreguen Caudales, sino a los conocidos, y Nuestros Vasallos; por que si son de nuestros Dominios, y les entregáis Caudales, Nosotros lo fiamos; pero uno semejante á este forastero, y desconocido en Nuestros Dominios como hicierais si los Caudales se hubieran desaparecido o mal gastado? Lo perderan los Comerciantes españoles; y nosotros ahora te mandamos que escribas a Cadiz, y á otras partes para que no suceda otro caso semejante": Translated letter to J.M. González Salmón, 23 May 1786, AHN, Estado, leg. 4319.

160 J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Darbeyda, 25 June 1786, AHN, Estado, leg. 4319.

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At the same time, however, the consul assured the Secretary of State that he would try to dissuade the petitioner from traveling to Madrid "to disturb Your Excellency."[161] He was unsuccessful, as the Tripolitan insisted on setting out for the capital in spite of many difficulties:

> He has not yet left here for lack of a coach, and I send Your Excellency this news in advance by today's post so that when the Tripolitan arrives there he will soon find the letter of recommendation he requests for the court in Naples, if Your Excellency is pleased to give it to him. With that you will avoid the annoyance that this type of people create when they tarry there.[162]

A note on the cover of the file states that Ben Seitun found no help in Malta or Naples, and therefore requested a recommendation for the Neapolitan court. He claimed to have served under Captain Baxa Hassan and to have stopped off in Tangier.[163] In fact Spain was in no way involved in his enterprise, since there was a charter contract signed in Malta to load a Neapolitan ship with timber bound for Tripoli. In the end authorities on the island confiscated the cargo on the pretext that it was contraband, and when Ben Seitun protested there he

161 "Mahamet Ben Seitun … viene de Tanger con una carta del Vize Consul mi hermano en que me dize se lo recomienda S. M. M. para que el Rey Nuestro Señor se interese con su Augusto hermano el Rey de Napoles a fin de que se atienda la solicitud que tiene en aquella Corte dicho Moro que se dirije a que se le devuelva el valor de un cargamento de madera que se le confisco en Malta por el Consul de S. M. Siciliana. … [L]e ofreci carta para el Ministro de Napoles, y ponerle en aquella Corte, proporcionándole pasage de aquí a Genova, y aunque de pronto condescendió y le pareció bien, después ha variado y quiere ir a essa para informar a V.E. individualmente de la pretensión que tiene y recoger la recomendación que solicita para la corte de Napoles": J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Cádiz, 12 June 1790, AHN, Estado, 4316.

162 "[A]un no ha salido de aquí por falta de Carruage, y delanto a V. E. esta noticia por el Correo de oy para que quando llegue ahí el Tripolino pueda hallar pronta la carta de recomendación que solicita para la Corte de Napoles, si V. E. tiene a bien dársela, y con esto se exime de la incomodidad que ocasiona esta clase de gente si se demoran ahí": J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Cádiz, 14 June 1790, AHN, Estado, leg. 4316.

163 There is a copy of his letter in Italian: "[C]he tempo fa essento ffato á Malta per mio comercio, ivi col mezzo del console delle Sicilie noleggiai un Bastimento Napolitano con patto di portarlo al luogo detto Feyum caricarlo di legname e di la rittornare addrittura in Tripoli sensa piu toccare á Malta, ed adderendo il Subtº Capino a qesti patti in presenza del dto console egli mi passo il corrispondente contratto di Noleggio, ma in vece di tener questa sua promesa dopo aer io caricato el dto legname Egli senya necessitá ma per forza volle intrar in Malta ove daccordo col dº console mi fecer aspettare sei mesi": J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Cádiz, 14 June 1790, AHN, Estado, leg. 4322.

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was told to take his complaint to Naples. The consul, aware that the Tripolitan had been recommended by the recently deceased Muley Muhammad Abadallah, thought he should be "helped with his petition in the best way possible."[164]

The last we know of Mahamet Ben Seitun is that in July 1790 he asked for "funds to travel to Barcelona in a coach that will leave tomorrow night the 24th," for which he was granted six hundred reales.[165] He seems to have changed his plans and have traveled to Naples.[166]

9.5.4 *Aggi Yunis Ben Yunis* (*1799-1804*)

In June 1799 a corsair ship arrived in Barcelona carrying "Señor Aggi Junes Ben Junes, Commissioner of His Excellency Ameida Baxà [Pasha], Bey of Tunis." Later, in July, we find Aggi Ben Yunis in command of a Tunisian ship belonging to Soliman Rais that came from Tunis loaded with five hundred *cahices* of wheat imported by Valentín Riera and Company.[167] In February 1804 he returned to Barcelona with a fellow Tunisian merchant, Mustafa Sfax; on their own initiative they had brought 139 jars of oil, 340 cahices of wheat, and 150 cahices of barley.[168]

9.5.5 *Mahamet Arrizzi* (*1800*)

Mahamet Arrizzi el Rassai, a Tunisian purser in charge of a cargo of grain, reached Barcelona in 1800 aboard the Ragusan brigantine *Sacra Familia* under Captain Nicolas Tommasich. His son Agi Aberraman Emerbricon, with the same position and cargo, arrived also, in the Ragusan polacre *Minerva* under Captain Natala Brailli; both were accompanied by servants. They requested permission to unload, and the consul of Portugal in Barcelona and designee of the cargoes, Jaime Romanyá, intervened so that their ships could be unloaded and they could serve the quarantine on land. They were then allowed to enter the port.[169]

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164 J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Cádiz, 16 June 1790, AHN, Estado, leg. 4322.

165 Note on the cover of his file, J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Cádiz, 14 July 1790, AHN, Estado, leg. 4322.

166 Madrid, to Juan Acton in Naples, 18 July 1790, recommending the Tripolitan: AHN, Estado, leg. 4316.

167 *Diario de Barcelona*, 21 June and 2 July 1799.

168 Yunis Ben Yunis frequented the Spanish ports of Palma de Mallorca (where he had an agent), Barcelona, and Alicante: Panzac, *Les corsaires barbaresques*, 134, 157-58, 193-97, 205, 209, 211.

169 The consul presented a petition dated 12 July 1800, IMHB, FS, Serie I, leg. 22, fols. 86-88, Marquis of Vallesantoro to Pedro Molet, 5 and 17 July 1800. They were admitted to port on 16 July 1800.

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9.5.6 *Captain Hadgi Zayton* (*1800*)

This Algerian captain came to Barcelona in 1800 commanding his frigate *Compañía* with six hundred bales of cotton. The prominent local merchant Francisco Gomis asked the city's health authorities to allow the bales into the lazzaretto, since the war between Algiers and France had put the cargo in danger.[170]

9.5.7 *Soliman Ben Yunis* (*1801*)

In 1801 the Tunisian Regency's Keeper of the Seal interceded on behalf of his servant Soliman Ben Yunis, who had arrived in Barcelona to buy "some pieces of silver work he needs." Specifically he asked that Soliman be allowed to serve the quarantine on land, so as to speak more easily with the silversmiths and "give them instructions about the forms that they [Tunisians] prefer."[171]

9.5.8 *Caddur Ben Massus and Abdalá Karsis* (*1802*)

These two men,[172] who claimed to be representatives of the Bey of Algiers and the military governor of the port of Oran, asked in September 1802 to place a message from their masters directly into the hands of the Secretary of State; for this they would need a passport to travel to Madrid. The governor of Alicante made no objection but left the decision to the Secretary, "if you see fit to give them the attached passport."[173]

Once in Madrid they presented new information about the reason for their journey. They were "commissioners of the Dey and the Captain of the port of Arzew, and agents of Mahomet Ben Brain, Captain of the port of Oran, and of the Ragusan Captain Juan Glavich of the polacre *La Purissima Concepción*," and they had come to complain of "the proceedings of the Board of Health of Alicante related to a considerable shipment of grain seized from the Ragusan Captain Juan Glavich." Specifically, the board had pronounced on a quantity of wheat contracted with that captain:

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170 The cotton had been seized ten months before by an Algerian corsair out of an imperial frigate bound for London. It was acquired by an agent of Gomis and sent to Barcelona by the commercial firm Joseph Cohen Bacri, one of the largest in Algiers: report by Francisco Gomis, 5 June 1800, IMHB, FS, Serie I, leg. 22, fols. 74, 78, 11 June 1800: Baron Sarrahí to municipal Board of Health; Jacinto Sendil to municipal Board of Health, 6 June 1800.

171 Letter from Spain's consul in Tunis, Arnoldo Soler, recommending Soliman Yunis, who arrived in a Ragusan polacre under Captain Luca Claich, 28 March 1801. He was allowed to spend the quarantine in a warehouse by the city walls: IMHB, FS, Serie I, leg. 23, fols. 62-64; 24, 26, and 28 March 1801. We do not know if he was related to Yunis Ben Yunis.

172 Abadalá Karsis also appears as Abdalá Carcef.

173 Petition dated in Alicante on 3 July 1802, with their two signatures in Arabic: AHN, Estado, leg. 5804.

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> Once the wheat had been contracted for in good faith on the basis of a sample, all the resulting actions and risks belonged to the buyer, which had been the municipality and its commissioners. Further, even when a solemnly signed and concluded contract might be questioned, it should never be the case that the issue be decided by the Board of Health of Alicante, because its members, and even the governor who is its president, are interested parties in the suit; those individuals are officials of the municipality that agreed on the purchase and by whose order it was made. Therefore impartial judges will need to be named.

The petitioners hoped that the Secretary of State would

> free these foreigners from lawsuits – as they are detained here by force with their grain which they were shipping elsewhere – by ordering that they be paid immediately the contracted price together with damages. And they believe that since there is a solemn, perfect, and unimpeachable contract, this action is the one most befitting the principle of the civil rights of persons in contracts, for if these are made in good faith there should be no issue with their fulfillment. Nevertheless they have learned that the sovereign rectitude of Your Majesty asked the head of your Council to decide the matter.

But just when they trusted that the decision would be in their favor and they would avoid "the delays, costs, lawsuits, and irreparable damages they are suffering because of this seizure of both their merchandise and their persons, they now find that your governor has ordered them to appear before the governor of Alicante that he may hear and decide the matter by sending it to the appeals court in Valencia.

The Algerians, speaking only in "the language of laws and the law itself," believed that the case had been given to "the most biased judge they could imagine." They pointed out that the governor, in his capacity as the chief officer of the city and president of the local Board of Health, had ordered the ship seized and its cargo sold in order to supply the city. They begged the monarch to bear in mind "the nature of the affair, and the common principles of natural law that require observance and good faith." They therefore asked that "at least the case be remanded to an impartial judge or judges, who may decide it briefly and summarily without contributing to any increase in damages."[174]

174 "[U]na vez contratado el trigo de buena fé, u bajo muestra, todas las resultas, y peligros eran del Comprador que lo había sido el Ayuntamiento, y sus Comisionados, y por otra,

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Abdalá Karsis must be the merchant whom documents from Málaga refer to as Sidi Abdala Kersif, a Moroccan. He was engaged there in importing North African wheat in partnership with an important local tradesman, José de Cuevas: around 1802 they brought in several cargoes of wheat from Algeria and Morocco. Cuevas's wife Antonia López, also a resident of Málaga and empowered to administer the affairs of both men, had sued Abdala Karsis in the Tribunal of the Royal Consulate; it had to do with collecting interest owed to Cuevas on several cargoes of wheat and barley that the men had delivered to different ports. The Tribunal ruled that the sum be paid to Antonia, but that she in turn must pay 27,486 reales de vellón, the true amount of her husband's debt; also, she had to settle all accounts with Karsis in Alicante. To that end Antonia pledged "her current and future assets and income and those of her husband."[175]

9.5.9 *Haggi Hamet Arcandi* (*1802*)

The Tunisian merchant Haggi Hamet Arcandi, with an interpreter named Pedro Barcelona and Captain Luca Claich of the Ragusan polacre *La Madonna de*

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que aun quando el asunto en el cumplimiento de un contrato solemne, y concluido pudiese admitir conocimientos, nunca seria dable que estos fuesen en la Junta de Sanidad de Alicante por ser sus Yndividuos, incluso el Governador su Presidente interesados en el Pleito, como que los mismos son individuos de Ayuntamiento que acordaron la compra, y por cuya comisión se hizo, por lo que se hacia necesario el nombramiento de Jueces imparciales … [L]os hubiese libertado de pleitos a unos extranjeros detenidos por fuerza con sus granos que llevaban a otra parte, mandando se les pagase inmediatamente el precio contratado con los perjuicios, y por parecerles que este temperamento habiendo como hay un contrato solemne, y perfecto, e indudable, es el mas propio de los principios del derecho de gentes, y del civil en los contratos, como que echos a buen fé solo debe tratarse de su cumplimiento: Pero sin embargo de esto han sabido que la soberana rectitud de V.M. embió su recurso al vuestro Governador del Consejo para que determinase sobre el particular": Petition dated in Madrid, 18 September 1802, AHN, Estado, leg. 5804.

175 "Pledge given by Antonia López, wife of José de Cuevas, before the Consular Tribunal. [Cuevas] is absent and his whereabouts are unknown. He was pursuing lawsuits against Cide Abdala Kersif, a Moroccan, to recover the interest on several cargoes of wheat and barley shipped by both of them, and for [Kersif] to pay him the 18,000 reales that the Moroccan gave to Juan Barrera as the mortgage on a house in El Cañuelo de San Bernardo" ("Fianza que hace ante el Tribunal del Consulado Antonia López, mujer de José de Cuevas, ausente sin saberse su paradero y que seguía autos contra Cide Abdala Kersif, marroquino, sobre la cobranza de interés por varios cargamentos de trigo y cebada dirigidos por cuenta de ambos y para que le pague los 18.000 reales que el marroquino entregó a Juan Barrera hipotecando una casa en el Cañuelo de San Bernardo.") The text refers to business dealings by both men in Alicante and mentions names of other merchants including J.B. Maury and Nicolás Savalle [?]. Archivo Provincial de Málaga, Real Consulado de Málaga. Registro de Escrituras (1797-1807), scribe Andrés Albelda, leg. 3478, fols. 56-59, 15 October 1802.

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la Salud, appeared before the Tribunal of the Commercial Consulate of Barcelona in May 1802.[176] The Tunisian filed suit against the Ragusan, whose ship's papers were seized. The captain protested: he would be unable to unload his merchandise at its destination, Vilanova i la Geltrú, and both ship and cargo would suffer damage. He asked that Arcandi be forced to make a deposit of five hundred pesos fuertes against possible costs.[177] The parties soon agreed to lift the embargo, though the "Moor" would have to pay 715 pesos fuertes.[178] To honor the agreement the Tunisian offered the Ragusan captain 650 Roman scudi that he had left in Civitavecchia; Juan Bottoni of Rome would surrender them to whomever brought him the proper authorization. To that amount would be added another eighteen scudi for loading a shipment of timber the Tunisian would buy. The captain, for his part, promised to pay Hamet Arcandi 715 pesos fuertes in Spanish coin as the equivalent of those 668 scudi.[179] The Tunisian agreed that, as a precaution, the amount would remain on deposit with Antonio Buenaventura Gassó and Company until the transfer in Civitavecchia was confirmed:

> Because we have notice that the Tunisian had issued a letter of exchange for that amount through the house of Stembor and Company, who would pay it in this [city] as soon as it is satisfied there. Therefore, if the amount were collected in Civitavecchia or Rome on the Tunisian's behalf, the money deposited here should be returned to Captain Claich. And if, on the contrary, it should be at the captain's disposal there, the deposit made here shall be at the Tunisian's disposal; he too can collect it if it is confirmed that the said letter of exchange has been satisfied. Both men signed this.[180]

176 In the same document the Tunisian is also called Achmet Alcasari, Sidi Achmet Alcasari, and Hamet Arcancani.

177 The scribe Francisco Roquer y Simón signed the document in Barcelona, 13 May 1802. Fondos de la Junta de Comercio de Barcelona, exp. 2227, Biblioteca de Catalunya.

178 Francisco Roquer y Simón, 11 June 1802. Fondos de la Junta de Comercio, exp. 2227, Biblioteca de Catalunya.

179 Recipt in which the Tunisian acknowedged having received the amount, signed in Arabic, Barcelona, 12 June 1802, Fondos de la Junta de Comercio, exp. 2227, Biblioteca de Catalunya.

180 "[P]or tenerse noticia de aver el tunecino librado una Letra de Cambio por dicho dinero por medio de la Casa de Stembor y Cª quienes se la pagarían en esta luego que esté allí satisfecha, de modo que si se hubiese cobrado en Civitavecchia, o Roma por parte del tunecino, deberá devolverse al capitán Claich el dinero que aquí se deposita, y si al contrario quedase allí libre disposicion del Capitan quedara el depósito echo en esta Plaza a la disposición de tunecino, quien podrá también cobrarlo siempre que se

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In consequence the hold placed on Captain Claich's papers on 17 May 1802 was lifted, and on the same day 715 pesos fuertes were deposited with the firm of Antonio Buenaventura Gassó.[181]

9.5.10 *Captain Aggi Abdallah* (*1806*)

Certain Tunisian captains had relationships of greater or lesser intensity with merchants of Barcelona. In 1806 Captain Aggi Abdalla placed a notice in the local press that anyone wishing to travel to Tunis or ship merchandise there should deal with his "co-signer," Gervasio Gironela.[182]

9.5.11 *Captain Mahamet Ben Mocessa* (*1806-1807*)

This Algerian sailed from Algiers on 3 December 1806 in command of the polacre *Embarck* and arrived in Barcelona on 24 January 1807. He brought a cargo of used copper and sponges, the latter considered susceptible to contagion. After unloading part of his shipment and five Algerian passengers in the lazzaretto, he went on to Marseille where he was forced to serve a quarantine of twenty-eight days. There he declared that he had stopped in Mataró before reaching Barcelona and in Palamós afterward. After an eighteen-day quarantine in the latter port he was allowed to enter it. The Marseille authorities held that in neither of those places had he fulfilled the complete health requirements.[183]

9.5.12 *Captain Amet Ben Mustafa* (*1807-1808*)

We already met this individual in Chapter 7. In December 1807 the Algerian captain Amet Ben Mustafa reached Tarragona after seventeen days' sailing. He was in command of the polacre *Mesahoda* of 1,500 quintales, and carried 410 Algerian quintales of dried cod and four barrels of sardines, all bought in Algiers. His papers confirmed that he had served nine days of quarantine in Peñíscola and had also stopped in Los Alfaques. He appealed to the governor of Tarragona, "as if you were my consul," because

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justifique que la citada Letra de Cambio ha sido satisfecha. Ambos lo firmaron": F. Roquer y Simón, Barcelona, 18 June 1802. Fondos de la Junta de Comercio, exp. 2227, Biblioteca de Catalunya.

181 F. Roquer y Simón, Barcelona, 18 June 1802: receipt from Buenaventura y Gassó, Barcelona, 18 June 1802, Fondos de la Junta de Comercio, exp. 2227, Biblioteca de Catalunya.

182 *Diario de Barcelona*, 20 June 1806.

183 Marseille Board of Health to Junta de Sanidad, 27 February 1807, IMHB, FS, Serie I, leg. 28, fol. 93.

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> in the five days we have spent at anchor in this port we have still not managed to enter nor received any response; in this same night we received the reply from the captain of the port [saying] that you ordered us to go to Barcelona to complete the quarantine. I hope that of your goodness you will admit us to this port, because otherwise it will cause me great harm and delay. You must be aware that I have come from that [port] on purpose to load and unload in this one.[184]

On the captain's arrival in Tarragona he had been informed that health regulations required every ship coming to Catalonia to proceed first to Barcelona, the only port in the region equipped to receive vessels from North Africa; once admitted there he could proceed to any other Catalan port. The captain protested and refused to leave for Barcelona, claiming that he would rather see his ship go to the bottom. The health authorities consulted their superiors about whether they should use force, though making clear they they did not wish to "out of respect for humanity." Ben Mustafa was told, therefore, that if he served a strict quarantine on the spot he would be allowed to unload his goods and load a fresh cargo, but without official entry.[185] Prudently, the captain presented a new appeal that explained his motives for not wanting to sail to Barcelona:

> We are at war with three powers, the Portuguese, Tunisians, and Sardinians, and I am informed that two Sardinian corsairs are lying in wait for me between this port and that one. Besides, if an Englishman caught me going from one enemy port to another he would take my ship and cargo as a legitimate prize. If I leave here for there the loss of my ship and cargo is inevitable, and perhaps of my life and that of my crew as well.

184 Captain Amet Ben Mustafa's petition was composed by the ship's scribe, Juan Bautista Renelly, and was addressed to the governor of the port of Tarragona: Puerto de Tarragona, 9 December 1807, IMHB, FS, Serie I, leg. 28, fols. 146-48.

185 Count of Santa Clara to Marquis of Valle Santoro, 22 December 1807; Ignacio Correa to Count Santa Clara, Tarragona, 11 December 1807; Ramón Ansotegui, Board of Health, to Pedro Ignacio Correa, Tarragona, 11 December 1807, IMHB, FS, Serie I, leg. 28, fols. 146-48.

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His fear was palpable. Everything suggests that he was sailing under a false flag, probably Spain's; though the captain claimed to be the ship's owner, its only crew beside himself consisted of ten Christians.[186]

9.5.13 *Hassan Haltay (1811)*

In 1811 the city of Cartagena was loyal to the government established in Cádiz, which opposed the régime imposed by Napoleon's troops in Madrid, and its port was vital for supplying the provisional capital, which scarcely had access to the rest of Spain. Hassan Haltay[187] was a merchant from Tripoli, married and relatively young, who styled himself "an overseas trader with a company [located] in several cities." He had limited partnerships in Smyrna, Alexandria, Misrata, Algiers, Gibraltar, Tangier, Fez, and Rabat; in almost all he was the lead investor, with manufacturers or mere employees as the other partners. He shipped products from the colonies (coffee and sugar) and manufactured goods (wool, cloth, and iron) to Muslim countries, from which he imported foodstuffs, especially wheat, to Europe. He lived in a rented house in Cartagena, suggesting a more than temporary residence. He imported grain and oil to both Cartagena and Cádiz, and also wool, wax, honey, nuts, hides, livestock, and other products. Shortly before his death he received, thanks to an intervention by the Ministry of War, 17,500 reales in partial payment for a cargo of wheat he had deposited in the local granary.

In the late summer of 1811 Altay contracted yellow fever, of which he died on 25 or 26 August; but first he was able to make his will. He swore it in the presence of Gerónimo García, a public scribe and secretary of the Tribunals of the Treasury, War, and Foreign Affairs (*Tribunales de Hacienda, Guerra y Extranjeros*); Ramón Lozano, his commissioner and representative in the city; Juan Bautista Rizo, an interpreter of Arabic; and several Spanish witnesses. Making his father his universal heir, he left his wife only the dowry she had brought to the marriage. The Spanish authorities ordered Caddur, captain of the Algerian tartane *Bruch*,

186 In the second petition, in which the captain claimed to be the ship's owner, the scribe stated that he had signed both appeals because the captain did not know how to write: 19 December 1807. Correga to Count of Santa Clara, 15 December 1807, IMHB, FS, Serie I, leg. 28 fol. 148.

187 Also called Hasen b. Altay. His case is found only in Vilar Ramírez, "Musulmanes en la región de Murcia."

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> to wrap him in a shroud and prepare [the body] so that it will not decay, placing it in a well-prepared and well-sealed casket; and by means and order of Don Ramón Lozano, of this company, a ship shall be chartered to take the body to his homeland, Tripoli, so that his father may receive and bury it.

Lozano, his executor, paid the captain and settled the merchant's debts and the legal costs of the will for a total of 6,984 reales, which he deducted from the 17,500 previously paid for the load of wheat; what remained was 10,527 reales and 17 maravedís. Nonetheless, a rumor in the city had it that the deceased had left "half a million [presumably reales] in property." The matter was still not settled when, in November 1812, a royal decree from the Ministry of the Treasury embargoed all the property of Tripolitan subjects; its intent was to compensate for illegal seizures by Algerian corsairs of Spanish ships and cargoes.

There was an investigation of Haltay's supposed half million reales, but his executor Lozano continued to insist that there were no more than 10,527; he claimed to have tried to contact Tripoli's consul in Gibraltar in order to hand over that sum. Our sources say nothing more about what happened to the merchant's property, though its true value may well have been disguised and his dying wishes may not have been fulfilled. It is strange that this North African businessman should have no other debts to collect in the city, and owned only the clothes he had on him. It is also possible that his body was never shipped to Tripoli, as specified in his will, but was buried in a field outside the city – although not the one that had received the bodies of free and enslaved Muslims some twenty or thirty years before.[188]

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Spain's wars with England and France favored the arrival in Spanish ports of hundreds of vessels from Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli; these helped to ensure that commerce continued between Spain and North Africa, as well as trade between Spanish and many European ports.[189] Above all, they kept Spanish coastal trade functioning at that perilous time for the Spanish maritime economy. With some exceptions, there was an undoubted Spanish-Moroccan alliance against both French and English attacks, in which Algerians and Tunisians participated to a lesser extent.

188 Vilar Ramírez, "Musulmanes en la región de Murcia."

189 We should also note that several Ottoman polacres sailed the route to the Indies, securing at least in part Spain's trade with its American colonies.

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Thanks to the explosion of Maghrebi shipping, the North African merchant colony in Spanish cities grew more diversified.[190] Until 1797 the Moroccans were virtually alone, and continued to dominate until 1815, but traders from Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli increased steadily in numbers. They were less permanent, most of them being pursers who returned home once their business was completed.

The situations of conflict in which these traders were involved were not substantially different from the ones we saw in Chapter 8. They do seem to have had a fuller knowledge of the boards of trade in different ports, and visited notaries more often. Their understanding of the Spanish judicial system and mercantile practice improved, as we have seen in several individual cases analyzed in this chapter. Some solid relationships were established with prominent Spanish merchants such as Benito Patrón and Benito Picardo in Cádiz.

But the most important lesson to be drawn from the increased presence of Maghrebi merchants in Spain was that the lack of consuls, commercial attachés, or representatives from their respective countries made it very difficult to defend their interests. They clearly had recourse to petitions and appeals drawn up by Spanish professionals, and while those documents showed the appropriate language and line of argument they were insufficient for resolving the lawsuits and conflicts in which these traders became involved.

We must not exaggerate, however. While the Maghrebis increased their recourse to boards of trade, notaries, and juridical institutions, their excessive faith in direct appeals to the monarch and the Secretary of State continued to be a problem. We will explore this issue in our Epilogue.

Just as in the previous period, between 1797 and 1814 both the Spanish and the Moroccan monarchies strove to prevent incidents between their respective subjects from altering the friendly relations between the two countries. We can say something similar, with certain differences, about Spain's relations with the North African regencies.

190 Historiography on Morocco has held the opposite. See, for example, Daniel Schroeter: "Very few merchants traveled to Europe. The exceptions were well known and often elicited comments in the newspapers or foreign consulates. In the 1820s, one such Muslim merchant was al-Hajj Ahmad Ahardan, a royal tajir, customs official and Makhzan treasurer, who traveled to Marseilles, where he had business connections with Isaac Israel, as well as to England, Naples, Gibraltar, and Cadiz": Schroeter, *Merchants of Essaouira*, 126.

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EPILOGUE

The First Moroccan Agent on Spanish Soil (1798)

In Spain as in the rest of Europe, except in unusual cases Muslim countries did not establish permanent embassies or consulates until the nineteenth century. The roles of consuls, representatives, and agents were filled for the Ottoman Empire by Greeks and Venetians, and for Morocco and the North African Regencies by other Europeans.[1]

As we showed in Chapter 5, the Treaties of Peace, Friendship, and Commerce that Spain signed with Morocco, the Ottoman Empire, Tripoli, Algeria, and Tunis were based on the strict principle of reciprocity.[2] But we have also observed that the institutions supposed to defend the interests of North Africans and Levantines on Spanish soil were not made explicit. The exception was the treaty with the Ottoman Empire of 1782: its Article 7 affirmed the Porte's right to name a representative, "commonly called a *Shegbender*." He would oversee the business dealings and interests of Ottoman subjects, and would be based in Alicante.[3] We know that a representative or general agent was established there by 1795, because a Greek named Pedro Pano, an Ottoman subject, was accused of having stolen eight thousand duros in Málaga from a fellow Greek, a ship's captain. The Ottoman agent asked authorities in Barcelona to inform him if Pano should appear there:

> The General Agent of the Sublime Porte resident in Alicante having asked me not to issue any passport or approval from the [Board of] Health to any ship or subject of his nation without the approval of its agent in this port, I inform you so that this can be verified insofar as it falls under your purview; ordering also that if Pano should appear here he be placed in a secure prison, his possessions be seized, and you inform me.[4]

1 See our bibliography from Chap. 1, Section 2. For Cagliari see Dessi, *Sommario*.

2 Rouard de Card asserts that the Spanish-Moroccan treaty of 1767 was based on this principle: *Les relations de l'Espagne et le Maroc*.

3 Cantillo, *Tratados*, 570.

4 "[H]aviendome requerido el Agente General de la Sublime Puerta residente en Alicante no se dé pasaporte ni habilite por Sanidad a ningun Buque ni subdito de su Nacion sin abono de su agente en esta Plaza se lo aviso a V para que asi se verifique en la parte que le corresponde; disponiendo al mismo tiempo que si Pano compareciere aquí se le ponga en segura prision, ocupe quanto le pertenezca y me de aviso": Xavier de Castaños to the acting *corregidor* of Barcelona, IMHB, FS, Serie I, leg. 31, 26 February 1818.

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The first representative or consul in Barcelona was Vicente Bronza, who called himself "Agent of the subjects of the Sublime Porte."[5] We met Bronza through his involvement in the incident of the false ambassador Assan Aga Giritri; his reputation among the Spanish authorities was poor.[6] But it does not appear that the Ottoman consulate continued without interruption: in 1844 a Barcelona merchant, Manuel Berges y Baiges, asked to be appointed consul of the Ottoman Empire.[7] The Porte also had a commercial agent in Cádiz,[8] and in Palma de Mallorca there was an agent who resided first in the Calle del Vi and then in Calle Apuntadores between 1810 and 1812.[9] But so far as we can tell from our sources, these men were not Muslims; they were Greek or Venetian subjects of the Porte whose chief duty was to assist the many Greek-Ottoman captains who arrived in Spanish ports beginning in the 1790s.[10]

The Maghrebis could not rely on the help of consuls or representatives, because Spain's treaties with them only stated formulaically that they would enjoy the same privileges in Spain as Spaniards did in Muslim lands. Moroccans, Algerians, Tunisians, and Tripolitans who arrived in Spain, in the absence of a consul, had to face alone the difficulties of conveying their petitions and protests. Those problems did decrease over time as stable colonies of Muslims formed in different cities and ports, but they did not go away altogether, and

5 Bronza obtained from Ambassador Vasif Effendi, who visited Spain in 1787, authorization to act as "Agent of the Ottoman flag," in the opinion of Count de Lacy. I owe this information to Pablo Hernández Sau.

6 See Chap. 6, Section 6.2.1.9. Bronza was one of many who defended Athanasio Podimara, the Greek captain of the Ottoman polacre *San Nicolás*: he protested because the ship had been visited by Barcelona's Board of Health. Pedro Gómez to the bishop of Salamanca, head of the Council: IMHB, FS, Serie V, leg. 12, fols. 166–67, 7 February 1795.

7 Barcelona's Board of Commerce, on being consulted by the Ministry of State, expressed little interest in the idea: "This Board does not know if there has been a Consul of the Sublime Porte here. We do not believe that the relations between the two countries, which have been insignificant, make it necessary to name one; but it might make them increase, and we have no objection to proceeding with the appointment. As for Don Manuel Berges, we can only say that we know nothing about this person": Junta de Comercio, leg. 61, caja 55, Biblioteca Central de Barcelona. See Martín Corrales, "Relaciones de España con el Imperio Otomano," 260.

8 All indications are that a Greek, Pablo Capitanache, inscribed in the Cádiz Consulate from 1850, held that post: Martín Corrales, "La flota greco-otomana."

9 The reference to Calle del Vi ("Wine Street") appears in the *Diario de Mallorca*, 19 June 1810. "The Ottoman consul who lives in Apuntadores Street has a matter of interest to convey to Don José Diego Carril": *Diario de Mallorca*, 10 December 1811. I thank Andreu Seguí Beltrán for this information.

10 Martín Corrales, "Capitaines et navires gréco-ottomans," "Greek-Ottoman Captains," "El comercio de Cataluña con el Levante," and "Cereales y capitanes greco-otomanos."

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Spanish authorities were often baffled by the situations before them: they did not know how to channel the North Africans' complaints or how to deal with the offenses that some of them committed.[11] We have illustrated many such cases in Chapters 6, 7, 8, and 9, and they were not the only ones; all presented the Spanish authorities with serious problems that they did not always resolve in the best way.

It soon became obvious that Moroccans, whether or not they were versed in Spanish law, lacked adequate channels for resolving disputes that arose from their mercantile practices or other activities, legal or illegal. From an early date they relied on Spain's consul general in Morocco to defend their interests: that official was empowered, by Article 13 of the Treaty of 1767 and Article 8 of the Treaty of 1799, to secure the property of Moroccans who died in Spain and convey it to the legitimate heirs.[12] As one Moroccan ship captain wrote to the Spanish consul, "Our interests are in your hands, since we know no one else to [attend to] them in Spain."[13] But since the consulate was in Tangier, it was hard for the Spanish diplomat to intervene in matters that arose within Spain. While González Salmón actually lived in Cádiz most of the time from 1786 until his death in 1800, he seems not to have played a direct part in those affairs.[14]

We also perceive in the documents a tendency to make local authorities (Captains General, governors, *corregidores*, mayors, and others) the guarantors, and in some sense protectors, of the rights of Muslims. The Treaty of 1799 ratified this practice in its Article 5, which urged Moroccans who had suffered an injustice to appeal to those authorities where there was no consul of their own. Although the officials received a great many petitions they do not seem to have been of much assistance, and the petitioners sometimes complained that the authorities were biased in favor of Spanish merchants.[15]

Spain's Secretary of State, and the king himself, received dozens of petitions on behalf of North Africans. Elja Selit Boali, a Moroccan, addressed Ferdinand VII as "the protector of the unfortunate."[16] The Secretariat felt besieged by Moroccans

11 We leave aside the normal tendency of merchants and businessmen of any country, language, or creed to try to maximize their profits: it led them to violate, accidentally or on purpose, laws on customs duties, health, and other matters that affected them. Muslim traders in Spain were no strangers to these practices.

12 Cantillo, *Tratados*, 505–07, 685–91.

13 Mohamed Ben Embarck to J.M. González Salmón, Ceuta, 4 November 1793, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

14 Pradells Nadal, *Diplomacia y comercio*, 517–24; Arribas Palau, "Juan Manuel González Salmón (Datos biográficos)."

15 See, for example, the case of Caddur Ben Massus and Abdalá Karsis in 1802, recounted in detail in Section 9.5.8.

16 Petition by Elja Selit Boali, 2 December 1804, AHN, Estado, leg. 5807.

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who arrived at court hoping for a response to their appeals: one of them, Abdasalem Buasa, admitted that he visited that ministry every day, whether in Madrid, La Granja, or El Escorial, in search of a favorable decision about his suit.[17]

In this situation Spain found it desirable and even necessary to limit North Africans' arrival in Spain, and especially at court, to the extent possible. That wish contradicted reality, for the peace treaties recognized their subjects' right to total freedom of movement in the host country. We saw in Chapter 8 how in 1784 the Spanish consul placed obstacles in the way of Spanish merchants who tried to ship cattle to Spain: "then there will be no precedent for the others who wish to [engage in] the same trade, nor will it become known."[18] Three years later the Secretariat of State ordered the consul to require Moroccans who arrived in Cádiz, Málaga, Alicante, or Barcelona to possess a "permit or passport" if they wished to proceed to the capital in search of aid or reparations.[19]

We also saw how Spanish authorities were not alone in trying to limit or prevent the free movement of Moroccans on Spanish soil: the Moroccan sultan applied many measures to the same end. He did not care if his merchants engaged in foreign trade, and he feared unpleasant incidents that might damage relations between the two countries; we saw several cases of the punishments he meted out to captains and sailors who misbehaved in Spain. Moroccan traders were also supposed to return home with receipts proving that thay had paid the proper customs duties on goods bought in Spain and were taking them out of the country legally.[20] The Treaty of 1799 included the same requirement and added another: Moroccans departing for Spain needed a passport signed by the Spanish consular authorities and also the Moroccan governors of the ports from which they sailed.[21] But all these efforts failed totally to keep Moroccan merchants away from ports such as Cádiz and from Madrid.

In the meantime, North Africans continued to arrive in Spanish ports without any channels that might solve their various problems. Eventually Cádiz decided to name Jorge Patissiati, a former consul general in Larache, as an interlocutor with Moroccans who reached that city. After having been enslaved in Morocco, Patissiati had later served as its envoy to Holland and was named Spain's vice consul in 1767; he knew Morocco well and was fluent in Arabic, and served in his post in Cádiz from 1774 to 1786.[22] He was

17 Petition by Abdasalem Buasa, 17 May 1801, Madrid. AHN, Estado, leg. 5818.
18 J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, 23 June 1784. AHN, Estado, leg. 4317.
19 El Pardo to J.M. González Salmón, 16 January 1787. AHN, Estado, leg. 4319.
20 J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Tangier, 23 June 1781. AHN, Estado, leg. 4314.
21 See Section 9.2.
22 Pradells Nadal, *Diplomacia y comercio*, 516.

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succeeded from 1788 to 1790 (though not very effectively) by Gabriel Gavaró, likewise a former slave and an Arabic speaker.[23] No one appears to have followed these two, though more research should be done. In the vacuum created by the lack of a consul, some Moroccans claimed ignorance, as foreigners, of Spanish law and mercantile practice, especially when accused of smuggling or some other illegality. Many foreigners who sought justice or another form of aid also pleaded their condition as outsiders: Abdrajaman Vinjut insisted that "Moors do not understand lawsuits,"[24] while Hach Mekki begged as a foreigner for the Secretary of State's protection.[25] Abdasalem Buasa explained how "as a foreigner he finds no one to aid him in his extreme poverty,"[26] and Ali Turqui could not defend himself "in a foreign land."[27] Finally, Elja Selit Boali maintained that "a Moor does not know the laws that are observed here."[28]

As a next step, some Moroccans tried to find employment as interpreters and presented themselves as representatives of their fellow subjects in Spain. Hamete Bargas, for instance, asked for the post of "interpreter of languages in the city of Cádiz, or in Málaga"; he was qualified for it "especially with those of his nation." He also argued that as a result, fewer Moroccans would seek to approach the court in Madrid.[29]

Pedro Barcelona Salé, "a Moroccan established in this your city of Barcelona, in which he received the holy water of baptism several years ago," presents an interesting case. In a petition to the king in 1802 he asked for a "position as interpreter in the city of Barcelona, where he resides":

> [For the last] three years he has been employed in the profession of interpreter, in every matter having to do with Moorish captains, Greek captains of ships that have arrived and arrive to this port, or their crews, before the government, the Royal Board of Health, the department of Income, and the Commercial Tribunal. He has always performed faithfully as an interpreter, though without any salary.

23 Letter from Father Cristóbal Ríos of the Franciscan mission to Morocco praising the work of the Spanish consul in Tangier: Tangier, 6 February 1785. AHN, Estado, leg. 4317. Pradells Nadal, *Diplomacia y comercio*, 516, 553.

24 Abdrajaman Vinjut to Duke of La Alcudia, Málaga, 26 April 1794. AHN, Estado, leg. 5802.

25 Petition by Hach Mekki, 12 September 1800, AHN, Estado, leg. 5806.

26 Petition by Abdasalem Buasa, Madrid, 15 July 1801. AHN, Estado, leg. 5818.

27 Petition by Ali Turqui, 12 October 1803, Madrid, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

28 Petition by Elja Selit Boali, 2 December 1804, AHN, Estado, leg. 5807.

29 Petition by Hamete Bargas, Madrid, 7 July 1787. AHN, Estado, leg. 5809–5810.

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He sought appointment as an "interpreter by royal license for the Moors, Turks, and Greeks who reach this port … with the emoluments conceded to those of his class who are established in the ports of Cádiz, Alicante, and Málaga."[30] He brought signed letters of endorsement from the Marquis of Vallesantoro, the civil and military governor of Barcelona;[31] Pedro Molet y Albardánez, captain of the port of Barcelona;[32] Cayetano Arévalo y Avilés, chief revenue officer;[33] and Juan Michel, a lieutenant of the Royal Armada and adjutant to the captain of the port.[34]

The Secretary of State, however, received a devastating report about him. Pedro Barcelona did not meet the minimal requirements for the position he sought:

> I have called him in to question him, and have found that, first, he can neither read nor write; second, he speaks no Castilian, Catalan, or any other European language, just a mixture of words from every language, without sentences or order of any kind, those he has heard and acquired in the seven or eight years since he came to Spain. Anyone who hears him needs another interpreter to understand the nonsense that he calls Castilian.

Good interpreters of English, Swedish, Danish, German, Arabic, and Turkish were certainly needed:

30 "[Hace] tres años que se emplea en el exercicio de Ynterprete, en todos los asuntos que ocurren tener que tratar con los Arraeces Moros, Capitanes griegos de Embarcaciones que han llegado, y llegan a este Puerto, o con sus Tripulaciones, tanto por el gobierno, como por la Reall Junta de Sanidad, resguardo de Rentas, y Tribunal de la Lonja de Comercio, haviendose siempre comportado en su interpretación fielmente, aunque sin ningun interes": petition by Pedro Barcelona Salé, Barcelona, 28 November 1801. Also a draft concerning Pedro Barcelona with a report by the Captain General of Catalonia, 20 January 1802, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

31 "For the past three years, when the occasion has arisen … I have availed myself of the Moroccan Pedro Barcelona Salé … since he knows the languages, and..he has performed the interpretation faithfully": Marquis of Vallesantoro, 8 November 1801, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

32 Barcelona Salé, "long established" in the city, had been interpreting "in the Moorish language" for three years. The Board of Health had had him take statements from Moroccan and Greek captains: 20 October 1801, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

33 AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

34 The interpreter, in addition to the services already mentioned, had heard "complaints and petitions" from North Africans: 26 September 1801, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

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> Individuals from those nations come continually to these ports, and he does not know their language, not even French or Italian, which are generally known here. And for lack of a proper interpreter this government has found itself in difficulties, having to rely on parties who have an interest in the affairs of these foreigners if they wish to communicate with them.[35]

We still await a study of Moroccan interpreters in Spanish ports and cities, but everything indicates that, except in rare cases, they had neither the capacity nor the skill needed to resolve the many problems that arose from the mercantile activity of North Africans in Spain.

We have shown how it proved impossible to prevent Moroccans from arriving in Cádiz and other ports and even establishing themselves there; and how both Spanish and Moroccan officials tried to keep incidents provoked by merchants of the latter country in Spain from damaging their mutual friendly relations. Some mechanism had to be found by which Moroccans with any sort of problem could channel their claims and petitions without approaching the king of Spain, the Secretary of State, or city governors directly. They also had to be kept from conveying their complaints to the sultan, who in his ignorance of all the details might take harsh measures that would harm the ties between the two countries.[36]

At the same time, Spanish authorities knew that the Moroccan sultan offered very little support to his subjects who engaged in trade. An example is the case of Jamet Bigga: in 1786 he asked the Spanish monarch to grant Moroccans exclusive rights to transfer, free of duties, goods that arrived in Cádiz from Northern Europe to ships bound for Morocco, and vice versa. The Spanish

35 "Le he llamado para examinarle, y he visto que no sabe escribir ni leer, lo primero. Lo segundo, que ni habla Castellano, ni Catalan ni ningun Ydioma Europeo; sino solo un conjunto de voces de todas lenguas, sin frases ni método alguno; las que ha oído y adquirido con el trato popular de siete u ocho años que hace se halla en España de modo que oyéndole, se necesita de otro Ynterprete para entender la gerga que el llama Castellano. … [D]e cuyas Naciones arriban continuamente Yndividuos a estos Puertos, y su Ydioma no es familiar. Aunque no sepa el Frances e Ytaliano, cuya inteligencia es aquí mui general y común. Y por falta de un tal Ynterprete han ocurrido varios apuros en este Govierno, hallándose en la precisión de haverse de valer de los mismos interesados en la suerte y negocios de tales Extrangeros para mantener conversacion con ellos." The informant claimed that Barcelona Salé himself was aware of his shortcomings: "He has been persuaded of his insufficiency for the post he has requested": Francisco de Horcasitas to Pedro Ceballos, Barcelona, 4 February 1802, AHN, Estado, leg. 5803.

36 We have already noted that we do not know how often Moroccans routed their petitions through commercial tribunals.

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consul objected, citing the sultan's indifference to and even ignorance of such concessions and noting that he protected his subjects only when they were providing some service to himself:

> The king of Morocco cares very little to encourage trade by his own vassals, because his policy is wholly different from and contrary to that of European sovereigns. He wishes and desires that his ports and customs houses operate with Christian merchants, not his subjects; far from protecting these and helping them to acquire wealth, he takes away what little some of them have if they are not careful. The only thing he pursues actively is to help those Moors who trade with His Majesty's own funds. If one of those should travel to Spain it would be good to deal with him apart from the rest, because then his sovereign would learn of any favor or privilege he was granted and would think that it was done out of respect for himself.[37]

The Moroccan emperor's behavior toward his tradesmen was often harsh, to the point that Spanish authorities had to ask him to moderate his punishments, while still trying to keep Moroccans from crossing to Spain. Spain often conspired with the sultan's secretaries, or the governor of Tangier, to keep bad news about his subjects from reaching the monarch's ears. As we saw in Chapter 8, in 1787 J.M. González Salmón wrote to Count Floridablanca that he would not make use of information in his possession about "Moors who go to that court": he would only

> make such use as is convenient, without giving His Moroccan Majesty any motive for complaint against those people. But I know that the monarch's intent is very different from the conduct of his vassals in Spain: he requires that they give not a hint of scandal, especially with women or

37 "[E]l Rey de Marruecos para mui poco su consideración en fomentar el comercio de sus mismos vassallos, por que su política es en todo diversa, y contraria a la de los Soberanos de Europa. Dessea, y quiere que sus Puertos, y Aduanas travajen mas bien por medio de Comerciantes Cristianos que no por sus Subditos, á los que lejos de protexerlos, y ayudarlos para adquirir riquezas, les quita las pocas que algunos de ellos tienen quando mas descuidados se hallan, y únicamente pone todo su esmero en fomentar á aquellos Moros que negocian con caudales propios de S.M. Si alguno destos fuesen a España no seria malo particularizarlo de los demás, por que entonces qualquiera gracia o privilegio que se le concediesse seria savedor este Soberano, y lo miraría como hecha únicamente por su respeto": J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Darbeyda, 6 October 1786. AHN, Estado, leg. 4319.

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> wine, nor commit any fraud, for he loathes the very word *contraband* – when he hears it he grows irritated and then furious. Since they know this, there is no better way of keeping them in check and making them see reason than to threaten them with being sent here as prisoners with a report on their conduct, so that the king of Morocco may punish them as he wishes. I know that an order has gone out to the ports of Cádiz, Málaga, Alicante, and Barcelona to keep [Moors] from going to Madrid. But as to those who are already there, we can persuade and even force them to leave if they have no legitimate business, without fear that His Moroccan Majesty will hear of our attentions and favors to his vassals. And I will do all I can to ensure that in the future, Moors who come to our ports shall be men of good reputation and proven conduct.[38]

In many of the cases we have described here, the Moroccans involved were close to the emperor or belonged to important families; if they were punished to the extent they deserved they would no longer cooperate with Spain and might become its enemies. It was prefereable to deal with a dishonest partner who feared the sultan's wrath if he were found out, than with a declared adversary. Nonetheless, it was not clear in every instance what Spain's best course should be. An early step (after Patissiati and then Gavaró had acted for Moroccans in Cádiz) was recommended in 1798 by J.M. González Salmón, Spain's consul general in Morocco, who was in Cádiz at the time: the city's governor should accept an "agent of the Moroccans." That person could manage the frequent mercantile and other conflicts caused by Moroccans who had settled in the city or visited it occasionally, so as to

> avoid the constant importunities and irritations caused to the governor and to me by the Moors here, with their petitions. It was very convenient to name someone of the nation who could manage their affairs; and in view of the good qualifications of the Moor Hamet Almanzor for this purpose, he should be named agent of the Moroccans in this port, as stated in a report I sent to the governor, the Count of Cumbre Hermosa, on 30 August 1798. I send Your Excellency a copy together with one of the reply that he sent me on the 31st. The said Almanzor has performed this office and shown prudent conduct in the cases involving his fellow subjects, settling disagreements among them and appealing to the government

38 J.M. González Salmón to Count Floridablanca, Tangier, 12 March 1787. AHN, Estado, leg. 4319.

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> when he was unable to preserve the good harmony that prevails between the two courts.[39]

Hamet Almanzor was the Moroccan merchant implicated in the illegal export of silver coins in 1789.[40] The governor approved González Salmón's request:

> I take note that you have named the Moor Hamet Almanzor so that, in his capacity as agent for those of his nation, he may represent whatever occurs among their affairs; and I will assist him with my services in the cases that he brings before me.[41]

We can affirm, then, that while a system of justice and institutions existed to help resolve conflicts involving Moroccan subjects, local authorities, whether through ignorance or personal bias, did not always comply with the stipulations in the Treaty of 1799. The consul general offered advice:

> It would be useful to send a circular to the captains general of the provinces, especially that of Andalusia and the coast of Granada, warning them to respect and observe in their jurisdictions the Treaties of Peace recently signed with the Court of Morocco. For a Moor has just arrived

39 "…evitar las continuas importunidades, y molestias que tanto al Gobernador como a mi causaban los Moros en Esta Plaza en los recursos que les ocurrían, era muy conveniente nombrar persona de aquella Nacion que entendiera en sus asuntos; y en vista de las buenas circunstancias que para el efecto conocía en el moro Hamet Almanzor le nombre por Agente de los Marroquies en Esta Plaza según oficio que pasé al Gobernador Conde de Cumbre Hermosa en 30 de Agosto de 1798, de que incluio a V.S. copia, y también de la contextazion que me dio en 31 del mismo mes y año. El expresado Almanzor ha seguido con este encargo acreditando prudente conducta en quantos casos han ocurrido a sus Nacionales; acomodando las desavenencias entre ellos, y recurriendo al Gobierno en los que no alcanzaba sus deseos para conservar la buena armonía que reina entre ambas Cortes": J.M. González Salmón to Antonio González Salmón, his brother and successor in the consulship in Tangier, Cádiz, 6 June 1800. He wrote to the governor of Cádiz in the same terms, confident that "he will carry out his task to Your Excellency's satisfaction, and I hope that you will hear appeals from this Moor and help him in any way possible, the better to serve His Majesty": J.M. González Salmón to Count Cumbrehermosa, Cádiz, 30 August 1799, AHN, Estado, leg. 4358.

40 See Section 8.5.21.

41 "[Q]uedo enterado de haber VS nombrado al Moro Hamet Almanzor para que en calidad de Agente de los de su Nacion, pueda representar lo que se le ofrezca sobre sus asuntos; y en su conseqüencia lo auxiliaré con mis providencias en los casos que me lo represente": Count Cumbrehermosa to J.M. González Salmón, Cádiz, 31 August 1799. AHN, Estado, leg. 4358.

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> here claiming to have been held for six months in the prison at Motril. On the other hand, our captains general should not let them travel inland, much less come to Court, without bearing a passport from His Majesty's consul general in those domains. In this manner we will prevent their importuning our officials so often, or causing problems; if this is not done, Your Excellency will have Moors coming to bother you at every moment.[42]

A good example of how local authorities often acted is the decision of the Consular Tribunal in Cádiz to jail a Moroccan who had sued a merchant of the city, apparently with good cause:

> If it is true that Don Luis Rivera of that trade has violated his contract, as the Moor claims in his petition of 25 November of last year, he should pay the fine of five thousand duros that Rivera himself negotiated. And according to what the Moor claims on 14 February about the agreement in the same matter with the Consular Tribunal of Cádiz, I do not understand how that court wants to arrest the Moor. For it is a well-known fact that according to the treaties made recently with the Moroccan court, on how and on what terms their subjects should be treated in Spain, any offense they commit should be referred for a decision by [their own] government.[43]

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42 "Parece combendria expedir una Circular a los Capitanes Generales de Provincia, especialmente al de Andalucia, y Costa de Granada, previniéndoles que observen, y hagan observar en la parte que les corresponde, los Tratados de Paz ajustados últimamente con la Corte de Marruecos, pues acaba de llegar aquí un moro que dicen lo han tenido preso seis meses en la Carcel de Motril: por otra parte no deven Nuestros capitanes Generales permitirles internarse, y mucho menos benir a la Corte sin que para el efecto traigan Pasaporte del Consul General de S.M. en aquellos Dominios; y de esta manera se evitará el que incomoden con tanta freqüencia a la Superioridad, ny se originen disgustos; por que de lo contrario cada instante tendrá V.E. Moros que lo bengan a importunar": J.M. González Salmón to Mariano Luis de Urquijo, Madrid, 11 February 1800. AHN, Estado, legs. 4343, 4358.

43 "Si es cierto que D. Luis Rivera de aquel comercio ha faltado a la contrata como expone el Moro en su Memorial de 25 de Novre del año pasado, debe pagar la pena de cinco mil duros que el mismo Rivera se ha impuesto, y por lo que representa el citado Moro en 14 de febrero acerca de lo decretado, con respeto al mismo asunto, por el Tribunal del Consulado de Cadiz, no alcanzo como dicho Juzgado quiera arrestar la persona del moro pues bien publico y sabido es por los Tratados que últimamente se han ajustado con la Corte Marroqui, como y en los términos que se deben de tratar a sus súbditos en España, y que en cometiendo algun delito se han de remitir a disposición

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The governor of Cádiz in 1800, Luis de las Casas, acted in opposition to his predecessor: he refused to acknowledge Hamet Almanzor as the representative of two Moroccans who were implicated in a questionable affair. Captains Aly Tunzi and Aly Bembuasa had been "under arrest in El Vivac since the 17th of last month," and everything, it seems, hung on a commercial dispute that included a converted Jew especially hostile to Muslims. González Salmón complained of

> the offense committed against the captains, which they claim comes from the negative report given to the government by the neophyte [i.e., recently converted Jew] Pedro Sánchez. For his way of dealing with Moors, together with his having been a Hebrew and therefore odious and worthy of contempt to every Muslim, may cause displeasure to Muley Soliman, if his subjects should complain of the violent abuse with which they are treated.
>
> I believe that the petition attributed to the two imprisoned captains was invented and produced by Pedro Sánchez. For it is not typical of the Moors to express fear of being attacked by relatives of the Hebrew, who was under arrest on board, on the pretext that he wanted to become a Christian; but it is very plausible that Sánchez attributed this and other language to the prisoners in order to make them seem guilty when they are not. All of which, if it is not corrected, will certainly give the Moroccans a pretext to act in a similar way toward Spaniards in their country, which would be most unfortunate for us.[44]

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de aquel Gobierno".The Moroccan's petition was sent to the king of Spain: Mariano Luis de Urquijo to J.M. González Salmón, Aranjuez, 3 March 1800. "I return to Your Excellency the two attached petitions from the Moroccan Moor Bohalel, resident in Cádiz": J.M. González Salmón to M.L. de Urquijo, Madrid, 10 March 1800. AHN, Estado, leg. 4343.

44 "...la tropelía cometida contra los Arrezes que se expresan, por influxo y siniestro informe que habrá dado á aquel Gobierno el Neofito Pedro Sanchez, cuyo modo de proceder para con los Moros, unido a haber sido Hebreo, y de consiguiente odioso y digno del mayor desprecio de todo musulman, puede motivar disgustos de parte de Muley Soliman, si sus súbditos se le quexan del vigor y tropelía con que se les trata. Creo muy bien que el Memorial atribuido á los dos Arraezes presos es invención y producción de Pedro Sanchez, pues no cabe en el carácter de los Moros el manifestar temor de ser recombenidos por los Parientes del Hebreo, que estaba arrestado a bordo, á pretexto de que éste se quería bolver Cristiano; y si, es muy verosímil que el Sanchez haya prestado este y otro lenguaje a los Presos [c]on objeto a hacerles parecer reos, no siéndolo: todo lo qual, si no se pone remedio, dará seguramente margen á los Marroquies a que en su País usen dela reciproca con los Españoles, lo que de ninguna manera nos conviene." Captains Tunzi and Bembuasa were set at liberty by a royal decree sent from Aranjuez to the governor of Cádiz, 22 June 1800. AHN, Estado, leg. 4358.

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The consul general wrote to his successor in Tangier, his brother Antonio:

> After I presented the attached petition to the governor of this port, to inform him that the Moors were imprisoned, he did not wish to receive [Hamet Almanzor] on the pretext that he was not recognized as the consul of Morocco. It is very true that he has not been named [to the post], but it is also true that if he did hold it on the authority of the king of Morocco, we would have to treat him with the honor and preeminence called for in Article 7 of the latest Treaty of Peace between Spain and Morocco, as our consul general [is] in those domains. … Since you, by virtue of your office, are the only one authorized to act in such cases … [please] request that His Majesty issue whatever decree he thinks proper so that the Moor Hamet Almanzor may be received by the governor of this port as an agent for the Moroccans. Such a sovereign decision will put an end to the disputes that arise here daily with the Moors, and will strengthen the good harmony we now enjoy.[45]

His brother, the new consul, also addressed the Secretary of State to complain of the governor's refusal.[46] It was essential to give Almanzor official accreditation at once, since his appointment had already been approved by the governor of Tangier, which implied at least indirect approval by the sultan:

> The governor of Tangier having approved the selection of Hamet Almanzor as agent for those of his nation – thereby freeing us of the need for the government of Cádiz to do so – I believe that Your Excellency should tell that governor that he should remove Pedro Sánchez from any participation in or knowledge of the affairs of the Moors (unless he is needed

45 "[H]abiendo presentado últimamente el adjunto Memorial al Sr. Gobernador de Esta Plaza para tomar conocimiento de la prision de los Moros que expresa, no se le ha querido admitir bajo pretexto de no estar reconocida su persona con el carácter de consul marroquí. Es mui cierto que careze de este nombramiento, pero también lo es de que si lo tubiera por parte del Rey de Marruecos, habría también que guardarle las honras y preheminencias acordadas en el artº VII del ultimado Tratado de Paz entre España y Marruecos a nro. Consul General en aquellos Dominios. … V.S. por su Empleo, es el único autorizado a entender en estos asuntos … pida que S.M. se digne expedir las ordenes que conceptue conducentes para que al citado Moro Marroqui Hamet Almanzor, se le atienda por el Gobierno de Esta Plaza, como a Agente de los Marroquies; pues esta Soberana resolución pondrá fin a los disgustos que diariamente ocurre aquí con los Moros, y afianzará mas y mas la buena armonía en que estamos": J.M. González Salmón to Antonio González Salmón, Cádiz, 6 June 1800. AHN, Estado, leg. 4358.

46 Antonio González Salmón to M.L. de Urquijo, Tarifa, 10 June 1800. AHN, Estado, leg. 4358.

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> as an interpreter). And he should acknowledge in this role the aforesaid Hamet Almanzor as agent for the same, admitting no complaint or demand, for or against, unless it is presented to him by that individual, when the appeal comes directly from Moroccans. In this way there will be no change in the good harmony that we so desire to maintain with Muley Soliman.[47]

The Secretariat of State also favored naming the agent, and took the governor of Cádiz to task: "It appears that Your Excellency has not wished to approve another Moor named Hamet Almanzor, who since August 1798 has been acting as a Moroccan agent in Cádiz, under an order of the consul general at the time and the agreement of Your Excellency's predecessor in the government." The royal decree required him to recognize the agent, even though Almanzor had falsely called himself a "consul":

> After I informed the king of everything, His Majesty has decided that the Moor Hamet Almanzor may continue as a Moroccan agent in that port; and that Your Excellency recognize him in that office, as he was recognized by your predecessor (though not with the name of consul, which – doubtless through ignorance – he wished to assume).[48]

The king's orders were obeyed, at least until 1807. In 1801 we find new mention of Almanzor in documents from Cádiz: he was arranging for Moroccan ships that arrived there to be issued the necessary patent from the Board of Health

47 "…haber aprobado el Gobernador de Tanger la elección que se hizo de Hamet Almanzor para Agente de los de su Nacion, desprendiendonos en esta parte de los requisitos que debiera preceder para que el Gobierno de Cadiz lo reconozca en la expresada calidad, juzgo muy interesante el que V.E. se digne prevenir á aquel Gobernador que al paso que debe separar de toda intervención y conocimiento de los asuntos de los Moros (excepto en los casos en que se le requiera de oficio para Ynterprete), a Pedro Sanchez, reconozca á éste fin, y en clase de Agente de los mismos, al enunciado Hamet Almanzor, no admitiendo quexa, ni demanda, asi en lo adverso como en lo favorable sin que le sea presentada por el susodho, quando se trate de un recurso hecho directamente por los Marroquies; mediante lo qual no se alterará en este parte la buena harmonia que tanto nos interesa mantener con Muley Soliman": A. González Salmón to M.L. de Urquijo, Tarifa, 10 June 1800. AHN, Estado, leg. 4358.

48 "[H]abiendo dado cuenta de todo al Rey ha resuelto S. M. que el Moro Hamet Almanzor continue en calidad de Agente Marroqui en esa Plaza, y que en esta Calidad lo reconozca V.E. como estaba reconocido por su Antecesor (aunque no con el nombre de Consul que sin duda por ignorancia habrá querido atribuirse)": Aranjuez to the governor of Cádiz, 22 June 1800. AHN, Estado, leg. 4358.

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before returning to their home ports.[49] We last hear of him in 1807, when he was accepted as an agent in the case of Mahamet Bencherif.[50]

We lose track of Hamet Almanzor after this date, and do not know if other Moroccans succeeded him in his post. In any event, it was not until long after our period that Morocco established stable diplomatic representation in Spain.

In fact, however, most Moroccan merchants did not meet excessive difficulties. While a number of North Africans became involved in conflicts, incidents, and even crimes, there were many more about whom we hear nothing precisely because of their good behavior. Most of them learned to bring their disputes to local courts, commercial tribunals, or consulates, and had their contracts and agreements with Spanish or foreign partners witnessed by notaries.[51]

⁂

The absence of consuls from Muslim nations on Spanish soil did not mean that North African and Levantine merchants were defenseless after the Treaties of Peace and Commerce signed between 1767 and 1799. They were often helped and even favored by Spanish authorities in the problems, conflicts, incidents, and crimes in which they might be involved. As we have recounted in earlier chapters the king himself, and especially the Secretariat of State and the consul general in Morocco, worked constantly to keep such incidents from damaging or even breaking off relations between the two countries.[52] That same

49 "The agent for the Moroccans in this port has informed me that there is a problem in issuing the necessary patent of health from Your Excellency to the captain of the ship of that nation, the *Mesout*, so that it may return to the port from which it came": Antonio González Salmón to José de Yturrigaray, Cádiz, 7 February 1801. AHN, Estado, leg. 5821. In 1801 Almanzor interpreted for four Moroccans (Taibe Menaiza, Meliro Açabel, Jamete Melfa, and Jamete Zen Zen), "current residents in this city of Cádiz," who swore before a notary that they owed money to Benito Picardo (see section 9.4.23). Notary José Gómez Torices, 1801. AHPC, caja 1891, fol. 231.

50 See section 9.4.27.

51 There are many other cases beyond those we relate in Chapters 8 and 9. For example, in the early nineteenth century Hafsuna D'Ghies, a Tripolitan living in Málaga, gave a power of attorney to Antonio María Baso y Bensi that allowed him to collect sums owed him by the government, the Royal Treasury, or any other entity: Archivo Provincial de Málaga, scribe Miguel de Ávila, leg. 3752, fol. 1801.

52 We leave for a future study the story of Muslims who went to Spain to convert to Christianity, whether sincerely or not. There were also those who left North Africa in search of a better life: exiles, those who wished to enter the king's service, artisans seeking

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policy, with some variations, was applied to Algerians, Tunisians, and Tripolitans as well.

The policy worked fairly well until the beginning of the nineteenth century, at a time when the two sides, especially Spain and Morocco, were seeking a *rapprochement* that would benefit them both. But political, economic, and social problems on both shores of the Mediterranean took a toll on those relationships, making each nation turn inward toward its own concerns. Later, the peaceful period that followed the Napoleonic Wars changed the politics of Europe and made it less necessary for Spain to cultivate Morocco and the North African Regencies, while those countries, mired in many difficulties of their own, also drew away from Europe.

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to improve their skills, and visitors for shorter or longer periods. There is some bibliography about them: see Arribas Palau, "El salvoconducto" and "Nuevos datos sobre moros en la Alhambra"; Estremera Solé, "Aprendizaje de un cerrajero."

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Conclusions

As we promised in the Introduction, the principal object of this book is to demonstrate that Hispano-Muslim relations throughout the Early Modern age were not invariably marked by hostility. This is not to deny nor to minimize the magnitude of the chronic violence between the two sides. We cannot ignore the great naval battles of their respective fleets (Preveza, Lepanto, Djerba, and many others); the conquest and capture of cities on both shores of the Mediterranean (Mazalquivir, Oran, Bougie, Tripoli, Mahón, Ciutadella, Mehdiya, and Tunis, to name just a few); the unsuccessful invasions (particularly of Algiers); and the repeated assaults on Spanish fortified ports on the North African coast (Oran, Melilla, Peñón de Vélez, Peñón de Alhucemas, Ceuta). We must also recall the depredations of Spanish and Muslim corsairs, who seized hundreds of ships and cargoes and thousands of captives and slaves, and the violent expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain. There was constant conflict between the parties between 1492 and 1767/1791. But neither must we refuse to see, or underestimate, the fluid communication between them and the clear desire for negotiation that developed inevitably between these rival forces.

It is generally acknowledged that mutual violence also favored contact between the contenders. Although in a few encounters the enemies were slaughtered, in general their lives were respected. Even imprisoning or enslaving them showed a minimal form of respect, since otherwise the adversary would mistreat in turn the captives that it held. In most cases (though not always) captives were allowed to live, and slaves had to be treated well enough to avoid reprisals on the other side. Further, channels of communication had to be created and kept open so that captives could be ransomed. Both Christians and Muslims participated in these exchanges, whether as official ransomers or simply as merchants, maintaining unbroken ties between the two shores of the Mediterranean – and, it bears remembering, ensuring mercantile contacts as well, however tenuous.

It suited both sides to facilitate commerce to even a slight degree, since both were in need of particular products: Spain imported grain, wax, hides, and other goods, while Muslim countries brought in minted silver coin. In North African ports some captured ships and their cargoes had to be released when North African markets could not absorb them. Ships and traders from third countries, including France and England, assisted in many of these exchanges. In addition, both Christian and Muslim merchants could trade with the enemies of their sovereigns: Spaniards occasionally accepted French or English protection, and brought their own ships into Maghrebi ports under the white flag of

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neutrality. Muslims were less active in this regard but still reached the Iberian Peninsula on many occasions, as the examples we have offered demonstrate.

Political motives and reasons of state favored negotiations to a much greater extent than has previously been recognized. A quick review of the bibliography on Hispano-Muslim relations in the sixteenth century amply confirms the importance of these negotiations, which were often consolidated by treaties of peace and friendship between sovereigns on both shores of the Mediterranean. In the sixteenth century and the first third of the seventeenth the Spanish Crown signed dozens of treaties with the Wattasid, Saadid, Zayyanid, and Hafsid dynasties and with other kingdoms such as Kuku and Bu-Tata. While no similar pacts followed, a sort of permanent cease-fire was maintained with some countries, and Spain exchanged embassies with the Ottoman Empire and Safavid Persia. In the case of Morocco negotiations coexisted with hostility, though they succeeded when Morocco ceded Larache to Spain and almost resulted in the Moriscos' surrender of Salé. These relationships were not very different from those of Venice with Muslim countries.

For political motives as well, each side received and aided exiles from the other. This phenomenon was especially clear in the case of Muslims: hundreds of them fled to Spanish soil with their families and partisans, seeking help in recovering their lost domains. Some were successful, others received some aid (not always generous) but died in the attempt, and a third group decided not to return home. Some of the latter converted to Christianity, while others retained their Islamic faith. They continued to reach the Peninsula during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, though in decreasing numbers and with waning political influence. In any event they created channels of communication with their respective countries that affected Hispano-Muslim relations. Even the taking of hostages required agreements – never explicit – between Spanish and North African sovereigns.

We should also stress the fact that confrontations with Islamic countries almost never involved an entire nation: it was much more common to form explicit or implicit alliances with sultans, monarchs, tribes, or notables against others of the same religion and/or region. We spoke in the Introduction of pacts with Hafsids, Zayyanids, Wattasids, and Saadids against the Ottomans and their partisans in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. There were also alliances with sultans and monarchs who sought to eliminate their rivals for power, or with those rivals against the pretenders, all over the Maghreb; one result was a significant presence of Moroccan, Algerian, and Tunisian exiles in Spain. We recall the truces between the Spanish monarchy and the Sublime Porte in the sixteenth century, while in the seventeenth and eighteenth, without any signed agreement, an almost peaceful relationship prevailed

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between them. Meanwhile, Spanish-Persian negotiations showed great dynamism between the 1590s and about 1650: both sides hoped for an alliance of the two empires against the Ottomans, and the Osmanli embassy to Madrid in 1649 may have been an attempt to kill that possibility. The Spanish monarchy took advantage of the rivalry between Moroccans and Algerians to support sometimes one group, sometimes the other; in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries Algiers conspired with Spanish authorities in Oran to attack Morocco. This varying play of alliances, though they were ephemeral, produced the Moroccan embassy to Madrid in 1691–1692 and the Algerian one in 1701. Also significant were the continual, though unsuccessful, negotiations with Barbarossa and Occhiali.

As a rule, treaties were closely connected to embassies from one side or the other. Both sent frequent delegations, though we are not concerned here with Spanish missions to Muslim territory. In the sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth North Africans sent many envoys to Spain's itinerant royal court and that of the Duke of Medina Sidonia in Sanlúcar de Barrameda, while in the seventeenth and eighteenth Madrid and the royal summer residences received many more. We should also include the large number of representatives and agents of both sides who traveled between the opposing courts; though their numbers declined considerably in the last two centuries of our period, future research will surely establish how many there were. Again, we do not discuss here the Europeans and Jews who served as emissaries from sultans, deys, or beys to Spanish authorities.

Relations and communication between the two parties were not always symmetrical, and the best example lies in the realm of religion. Christian captives and slaves in Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli were allowed places of worship in their bagnios and prisons, as well as the protection and comfort offered by Franciscans, Trinitarians, Mercedarians, and other religious orders. While freedom of religion was also allowed to Muslim slaves and captives in the Peninsula, it was initially tolerated only in private. Little by little, semipublic religious practice was officially recognized by Spanish authorities: we have seen that in Cartagena, at least from the second half of the seventeenth century, there was a mosque and an Islamic burial ground. New research may bring fresh revelations. But we emphasize that in the three centuries covered by this book there were always free Muslims in Spain, whether exiles, merchants, travelers, or others, and unless they committed a true religious offense they were not pursued by the Inquisition.

Muslim merchants, including those officially involved in ransoms, maintained at least a slight presence in Spanish cities and ports – chiefly in the sixteenth century, but in decreasing numbers during the two following (up to the

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signing of the peace treaties). There is no doubt, however, that their numbers were larger than has been recognized. Spanish men of business, on the other hand, frequented Maghrebi ports and cities in much larger numbers.

We must not forget the presence of Muslims who converted to Christianity – far fewer than Christian renegades in Islamic lands, though the issue deserves fuller study for the sixteenth century. Again, there were many more of them than has been recognized heretofore. They have been studied only for the period of hostility between the two sides: after the peace treaties were signed and peaceful relations established a small number of Muslims continued to convert, but we have not taken up the issue in this book. Many converts were fleeing political persecution in the Maghreb, tribal vengeance, or periodic famines and plagues, though some of them must have adopted Christianity out of true conviction.

In short, even in periods marked by mutual hostility many Muslims arrived in Spain for a variety of reasons: exile, diplomacy, ransoming of captives, commerce, conversion to Christianity, immigration, or travel. They remained in the country for shorter or longer periods, or permanently. This flow of Islamic subjects onto Spanish soil shows that mutual relations were more fluid than has been thought and that communication between the two shores of the Mediterranean was never broken.

Once the Treaties of Peace, Friendship, and Trade were signed between Spain on the one hand and Morocco, Algeria, Tunis, Tripoli, and the Ottoman Empire on the other, there is no need to prove that communication, negotiation, and cooperation between the parties were possible: clearly the language of the treaties, as well as daily practice, allowed and encouraged them. From that point onward the trends we outlined in Chapters 2, 3, and 4 grew in strength and intensity. We should not forget, however, the degree of conflict that continued to exist: Spain was at war with Morocco in 1774–1775 and again in 1791–1792, and corsair warfare by Algerians, Tunisians, and Tripolitans persisted into the early nineteenth century. While some actors in the Regencies actually preferred open hostility because it boosted their investments in corsair ships, the advantages of commerce proved greater. Spanish imports from the Maghreb, especially of grain, brought the sellers such huge sums that peace treaties held in spite of frequent corsair activity. At this point we are speaking not of religious confrontation but of disputes over debts contracted by Spanish or Christian merchants or their agents; these had negative consequences for influential men in the Regencies' political structure.

The Spanish Crown and its successive governments realized the need to keep the peace with Muslim countries, especially in view of its rivalry with Great Britain (with which it was at war in 1779–1783, 1797–1802, and 1804–1808)

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and France (in the wars of 1793–1795 and 1808–1814). That policy brought some significant successes. The sultans of Morocco ignored England and France when those nations offered to help conquer Spain's North African ports; on the contrary, one sultan ceded a naval base to the Spaniards from which they could harry English warships between 1779 and 1783. Moroccan, Algerian, and Tunisian ships, as neutrals in the wars, helped to resolve confrontations with enemy vessels, particularly English ones. North African ships (some Spanish-owned but under Moroccan or Algerian flags) protected shipping between Spain and the Maghreb as well as Spanish coastal trade; Ottoman ships even participated in Spain's commerce with the River Plate. It was also clear to all parties that Spain needed to be supplied with grain and other goods from North Africa; these were essential in times of scarcity or famine, for provisioning Spanish troops, and for supporting charitable institutions. That trade ensured the presence of Maghrebi captains, pursers, and merchants in Spanish cities and ports to a degree not matched in any other European country.

The hundreds of North African captains and traders who spent shorter or longer periods in Spanish ports coexisted with the flow of diplomats, envoys, exiles, immigrants, travelers, and others. They learned fairly quickly to deal with both Spaniards and foreigners, to bring their documents to notaries, consulates, and commercial tribunals, and to appeal to local and royal authorities. But all suffered from the absence of consuls or agents of their respective sovereigns on Spanish soil, unlike Spanish merchants in North Africa who enjoyed such a service. Only the treaty with the Ottoman Empire required that an agent of the Porte be established in Alicante. (While the Ottomans placed agents in Barcelona, Alicante, Palma de Mallorca, and Cádiz, these were all Europeans, especially Venetians and Greeks, and we do not discuss them here.)

The presence of so many merchants, sailors, captains, travelers, diplomats and others attracted Moroccan interpreters to Spanish ports; some of these acted, or tried to act, as agents for their fellow Muslims. It soon became clear that someone had to speak for and defend Muslim interests. The first attempt was made in Cádiz at the urging of the Spain's consul general in Morocco, and was approved by both the governor of the port and the Secretariat of State: a Moroccan interpreter was named the representative for subjects of that country. However, there is still much we do not know about the situation.

We believe that we have fulfilled the three objectives proposed for this book in the Introduction. First, we have shown that merchants, envoys, ship captains, and other Muslims were present in Spain even in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in significant numbers – especially ambassadors, diplomats, and converts to Christianity – in spite of Spanish-Muslim hostility. Their numbers swelled after the Treaties of Peace and Commerce were

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signed: dozens and dozens of captains, pursers, and traders appeared in Spanish ports as well as cities in the interior, particularly Madrid and the royal residences. We have dealt only with those who presented some problem or were implicated in some incident, resulting in their appearance in documents from the archives – and of course we have not exhausted Spanish archival sources. These Muslims seem to have contracted with Spanish partners, signed contracts before notaries, and appealed to consuls and commercial tribunals without great difficulty; they could also approach local officials, though they preferred to go directly to the Secretary of State or the king himself. We omit, of course, the vast majority who behaved discreetly while in Spain. There were certainly more Muslim tradesmen in Spanish ports than in those of France, Great Britain, and elsewhere.

Second, we have proved to what extent both sides engaged in negotiations. Spanish authorities tried to give Muslims no cause to complain to their sovereign about their reception in Spain, while North Africans exploited every means and institution that Spanish law and mercantile practice allowed them. Both these strategies led to the naming of the first Moroccan agent in Cádiz in 1798.

Our third conclusion rests on the two others. Spanish policy toward Muslim countries rested more on political, strategic, and economic factors than on ideological ones; it was skillful in manipulating Moroccan, Algerian, Tunisian, Tripolitan, and Ottoman ambassadors and envoys, and in its behavior toward sultans, deys, beys, and the Sublime Porte itself. As proof of the success of this policy, the many incidents provoked or suffered by Muslims in Spain failed to damage relations between the respective governments.

This book does not seek to elevate Spain's role above those played by Great Britian, France, and other Northern European countries in their relations with Muslim states. Our simple and necessary object is to cast light on individuals who have been forgotten or neglected, particularly Muslims who visited Spanish cities and ports. We also bring Spanish-Muslim relations to the fore, above all in the realm of negotiations. In this we hope to enrich the shared history of the Mediterranean by providing it with many new protagonists who, to a greater degree than has been recognized, were moved by a wish to negotiate, not to fight. Spaniards and Muslims never forgot their common frontier.

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Index of Personal and Place Names

Abadala Megeyer, Moroccan sailor 337–338
Abd Ali, Sidi, Moroccan ambassador 274
Abd al-Karin Ibn Tuda, Saadid *alcaide* 59, 104, 110, 624
Abd-Ardé Ferroc, Moroccan ambassador 274
Abdala al-Asseri, Moroccan *raïs* 345–353
Abdala Carcet, Moroccan merchant 561–562
Abdala Karsis, Moroccan merchant 578–580, 589 (n15)
Abdallah al-Qasri, governor of Salé 20
Abdamar Casari, envoy of the Bey of Tunis 323
Abdasalem Buasa, Moroccan captain 508, 526, 540–542, 590–591
Abdelmagid Ben Zerak, Hach, Moroccan ambassador 309–315, 504
Abdelmalek, Sidi, envoy of the King of Kuku 132
Abdelmevy Be-Guaseduc, Sidi, Moroccan envoy 315
Abderraman, Hafsid pretender to the throne 114–115
Abdifadil Benchulona, Hach, Moroccan merchant 471
Abdilfadil Yallul, Moroccan merchant 435, 471
Abdrajaman Vinjut, Moroccan merchant 476, 477(n173), 591
Aboul Malik, envoy of the King of KuKu 132
Abraham, Servant of the Wattassid dinasty 99–110
Abraham Ben Meshud "Biniso" (Beniso), fraudulent Moroccan merchant 404–411
Abrahen Zerchel, Moroccan merchant 185
Abrahim Cerquan, Tunisian 129
Absalem Bargas (or Absalam), Moroccan merchant 435–436, 443, 448–453
Absalem el Jedit, Moroccan captain 508, 519–523
Absalem Karassi (Crasi, Crassy), Moroccan merchant 435, 462, 466–467
Abu Abdallah Muhammad ibn Abdallah al-Mutawakkil, Saadid dinasty 58, 104, 110
Abu Hassun (El Buazón), Wattasid king of Fez 98–100
Abul-l-Qasim, Moroccan *raïs* 344–345
Achijamet, Moroccan *raïs* 555–557
Adad, Moroccan *raïs* 315
Adahaman, companion to the Algerian ambassador 150
Achay Candor Abbo, Moroccan merchant 567
Aduc Hamama (Francisco Pacheco), convert 195
Agi Aberraman Emerbricon, Tunisian merchant 577
Agi Gasep, Tripolitan merchant 187–188
Aggi Abdala, Tunisian captain 582
Aggi Yunis Ben Yunis, Tunisian corsair 577
Agueda de Cárdenas, freed slave 167
Águilas 501
Agustin, freed slave 166
Agustín Thomas, freed slave 166
Ahaja Benifrien, Representative of Moroccan captain Mahomet Bencherif 566
Ahmad al-Dalimi, Governor of Tangier 476
Ahmad b. al-Qadi, Moroccan slave 40(n67), 91
Ahmad Mostaganim, Moroccan *raïs* 328, 330, 354
Ahmed Ben Ali Khudja (Jamet Jogga, Jamet Ben Aly Jacha), ambassador fron Tripoli 304–307
Ahmed al-Gazzal, Sidi, Moroccan ambassador 92, 205, 218, 220, 222, 225, 229, 252, 255, 258, 309, 312, 328, 338, 340, 342–343
Ahmed Karassi, Moroccan merchant 436, 467
Ahmed Jerife, physician in Madrid 165
Ahmed Vassif Effendi, Turkish ambassador 252, 254, 262–268, 435, 588
Ahmet Bodinach, Moroccan merchant 442

Al-Arbi al-Mistiri, Sidi, Moroccan *raïs* 330, 331, 354
Al-Zayyani, Moroccan traveler 179
Alalia Bulia, Tunisian *alfaqueque* 130
Albacete 255
Albanchez 105
Alcaide Boavdila (Baudila Ben Bogani), ambassador of King of Tlemcen 131
Alcantarilla 454
Alcoy 72
Alfach Muhamed, Moroccan merchant 504
Algache Abdarrajaman Acatan, Moroccan merchant 539–540
Algeciras 219, 247, 270, 292, 310, 312, 315, 327–329, 331, 346, 350–351, 353, 363, 435, 471, 490, 510–511, 518–519, 535, 540–541, 543, 545, 552–553
Alhach Malamud Amasaid (Aljach Malamedid Alamasaid), Moroccan captain 504, 525–526, 538
Ali, corsair slave 90
Ali, moor 166
Ali, Turkish servant 297(n122)
Ali Amet, freed Berber slave 168
Ali Belhagi, convert 194(n242)
Ali Ben El Abar Sid el Hach Yeguia el Mesfigui, Sidi, Moroccan merchant 558
Ali Biris, member of a Moroccan ambassade 255
Ali Cará Mustafa Oglu, companion to the Turkish consul 297
Ali Elfucay, Hach, Moroccan captain 526–530
Ali Qoli Beg, ambassador's nephew 45–46, 135–136
Ali Sabunyi, Moroccan *raïs* 270
Ali Soliman, Algerian raïs 504
Ali Tunzi, Moroccan captain 598
Ali Turqui, Moroccan captain 559–561, 591
Alicante 43, 96, 150–151, 160–161, 179, 216, 228, 232–233, 235, 275–276, 395, 428, 438–439, 453–454, 501–503, 552–553, 558, 562, 567, 572, 577, 579–580, 587, 590, 592, 595, 607
Allal al-Awdi, Moroccan ambassador 279, 281–284
Almadén 82–84
Almansa 69
Almanzor, 173
Almanzor (Luis Manrique), convert 195
Almanzor Benaaya, Moroccan *alcaide* 134
Almería 68, 69, 72, 78, 275, 501, 540–542
Almuñécar 168, 197, 298
Alonso Calvo Romero, convert 199
Alonso de la Puente, freed Morisco slave 167
Alonso, Don, "grandson of the King of Granada" 143–144
Alonso de Fez "son of the King of Fez" 103
Alonso Galindo 166
Alonso Hernández, freed Morisco slave 167
Alpujarras 68, 74–76, 78, 168
Alraez Ben Alfaraed, Moroccan merchant 436, 495–496
Alvar López, Morisco slave 93
Aly Aguet (Sidi Aly Ahoüad), Moroccan captain 334–342
Aly al-Hamsaly, Moroccan *raïs* 285, 327, 355–360, 374–375(n146), 376
Aly Bembuasa, Moroccan captain 598–599
Aly Castillo, Moroccan merchant 442–444, 448, 450, 462, 467
Aly Sabuny, Moroccan raïs 279, 329, 360–362
Aly Turqui, Moroccan *raïs* 374–376, 559–561, 591
Aly Tunzi, Moroccan Captain 598, 599
Aloisa de Sarmiento, convert 120–121
Amar, Moroccan slave captain 91
Amar Ben Ayá, Sid, Moroccan ambassador 279
Amar the Elder, Sidi, envoy of Kuku 132
Amara Ben Musa, Sidi, member of an embassy 219
Amer, Sidi, merchant of Crete 188–189
Amet, slave 173
Amet Ben Mustafa, Algerian *raïs* 397, 582–584
Amet Gran, Algerian 133
Amet, Turk 207
Amete Botarbo (Hamete, Botaybo, Votarbo, Voytade), Morrocan *alfaqueque* (ransomer) 91, 109, 134
Amir, Persian faqih assassinated in Merida 136
Amuda, freed Berber slave 168
Ana, freed Turkish slave 167
Ana, daughter of Hernando, prince of Bougie 114–115
Ana de Cárdenas 123
Ana María, Turkish convert 193

Ana de Saint-Raymond, freed Turkish slave 167
Ana Mena, wife of beylerbey of Algiers 123
Andrés José, Turkihs convert 193
Andrés Manuel de Olivares, surgeon in Madrid 165
Andújar 104, 141–143
Anibal Vargas, son of Tunisian Francisco Pérez Vargas 120
Antonio 199
Antonio de Fez 200
Aragón 164–165, 180, 184–185, 203, 208, 532
Aranjuez 136, 149, 226, 253, 255, 278, 281, 284, 291, 319, 360, 402, 408, 418, 428, 440, 443, 542
Asmet Asemi Saquir Fas 303(n140)
Assan Aga Giritri (Assen Aga Vekil), fraudulent Moroccan ambassador 286–300, 435, 588
Ataib, Moroccan captain 504, 525–526, 538
Atal Ba-Mar, Moroccan envoy 318–322
Audarraman el Majauregui, Moroccan *alcaide* 134
Ávila 69
Ayamonte 71, 73, 75–76, 79, 166, 501, 502, 515, 519
Ayza, convert 196
Azmet Abencucuma, "Moorish ambassador" 130

Badajoz 72–73, 75–76, 91, 93, 136, 167, 175, 199
Bailén 258
Balsaín 136
Barcarrota 72, 175
Barcelona 11, 14–16, 21(n178), 47, 72, 74, 76, 79–80, 89–91, 93, 96, 99–100, 117, 123, 128–129, 135–136, 137, 178–179, 187–189, 191, 198, 200–202, 221, 228, 235, 237–239, 261–265, 270, 275, 279–280, 286, 288, 290(n114), 295, 297–298, 322–323, 326–327, 357–358, 394–399, 428–430(n46), 438–439, 442, 448, 456–457, 501–504, 513–515, 558, 563–564, 572, 577–578, 580–583, 587–588, 590–593, 595, 607
Bartolomé, convert 199
Basque country 72, 404
Baxa Hassan, captain 576
Baza 72
Beatriz, convert 166
Bedmar 106
Belabes Moreno, Hach, Moroccan *alcaide* 352
Ben Mohamet, Hach, Moroccan ambassador 277–279
Ben Talb, Algerian merchant 573
Benamar, Moroccan merchant 435, 470–471
Bernarda de Quiñones, slave 93
Bey of Tlemcen 163
Bibi Muhammad (Biue Maamet Rex), Algerian *raïs* 78(n87), 85–88
Bilbao 404–411, 501, 560
Brahin, *alfaqueque* from Fez 184
Brahim al-Mansur, Sidi, Moroccan admiral 270, 308, 376(n147)
Brianda, freed Morisca slave 167
Bunyad Beg, member of a embassy 44, 135
Busta 173

Cáceres 72–74, 76, 83, 162, 167, 201
Cadaqués 91, 289–290
Cádiz 24, 47, 62(n213), 71, 73, 75–76, 78, 81–84, 96, 124–125, 140, 145–146, 148, 165–166, 169–170, 172, 179, 181–182, 192–194, 201, 203, 212, 219–221, 226, 235–239, 243, 246–248, 251, 253, 255, 257–260, 269–273, 277–279, 281–282, 284–285, 293–294, 301, 307–308, 322, 327–328, 331–333, 343–344, 355–357, 359–360, 362–367, 369, 373–375, 377–378, 394, 403, 411–412, 414–416, 418, 421–440, 444–451, 453, 455–459, 461, 465–466, 469–472, 475–476, 480–482, 484, 487–488, 490–497, 499, 500–503, 506, 509–510, 514–516, 518–520, 522–525, 533, 540–541, 554–555, 558–560, 567–571, 573–577, 584, 586, 588–593, 595–601, 607–608
Cador Saibanu, Moroccan *raïs* 315
Caddur Ben Abú (Caddur de Bargas or Patagorda), Moroccan merchant 436, 445–447
Caddur Ben Gileli, Moroccan merchant 504, 519, 531–537
Caddur Ben Massus (Caddur Massus), Algerian envoy 562, 578–580
Campo de Calatrava 69
Campo de Gibraltar 246, 346, 348–351, 353, 516–519, 541, 543, 545–546, 549, 552–553
Canarias 72, 235, 247, 333

Carlos de África, Zayyanid "legitimate son of the king of Tlemcen" 111–112
Carlos de Austria, Hafsid dynasty 59
Carlos de Tenez, "lord of Ténès," convert 114, 282
Carmona 96, 104, 108, 121, 147
Cartagena 12–13(n36), 38–39, 74–76, 82–84, 92–93, 96, 166, 173–176, 191, 193, 196, 200–208, 219, 221, 233, 248, 253, 256–258, 263, 267, 270, 274–275, 282–284, 302, 304–305, 307–311, 313–314, 316, 327–340, 342–344, 354, 360, 362, 371, 377–378, 442, 501, 555–556, 557, 567, 584, 605
Casari Mahmet, envoy of the Bey of Tunis 323
Casarrami, freed Turkish slave and convert 167, 199
Casen Sayany, Sid, Moroccan *talbe* 302
Cassen Reisi, Sidi, Moroccan merchant 478–495, 504.
Catalina, convert 166
Catalina, Moor 199
Catalina de Mesa, convert 166, 198
Cataluña 85, 201, 395, 582
Ceuta 17, 22(n84), 28, 34, 79, 95(n2), 125, 140–141, 157, 175–176, 181, 212, 216–217, 219, 225, 227, 235, 237, 249, 253(n8)(n9), 256–257, 286, 316–317, 328, 331, 353, 359–360, 364–365, 441, 471, 478, 481–483, 485, 487–492(n208), 493–496, 501, 509, 532–535, 560, 567, 589, 603.
Ciudad Real 69
Ciudad Rodrigo 69
Ciutadella 89, 603
Ciricassi, ambassador of Bougie 128
Coja Regab, Persian merchant 137, 187
Cojo, El, Hafsid dynasty 59, 118
Conil 501
Córdoba 69, 72, 74, 96, 113, 122, 131, 141, 145–146, 166–167(n133), 173, 198, 200–201, 203, 219, 224, 255, 258–259, 357, 364–365(n121)
Cristóbal, Moroccan convert 195
Cristóbal Andrés, North African convert 195
Cuenca 69–70, 114

Denia 70, 448, 501
Denguis Beg, Persian ambassador 136, 186
Diego, convert 166
Diego, Algerian convert 198
Diego López de Franca, convert 199(n272)–200(n274)
Don Cach, ambassador of King of Tunis 129
Dorotea Blanquete (Bianqueta), daughter of Mahomet Bassa 122
Dorotea Bianqueta, daughter of beylerbey of Algiers 123
Dorotea de Austria, daughter of Felipe de Cárdenas 123
Driss, Moroccan *alcaide* 333, 373

El Escorial 84, 104, 136, 145, 147, 220, 255, 259, 266, 272, 304(n145), 311–312(n171), 314(n178), 328(n14), 355(n90), 422(n36), 427(n42), 442, 446(n87), 449(n92), 451(n98), 497(n227), 533(n66), 536(n71), 536 (n72), 537, 542, 590
El Ferrol 83, 376, 378, 380, 386, 391–393
El Puerto de Santa María 107, 140–141, 169–170, 181–182, 194, 416, 424–425, 509
Elche 103, 224, 255
Elijas Mohamed Esiles, Sidi, member of an embassy 219
Elja Selit Boali, Moroccan 568–571, 589, 591
Elvira, Moor 166
Embarca, Hafsid dynasty 60, 115, 120
Embarca, North African 198
Enrique de África, Hafsid dynasty 59, 119
Escaraman, freed slave 173
Espejo 96, 131
Estepona 346(n62), 445, 504(n6), 515–517, 531, 542, 546, 550
Extremadura 72–73, 75, 79, 81, 167, 198, 200–201

Fátima, convert 166
Fátima, convert 196
Fátima (Maria de Santa Rosa), convert 198
Fatma 204
Felipe de África 195
Felipe de Austria "brother of the King of Morocco" 103
Felipe de Aragón, "nephew of the King of Fez" 103
Felipe de Aragón "Moorish lineage, son of the King of Fez" 103
Felipe de Cárdenas, "lord of Kabylia" 123
Felipe Gaspar Alonso de Guzmán, grandson of Muley Zidan 109

Felipe Hernández de Córdoba 122
Fernando de Trípoli 166
Fivimar, Algerian *raïs* 396
Francisca, Moor 199
Francisca Juana, Morisca 199
Francisca María Joaquina, Moor 195
Francisca Mexia, freed Morisca slave 167
Francisco, slave 93
Francisco de Córdoba, North African 166
Francisco de Rojas, Turkish convert 167, 199
Francisco de la Cruz, North African 166
Francisco de la Cruz, convert 199
Francisco Hernández, converted descendant of Zayyanids 113
Francisco Pérez de Vargas, son of skeikh Abdallah Benegerio 120
Fregenal de la Sierra 199
Fuenterrabía 176, 195
Fuente Álamo 256
Fuerteventura 77

Galicia 72, 177, 200, 239, 379
Getafe 109
Gaspar "son of the queen of Fez" 102–103
Gerona 90, 396
Gibraltar 47, 53, 77, 140, 178–179, 183, 226, 245–246(n122), 248–249, 270, 293, 303, 322, 328(n19), 345–353, 360, 362, 364, 375, 405, 421, 426–427(n42), 428–432, 434–436, 444, 448, 452, 457, 460, 463, 504, 508–510, 515–519, 522–523, 525, 531, 534, 538, 541–547, 549, 552–556, 563, 584–586
Gonzalo Hernández de Córdoba, converted descendant of Zayyanids 113
Granada 14, 28, 55, 68–70, 72, 74–76, 78, 84, 96, 99, 103, 130(n8) (n9), 141–145, 164–165(n118), 165(n119), 167–168, 171–173, 180, 182, 185, 196, 203, 219–221, 256, 259, 299, 305, 416, 422–427, 453, 461, 468, 472, 476–477, 524, 596–597
Guadalcanal 201 (n278)
Guadarrama 83
Guademala, Hafsid dynasty 60, 120
Guadix 72
Guillermo, North African convert 193, 199
Guinaui Soliman (Elguinaui Mauritano, Elquina Ben Mauritano) 174
Guzman, freed slave 173

Hadgi Zayton, Algerian captain 578
Hafsuna d'Ghies, Tripolitan merchant 601
Haggi Abdala, Tunisian *raïs* 397
Haggi Hamet Arcandi, Tunisian merchant 580–582
Haljach Abdala, Moroccan captain 538–539
Haljach Candur, Moroccan merchant 539
Hamant Sidon, Moroccan merchant 435, 469, 471
Hamed Erzini, Hach, Moroccan merchant 435, 470–471
Hamet, captain from Yfran (Yfrane) 134
Hamet, from Salé 184
Hamet, Moroccan *raïs* 326
Hamet Absalem, Hach, Moroccan captain 508, 542–551
Hamet Almanzor, Moroccan merchant and interpreter 435, 469–471, 558, 595–596, 598–601
Hamete, Moor 198
Hamete Ben Abdallah (Hernando, prince of Bougie), son of King of Bougie 114–115
Hamet Bohelen, Moroccan merchant 524–525
Hamet Bujalel, Moroccan merchant 540
Hamet Federico, Moroccan merchant 435, 456
Hamet Ford (El Sordo), Moroccan captain 508, 523–524
Hamet Yngles Salazar, Moroccan captain 504, 525–526
Hamet Monfuz, Moroccan merchant 471–172
Hamete 166
Hamete, North African 173
Hamete, freed slave 173
Hamete, servant to Wattassid dynasty 99
Hamete Aga Mustafarac, ambassador to Ottoman sultan 138
Hamete Bargas (Jamet Vargas, Jamete, Asmed), Moroccan merchant 435–437, 453–456, 591
Hamida (Carlos de Austria), Hafsid dynasty 59, 118–119
Hammu, Sidi, Saadid gorvenor of Meknes 59, 110
Hasan Ali Beg, member of an embassy 44, 135
Hassan, Algerian slave *raïs* 88

Hassan, Algerian 166
Hassan Haltay, Tripolitan merchant 584–585
Haslem el Rubio, Moroccan captain 508, 518–519, 534(n67)
Hernan 166
Hernando, Turkish convert 199
Hoda, Moroccan *raïs* 353–354
Huelva 71, 73, 75–76, 79, 81, 166, 198
Huesca 69
Hussein Ali Beg, Persian ambassador 44–45, 81(n114), 135–136

Ibiza 72, 80, 187, 293
Ibrahim Lubaris, Moroccan *raïs* 329, 359, 362–373, 435, 558
Illescas 114, 141
Imán Quli Beg, Persian ambassador 136
Inés, freed Morisca slave 167
Inés de Castro 166
Isa b. al-Talib (Sidi Ysa), governor of Salé 19
Isla de León 220, 355, 358–359, 370–372, 413, 415–416, 478, 491, 509, 519, 565–566
Isabel, Morisca 199
Isabel de Guzman, freed slave 167
Isabel Pastor, freed North African slave 167(n136), 189
Isabel Pastor, Berber convert 199

Jachi Mustafá, Moroccan merchant 442
Jacinto de Austria, convert 199
Jaén 72, 74–76, 81, 93, 106, 166, 198, 200
Jafar, Moroccan sailor 337
Jamet, Moroccan merchant 555–557
Jamet Bigga, Moroccan merchant 435, 457–460, 471, 593
Jamet el Bacal, Moroccan merchant 435, 465–466
Jamet Jaggi Effendi, Turkish ambassador 302–304
Jamet Megan, Moroccan captain 531
Jamet Shebany, Moroccan merchant 435, 462–464
Jamete Melfa, Moroccan merchant 558, 601(n49)
Jamete Vinjut, Moroccan merchant 436, 476–477
Jamete Zen Zen, Moroccan merchant 558, 601(n49)
Jami Maduni, Hach, Moroccan merchant 435, 444
Jerez 72–73, 141–142, 194, 219–220, 256
Jerez de los Caballeros 72, 75–76
Jerónimo, Turkish convert 199
Jerónimo Pastor, Berber convert 167, 199
José, baptized 195
José and Salomon Cabezas, Jews 12–13
Josefa de África, daughter of Muley Xeque/Felipe de África 106
Juan 166
Juan, Algerian convert 198
Juan Bautista, freed Algerian slave 167, 199
Juan Bautista de Cardona, convert 199
Juan de Alexandria, convert 200
Juan de Aliste, Morisco slave 93
Juan de Persia (Uruch Beg, Don Juan) 81(n114), 135, 137
Juan de Persia, interpreter to an embassy 13, 44, 81(n114), 135
Juan de la Cruz, Algerian convert 199
Juan Francisco, Moor 198
Juan Galindo 166
Juan José Cayetano, freed North African slave 167, 199
Juan Miguel, Turk 199
Juan Rodríguez, Moorish convert 195
Juan Ronquillo, North African slave 93
Juan Sarmiento, exiled from Kairouan 121
Juan the Turk, merchant 307
Juana, wife "queen of Fez" 100
Juana Navarrete 204
Juana Serafina, daughter of King of Tunis 116–118
Judas Malaqui, Jew 186–187
Julian Prieto 166

Kacem Ben Mansor, Moroccan slave 175
Kuku, kingdom 3, 19, 21, 26, 123, 128, 131–133

La Coruña 176, 394, 501
La Gineta 136 (n31), 255
La Granja 255, 263–265, 443, 542, 590
La Higuerita 501, 565(n138), 566(n140)
La Mancha 69
La Rápita 563
Lalla Zahorra (Juana), "queen" of Velez or Fez 101

Lanaya Bohalel, Moroccan merchant 457–458, 598(n43)
Lanzarote 72, 77
Larraga 199(n269)
Larrax, corsair slave 90
Las Palmas de Gran Canaria 501
Layse el Suet, Moroccan interpreter 255
Lebrija 141–142(n53)
Legaume, Sidi, Moroccan *raïs* 330
Lela Horra, mother of Muley Xeque 109
León 69
Leon Serfaty, Jew 556–557
Leonor Gelada de Ambrosio, convert 116
Linares 141–142, 147
Lleida 83–84
Llerena 72, 74–76, 167, 199, 201(n278)
Lloret de Mar 178, 397
Loja 173, 224
Lorca 256, 557 (n117)
Los Alfaques 395, 397, 563–564(n137), 582
Los Palacios 223–224
Lucena 72, 198(n262)
Lucia Rodríguez 166
Luis de Aguilar 123
Luis de Argote, freed Morisco slave 166
Luisa de África, Hafsid dynasty 59, 119

Madrid 6, 15, 29, 42(n85)–43(n86), 44, 55, 66, 72(n46), 74, 76, 80(n104), 81, 92, 96, 101, 108–109, 112, 114, 118–119, 123, 133–134, 136–140, 144, 146–148, 150–152(n86), 153–154, 156(n93,94,95), 157–158, 159, 160(n61)–161, 162–163, 165–166, 169, 171–172, 175–177, 187, 190, 195–196, 201, 202–203, 217, 219–223, 229–230, 236(n85), 247–248, 252, 255, 257–258, 261, 263, 265, 268, 280–284, 301–302, 308–313, 315, 318–319, 322–323, 329, 333, 336, 339, 353, 360–361(n108), 364, 367–370, 410–411, 415, 437–438, 440, 442–444, 446, 448, 450, 452–459, 462, 465–467, 470–471(n150), 472, 490, 493, 496–498, 501, 523, 525(n48), 527(n53)–528, 532(n62)–533, 535(n68), 535(n69), 537(n73), 542, 549, 552, 556–557, 560(n127), 561, 568, 570, 575–576, 577(n166), 578, 580, 584, 590–591, 595, 597–598, 605, 608
Mahamat 173
Mahamet, Sidi 323
Mahamet, Sidi, Moroccan envoy 315
Mahamet al-Farach (al-Farache), Hach, Moroccan *raïs* 327–328, 345
Mahamet Ben Abdeljadi, Sidi, Moroccan ambassador 269(n59)
Mahamet Arrizzi, Tunisian merchant 577–578
Mahamet Ben Seitun, "Moor from Tripoli" 575–577
Mahamet Ben Mocessa, Algerian captain 582
Mahamet Chandri, Moroccan captain 524
Mahamet Chelebi (Felipe de Africa), "son of the King of Tunis" 123
Mahamet el Blanco, Hafsid of Tunis 114–115
Mahamet Mekani, Moroccan merchant 436, 472–475
Mahamet Mamete, Algerian envoy 150, 156–157
Mahamet Mamón, Moroccan merchant 436
Mahamet Sarjony, Sidi, Moroccan envoy 315–318, 435, 441
Mahamet Sarrax, Moroccan merchant 435, 444–445
Mahamete Ben Muley Nsar, Saadid dynasty 107
Mahomed Ben El Abar Sid el Hach Humida el Amuri, Moroccan 558
Mahomed Ben El Fach Ahmed Mogtal El Tarbelsi, Moroccan merchant 558
Mahomet Benamar (Ramón de África), Sidi, envoy of Kuku 132
Mohamed Buinat, Sidi, member of Moroccan embassy 255
Mahomet Bencherif, Moroccan merchant 565–567
Mahomet de Marbella, slave 185
Mahón 52–53, 179, 188, 262–263, 302, 308, 396, 421, 501, 563–564(n137), 603
Maimona, Moor 198
Majamed, Algerian *raïs* 397
Majamet, Moroccan sailor 337
Majamet Benllas, Sidi, Moroccan sailor 337
Majamet Boali, Moroccan merchant 568–571
Majamet Egueri, Moroccan sailor 337
Majorca 74, 114, 182, 201, 501–502

Málaga 28, 72, 74–79, 84, 91, 96, 99, 100, 103, 113, 124–125, 166, 169, 170–172, 176, 181–183, 185–186, 193–196, 201–202, 207, 217, 235–237, 239, 253, 269, 275, 279, 292, 305–307, 327–328, 330(n20), 345–346, 377–378, 394–395, 416, 428, 432–433, 436–439(n67), 442, 445, 447–448, 453, 455–456, 461, 467–468, 476–477, 489–490, 501–504, 522, 524, 526–530, 533, 538–539, 541–542, 544–550, 568, 572, 580, 587, 590–592, 595, 601(n51)
Mali Mustafa, Algerian artillery founder 122
Manuel, Turkish convert 167
Marbella 186, 202, 533–534
Marchena 141–142
Margarita, freed North African slave 167, 199
Maria, Algerian convert 198
Maria, Hafsid dynasty 60, 120
Maria, slave 197
Maria, Moor 199
Maria, Morisca 199
Maria, Moorish convert 199
Maria or Fatima, convert 199
María Angeles, Turkish convert 193
María de Córdoba, freed Morisca slave 167
María de Gracia, freed Moorish slave 167, 199
María de San Antonio, freed Turkish slave 167
María de la Concepción, freed Tunisian slave and convert 167, 199
María de la Cruz, Turkish convert 199
María de la Encarnación, baptized 195
María de la Granada, Turkish convert 199
María de la Paz, Moor 195
María de los Dolores Rosa, North African convert 195
María Girón, Tunisian convert 124
María Joaquina, Moorish convert 195
Maria Oliva 166
Mariana, Berber 199
Martin Formiel, Zayyanid convert 113
Mataró, 89(n147) 90, 582
Mate Flores, Moroccan *raïs* 376–394, 435
Mazarrón 501
Mazucan 173
Medina del Campo 95, 131
Medina Sidonia 219
Mejorada del Campo 114
Mekki el-Jafi, Hach, Moroccan merchant 552–555, 591
Melilla 17, 28, 79, 95(n2), 98–100(n5), 102–103, 110, 134, 166, 181, 195, 217, 225, 227, 235, 310, 315, 328, 345, 353, 460, 462(n131), 605
Meliro Açabel, Moroccan merchant 558, 601(n49)
Menorca 28(n119)
Mérida 136, 414(n23), 416(n27), 418(n30)
Miguel José de Austria, convert 199
Miguel Tur, North African convert 199
Miquessi, Moroccan captain, 511.
Moguer 71, 73, 75–76, 79, 81, 166, 198, 515–516(n29)
Mohamad Ali, North African 166
Mohamad de Maymon "lord of Tagaos" (Tagoust) 18(n63), 134
Mohamad de Vanahamet, of Tagaos 18(n63)
Mohamed, envoy from kingdom of Kuku 133
Mohamed Barrada, Moroccan merchant 436, 462, 467
Mohamed Benissa, Moroccan merchant 460–462
Mohamed Ben Embarck, Moroccan ship captain 478, 483, 489–491, 589
Mohamed Ben Muchafi, Moroccan merchant 435, 497
Mohamed Embarck, Moroccan *raïs* 374–376
Mohamet Valenciano, Moroccan captain 537–538
Mohamet Belbeli, Moroccan sailor 338
Mohamet Benhamet Sherif, Sidi, Moroccan merchant 411–428
Mohamet Cherif, Moroccan *raïs* 344–345
Montijo 199
Montjuic 80(n105), 89(n148)
Motril 597
Muhammad b. Abd Allah al-Zuwayin (Mohamed Essuin), Moroccan ambassador 284–286, 305–306, 359(n100), 459
Muhammad b. Abd al-Malik, Moroccan ambassador 275–276
Muhammad b. al-Hadi al-Hafi, Moroccan ambassador 279–281

Muhammad b. Abd al-Wahab al-Gassani, Moroccan ambassador 20, 92, 139–149, 203, 223–225, 258
Muhammad al-Dalimi, Moroccan ambassador 212, 254, 259–261
Muhammad Ben Abdallah, sultan of Morocco 7, 20, 28, 212, 218, 222, 225, 256–257, 284, 309, 322, 433, 459
Muhammad Ibn Utman, Moroccan ambassador 212, 226, 251(n3), 252, 254–259, 355, 364, 366, 367(n125), 367 (n126), 443, 459, 471, 475, 478, 484, 492
Muhammad Zaguda, supposed son of Muley Xeque 19–20
Mula Osman, Turkish merchant 188
Muley Abd al-Malik (Maluco), sultan of Morocco (1576–1578) 18, 22(n84), 58, 104
Muley Abdallah, sultan of Morocco (1557–1574) 17
Muley Abdallah, prince of Fez (1612–1623) 19
Muley Abdallah, Hafsid king of Tunis 114–116
Muley Adballah, nephew of the King of Velez 100
Muley Abdallah al-Galib, Saadid sultan 104
Muley Abdelmelek, Moroccan prince 274, 303
Muley Abderraman, Hafsid dynasty 60, 119
Muley Abderraman, Hafsid pretender to the throne of Bougie 114–115
Muley Abderraman, convert 174
Muley Abu Abd Allah Muhammad ibn Abd Allah al-Mutawakkil, sultan of Morocco (1574–1576) 8, 58, 104
Muley Abu Abdallah (Muley Baudila or Carlos de África), Zayyanid of Ténès 113–114
Muley Abu Faris (Buferes), sultan of Marrakesh (1603–1608) 19–20, 58, 107
Muley Ahmad al-Mansur, sultan of Morocco (1578–1603) 16(n52), 18, 19, 22, 40, 58, 102, 104, 108, 110, 122
Muley Ahmed, Hafsid dynasty 60, 119
Muley Ahmed, son of King of Tlemcen 60
Muley al-Yazid, sultan of Morocco 28, 212, 226, 235(n82), 249(n126), 254, 257, 260, 284, 286, 310, 356, 359–360, 365, 373, 433–434(n57)
Muley Allal Merin (Gaspar de Benimerin, prince of Fez) 58, 101–102
Muley Amar "King of Debdou" 103, 134
Muley Ahmed, son of King of Tlemcen 60, 110–111
Muley Ahmed, Hafsid dynasty of Tunis 119–120
Muley Bucar, Prince of Tunis 59, 115–116
Muley al-Nasser al-Thabti (Muley Nazar), son of King of Tlemcen 60, 110–111
Muley Hamida, King of Tunis 59, 115–118
Muley Hassan, Prince of Tunis 115
Muley Hassan, King of Tunis 60, 116–118
Muley Hassan, Hafsid dynasty of Tunis 60, 119–120
Muley Hassan, Zayyanid son of King of Tlemcen 110–112
Muley Ismail, sultan of Morocco (1672–1717) 20–22(n84), 140, 143, 149, 157, 175, 216
Muley Larbe Xerife (Agustin), convert 125
Muley Mahamete, Wattasid dynasty 99–101
Muley Mahamete, fraudulent Zayyanid prince of Tlemcen 113
Muley Memu, Hafsid dynasty 60, 115, 120
Muley Muhammad, King of Tunis 59, 115, 118
Muley Muhammad al-Mutawakkil, sultan of Morocco (1574–1576) 8, 18, 58–59, 104, 110
Muley Muhammad al-Sheykh al-Mahdi, sultan of Morocco (1544–1557) 17, 57, 103
Muley Muhammad al-Sheykh el Mamoun or Muley Xeque (Felipe de África or Felipe de Austria), sultan of Morocco (1608–1613) 19–21, 28, 58, 104–110, 113, 121, 141
Muley Muhammad al-Sheykh al-Saghir, sultan of Morocco (1636–1655) 20
Muley Nsar (Nazar), Saadid dynasty 58, 104, 105–107, 110
Muley Nazar (al-Nazir), Wattasid dynasty 99–100
Muley Nazar, Hafsid dynasty 60, 118–119
Muley Ben Oumar, Sid, Turkish envoy 322
Muley Rashid, sultan of Morocco (1664–1672) 20

Muley Zidan, sultan of Morocco (1613–1627) 19–20, 58, 105, 107–109, 135, 145(n64)
Muley Yayha (Juan de Castilla, prince of Fez, son of Abu Hassun) 101
Murad, Turk 166
Murcia 69, 72, 74–76, 96, 103, 107, 166, 173, 182, 187, 196, 201–202, 256, 258(n14), 259, 448–449, 453–454, 585
Musa Bandar (Bendar), "Sheikh of Ifre" 125, 176(n164)
Musa Ben Amat, envoy of Kuku 132
Mustafa Azen, baptized 198
Mustafa Coggia 298

Navarre 142, 200, 203

Ocaña 257–258, 459(n124)
Olmedo 114
Omar, Algerian corsair 208
Orán 17, 60, 75–79, 81–82, 95, 107, 110, 112–114, 122–123, 125, 131, 156–160, 167, 173, 175–177, 181, 186–187, 192–193, 195–196, 198–199, 201, 216–217, 231, 233, 237, 553–554, 562, 578, 603, 605
Orcera 143
Osuna 220
Ould El Yub, Moroccan slave 175

Palamós 84, 90, 396–397, 582
Palencia 176, 200
Palma de Majorca (Mallorca) 47, 81, 86–87, 96, 133, 151, 163, 182, 184, 187, 293, 316–317, 322(n196), 394, 441, 501–502(n4), 503, 512, 564, 577(n168), 588, 607
Palos 71, 73, 75–76, 79, 81, 166, 198
Pamplona 96, 195
Pedro, freed slave 167
Pedro Barcelona, convert 580, 591–592
Pedro Girón, "descendant of the kingdoms of Tunis", convert 124
Pedro Moreno, convert from Bougie 166, 199
Pedro Moreno, from Bougie, freed 167
Pedro Sanchez, Jewish convert 598–599
Peñíscola 397, 582
Peñón de Alhucemas 17, 28, 95(n2), 181, 217, 225, 310, 460–461, 603
Peñón de Vélez de la Gomera 17–18, 95, 101, 104, 181, 195, 217, 225, 603
Periañez 201 (n278)
Princess of Morocco (daughter of Gaspar de Benimerin) 102
Puerto Real 71, 81, 147

Qaddur al-Awdi, Moroccan ambassador 279–284
Qaddur Saibanu, Moroccan *raïs* 353–354

Raeç Caycu, "Moor from Bougie" 128
Reus 515

Sagra de Toledo 69
Salamanca 69, 93(n162), 588(n6)
Salou 515
Salvador, slave 93
Salvaleón 72
San Ildefonso 84, 552, 554
San Roque 347, 351, 504, 516, 531–533, 535–536, 540–542, 544, 546, 548–552
Sanlúcar de Barrameda 20, 96, 108, 147(n170), 148, 194(n240), 210, 279(n84), 426–427, 462, 605
Sant Feliu de Guíxols 178, 396
Santander 233, 501, 571
Santi Petri 509, 519
Sarifey, Moroccan merchant 436, 437, 456
Say, Algerian *raïs* 91
Sebastian Coto, Jew 519
Segovia 83–84, 96, 129(n6), 136, 184(n206), 184 (n207), 221, 266
Selim (Carlos de África), son of Zayyanid King of Algiers 114
Selim Ben Muça Azahui, envoy of Tlemcen 131
Selim Ben Thumi, Zayyanid King of Algiers 114
Seville 72–73, 75–76, 79, 81, 106, 121, 125, 141(n49), 141(n50), 145, 198, 201, 219, 224, 255, 258–259, 285(n106), 357, 370(n136), 413(n21), 419–421, 423–424, 497, 501, 533(n65)
Sheikh Ferhan 44, 137
Sheikh Lahacen, Tunisian ambassador 130
Sidi Hassan, vekaleti (Minister of the Navy) of Algiers 231
Sierra Morena 143
Sitges 80
Simon Alonso, slave 93
Soliman, Algerian *raïs* 395

Soliman Ben Yunis, Tunisian merchant 578
Soliman Raïs, Tunisian 577
Staisebel, Moroccan sailor 563–564
Sultana (Soldana), Algerian convert 122

Tahir Fannis (Sidi Tahir Ben Abdalhaqq Fannis), Moroccan ambassador 270–274, 304, 475, 574
Taib Ben Cachet, Moroccan merchant 475–476
Taib Reisi, Moroccan merchant 483, 491–492, 504(n10)
Taibe Menaiza, Moroccan merchant 558, 601(n49)
Tajar Ben Majamet, Moroccan captain 567
Talbe Cali, member of Moroccan embassy 255
Tarifa 236(n84), 256, 316, 411, 432–433, 436–437, 525, 528, 533–534, 566, 600(n46)
Tarragona 131, 395, 397–398, 501, 515, 563–564(n137), 567, 582–583
Tenerife 72, 96, 501, 559
Teresa Fisart, Turkish convert 193
Teresa Gaenta, Turkish convert 166
Teror 72(n52)
Toledo 69, 104, 114, 121, 130(n17), 136, 141, 255, 258–259
Tortosa 396
Tossa 80, 90, 198, 396
Totana 256
Trujillo 72, 74–76, 136
Tuffe, Moroccan captain 508, 515–518

Ursula de Villarreal, freed Morisca slave 167
Utrera 96, 104, 108, 141–142, 220, 224

Valencia 60, 67, 69, 72, 73–75, 79, 81, 96, 103, 128, 130, 132, 138, 177, 179, 182, 186, 207, 263–265, 501, 543, 564, 573, 579
Valladolid 45, 66, 69, 72, 74, 79, 81, 96, 99–100, 135–136, 164, 199
Valle de Ricote 69
Vélez-Malaga 202
Victoria Sultana 122
Vilanova i la Geltrú 581
Villa Carlos 396
Villafranca 223, 224(n31)
Villarrobledo 255
Villarrubia de los Ojos 69
Vinaroz 563–564
Virginia de Austria, Hafsid dynasty 59, 115, 119

Xamet Molotd (or Mevlud), Tunisian envoy of Bey of Mascara 322

Yamina Ochafament (Maria Juana Catalina de la Cruz), freed slave 167
Ybrahim Aga, Turk 297
Youssef el Tripolino, Tripolitan merchant 573–575
Ysmail Effen, Haggi, Turkish ambassador 300–302
Ysmain Tunesi, Moroccan *raïs* 330, 342–345
Yucef Abrauda, Algerian 186

Zacharias Levi, Jew 11
Zafra 72, 74–76, 167
Zamora 69, 106
Zaragoza 103, 136, 185(n208)
Zuiziu, Moroccan merchant 436, 496–497